NEW

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLIC

PLUS

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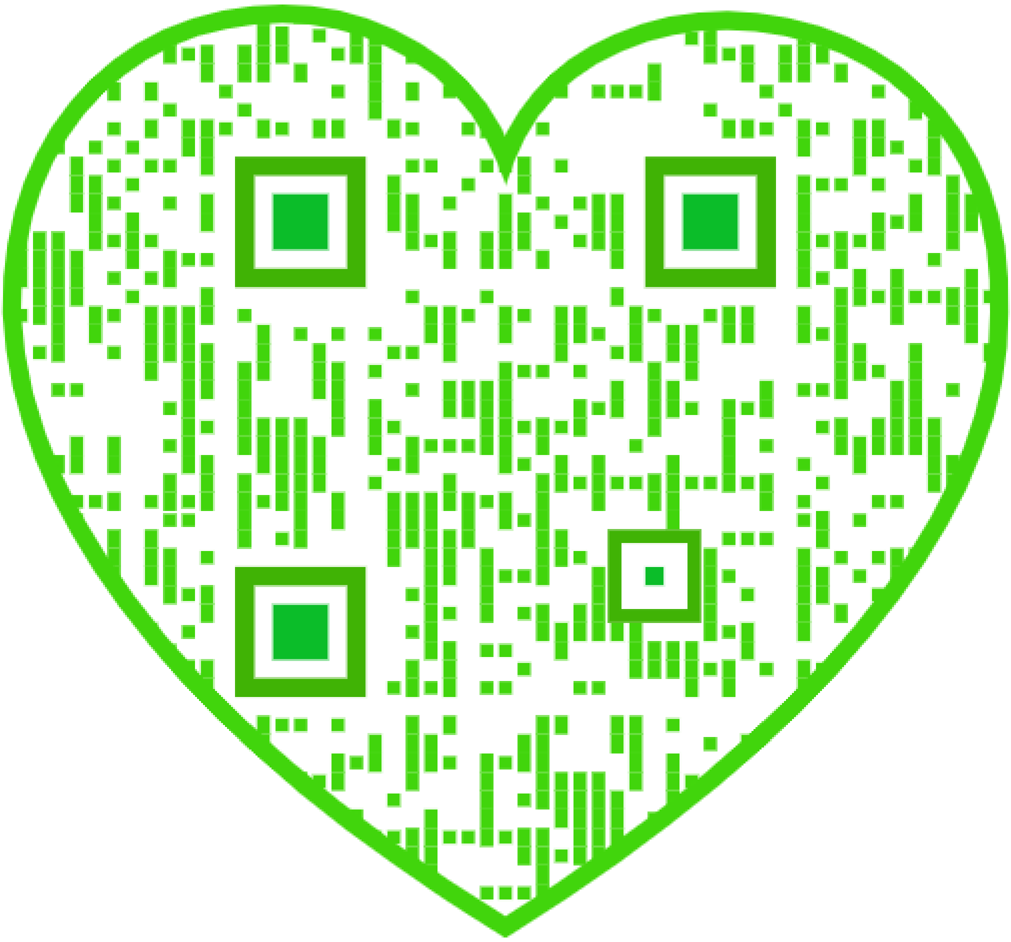
CLEOPATRA

The pharaoh who defied an emperor



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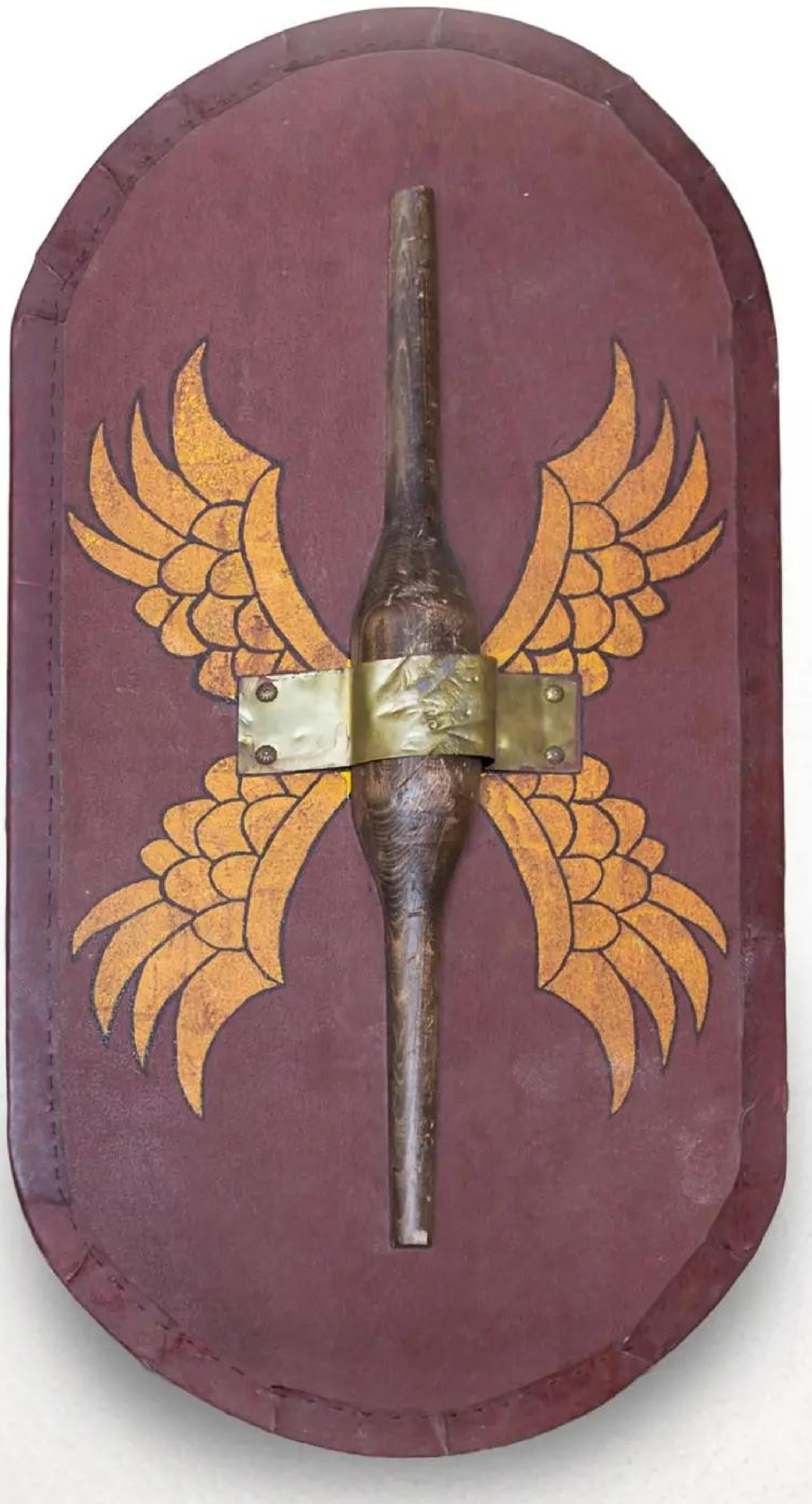

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Future PLC Quay House, The Ambury, Bath, BA1 1UA

Bookazine Editorial
Editor **Charles Ginger**
Designer **Briony Duguid**
Compiled by **Jessica Leggett**
Head of Art & Design **Greg Whitaker**
Editorial Director **Jon White**
Managing Director **Grainne McKenna**

All About History Editorial
Editor **Jonathan Gordon**
Designer **Kym Winters**
Editorial Director **Tim Williamson**
Senior Art Editor **Duncan Crook**

Cover images
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Commercial Director **Clare Dove**

International
Head of Print Licensing **Rachel Shaw**
licensing@futurenet.com

Circulation
Head of Newstrade **Tim Mathers**

Production
Head of Production **Mark Constance**
Production Project Manager **Matthew Eglinton**
Advertising Production Manager **Joanne Crosby**
Digital Editions Controller **Jason Hudson**
Production Managers **Keely Miller, Nola Cokely,**
Vivienne Calvert, Fran Twentyman

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For enquiries, please email: mfcommunications@futurenet.com

GPSR EU RP (for authorities only)
eucomply OÜ Pärnu mnt 139b-14 11317, Tallinn, Estonia
hello@eucompliancepartner.com, +3375690241

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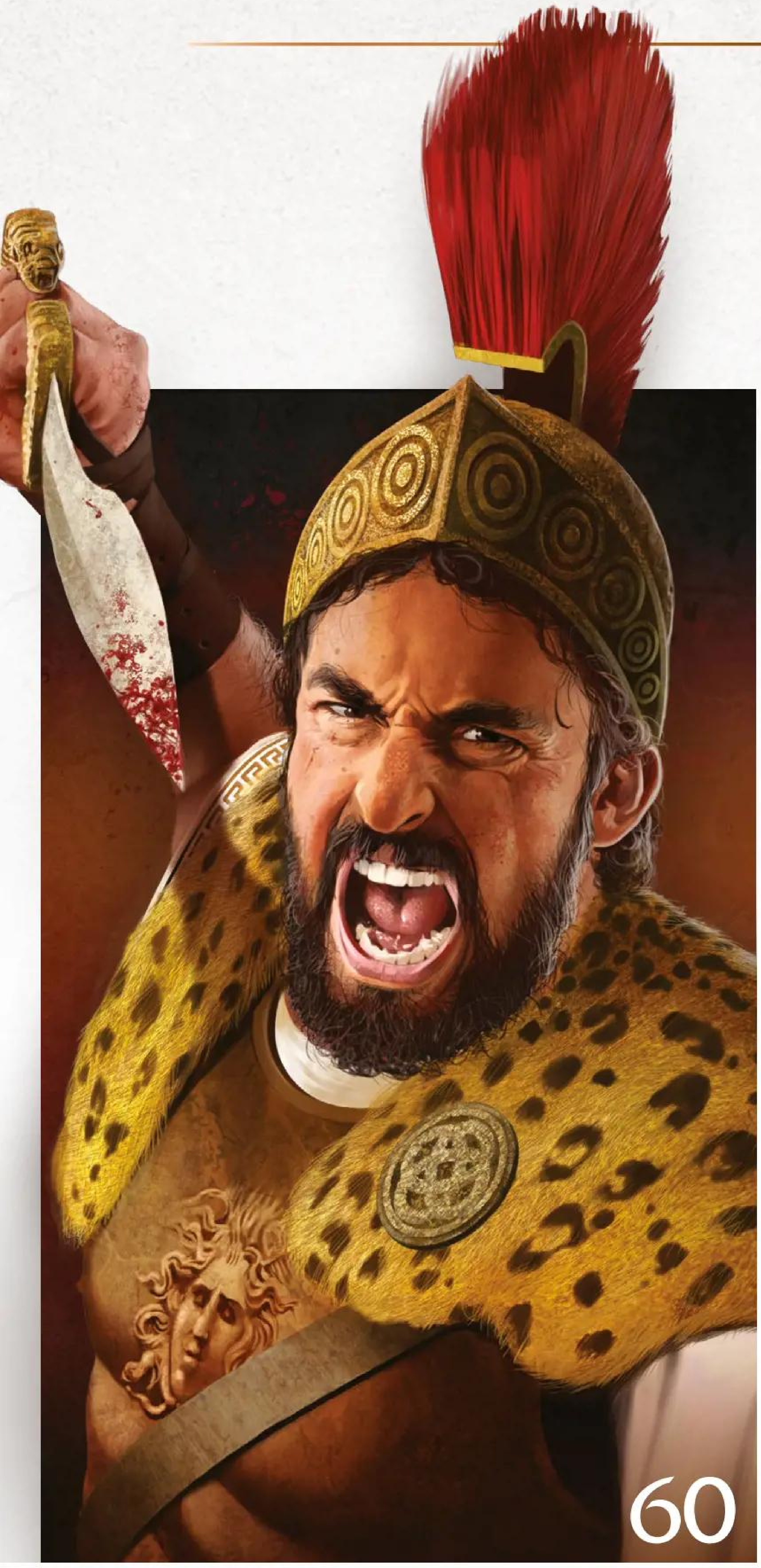

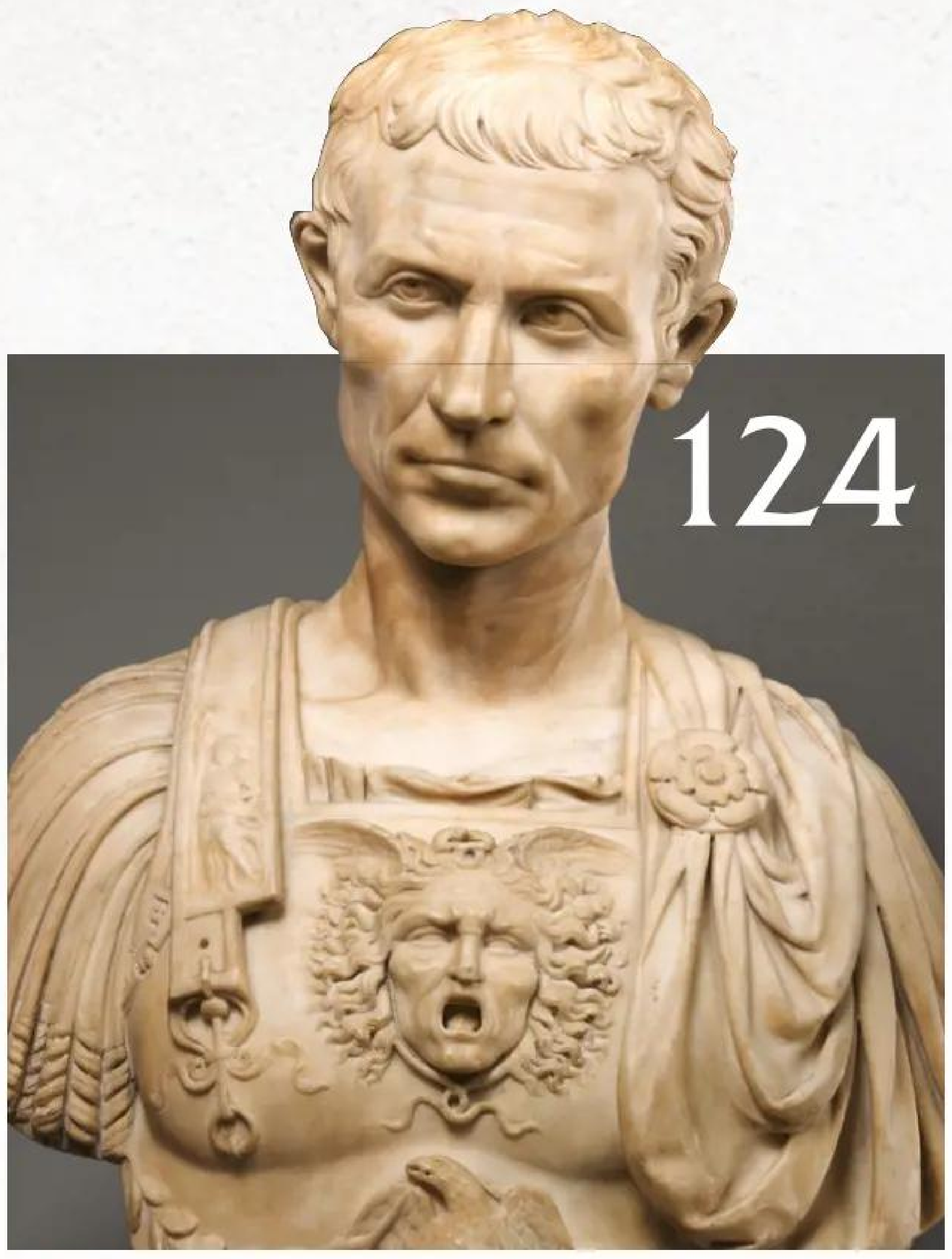

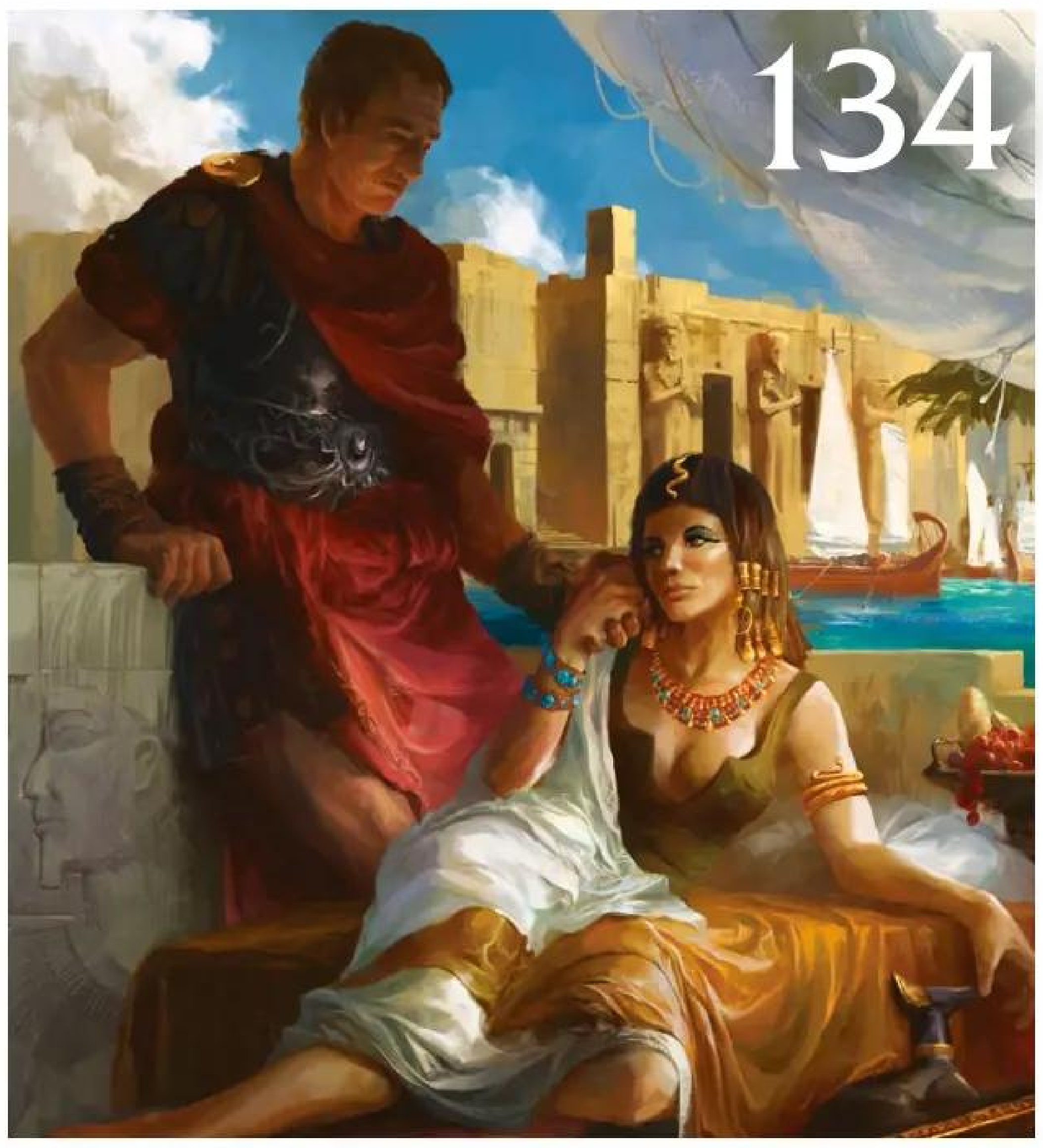

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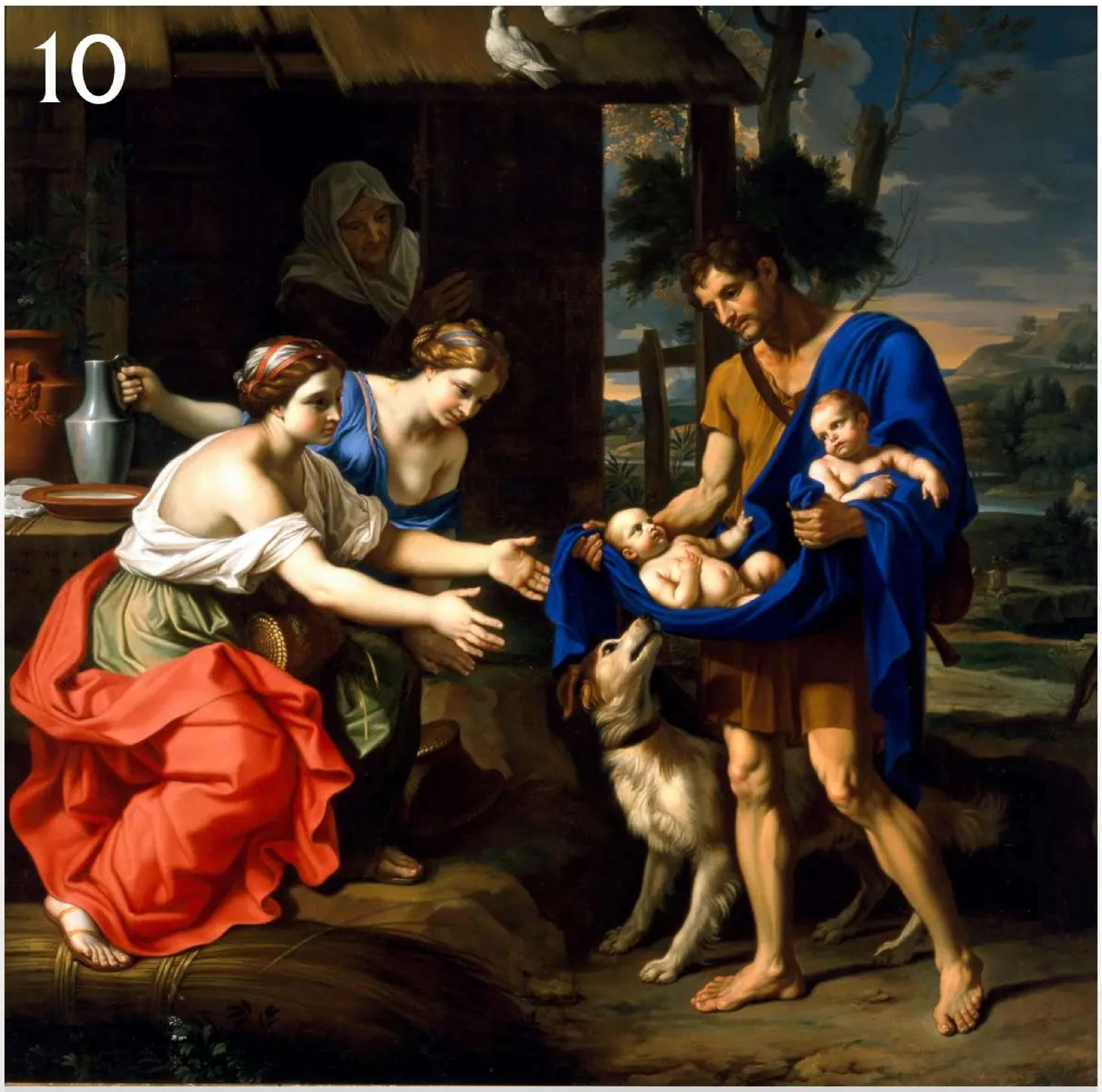
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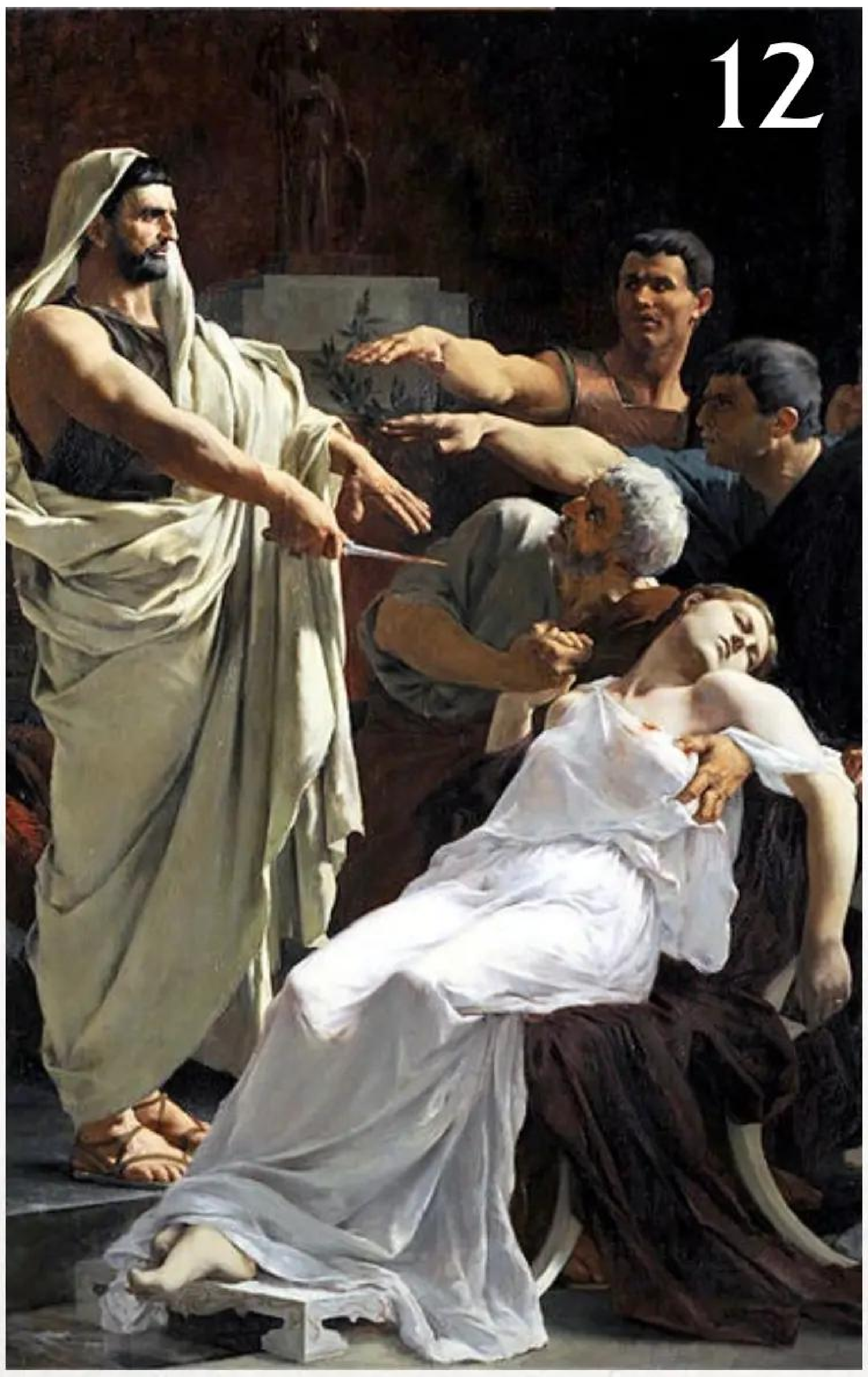
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THE FOUNDING OF ROME

THE MYTHICAL ORIGINS BEHIND ONE OF THE GREATEST CITIES IN THE WORLD

Written by Jessica Leggett

According to mythology, Rome was founded on 21 April 753 BCE by twin brothers Romulus and Remus. Their mother, Rhea Silvia, was the daughter of King Numitor of Alba Longa, who is thought to have been a descendant of Aeneas, the Trojan hero, son of Venus and around whom Virgil's epic poem, the *Aeneid*, was centred.

Numitor's throne was usurped by his younger brother, Amulius, who forced Rhea to become a Vestal Virgin to prevent her from giving birth to any heirs that could rival his claim to the throne. Although Rhea took the vow of celibacy, she was subsequently raped by Mars, the god of war, and she gave birth to the twin boys.

Angered, Amulius had Rhea imprisoned and he ordered that the boys should be drowned in the Tiber River. Instead, their basket drifted down the river and they washed up ashore underneath a fig tree. It was here that a she-wolf discovered the twins and suckled them, while it is said that a woodpecker found them food. The two animals were considered sacred to Mars.

Eventually, the boys were found and raised by a shepherd named Faustulus and his wife. Romulus and Remus grew up to become shepherds like their adoptive father. While out herding their sheep one day, they became embroiled in an argument between the supporters of Numitor and Amulius. Remus was captured and taken to Alba Longa, so Romulus headed to the city to free his brother. Shortly afterwards, the boys discovered their true identities and sought revenge against Amulius by killing him and restoring their grandfather, Numitor, to the throne.

The twins then returned to the place where they had been saved as babies and decided to found a new city there. An argument between the two brothers quickly ensued, possibly over the location of their new city, as it is said that Romulus wanted to build it on the Palatine Hill while Remus preferred the Aventine Hill, although they may have also been fighting over who would get to rule their new city. When Romulus started building the city wall, Remus jumped over it, mocking its size. Romulus killed him and named the new city Rome.

To populate his new city, Romulus offered asylum to fugitives and exiles. Realising that he also needed women to join them, he invited his neighbours, the Sabines, to a festival. He then seized the opportunity to abduct their young women, which triggered a war between the two groups. In the end, a peace treaty was arranged that united the two groups under one nation, establishing joint rule under both Romulus and Titus Tatius, the Sabine king. When Tatius was murdered just five years later, Romulus was left as the sole ruler.

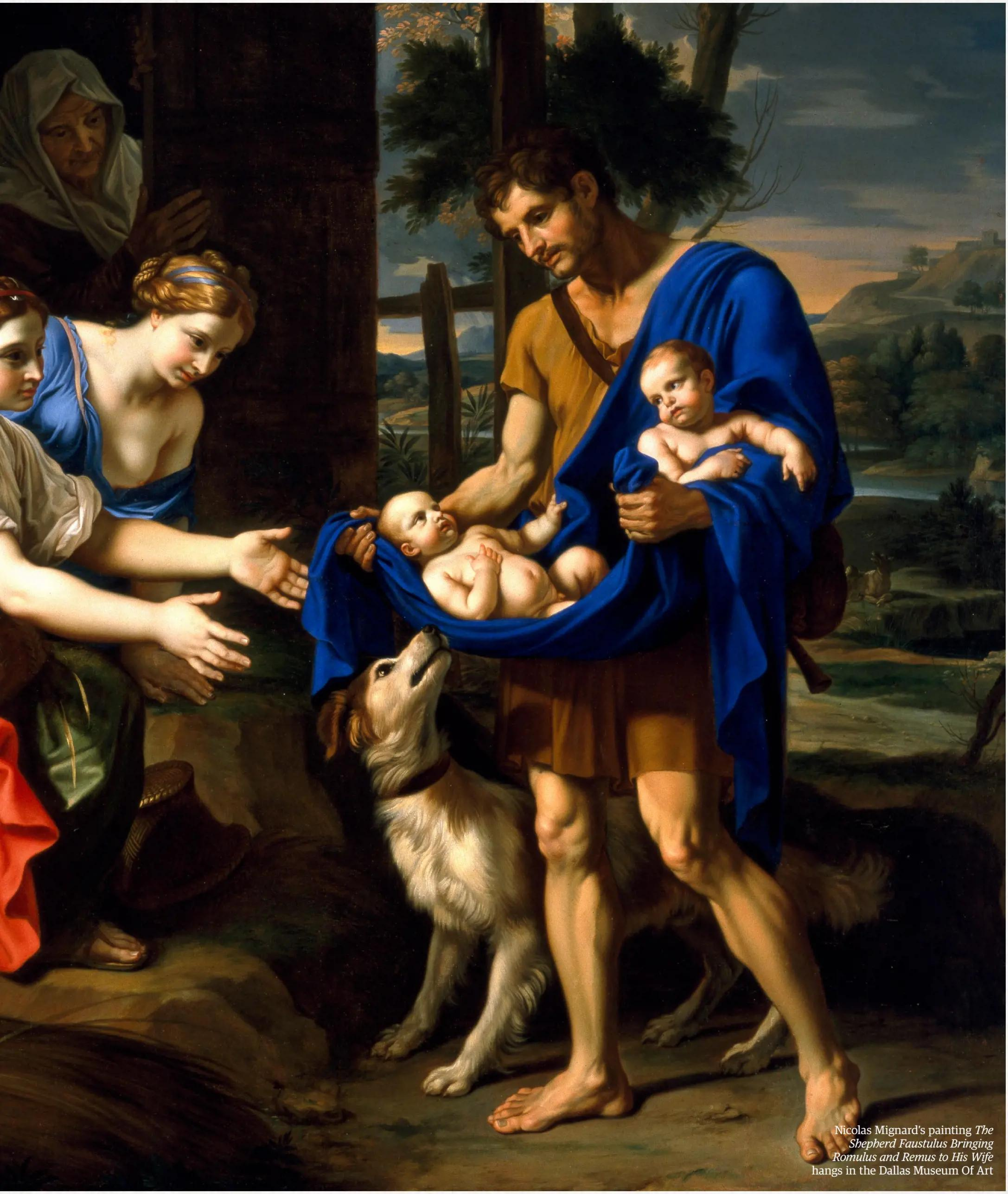
After ruling for 37 years, Romulus vanished during a violent thunderstorm. The mysterious circumstances surrounding his disappearance led to speculation that he had been murdered by his senior advisors, who then hid his body. This caused outrage among the Roman people and tensions in the city began to rise. To deal with these rumours, it was announced that Romulus had been taken to heaven by Mars, which led many to believe that their king had become a god himself. As a result, Romulus was worshipped by many as a deity, assuming the name of Quirinus.

This myth about the founding of Rome first appeared in the 4th century BCE, four centuries after it supposedly took place, and the exact date that is generally used today was first decided on by Titus Pomponius Atticus, a wealthy Roman banker, and later adopted by the great scholar Marcus Terentius Varro. The story was famously recounted in *The History Of Rome* by Titus Livius, the Roman historian who is more commonly known as 'Livy'.

Rome was ultimately built to the east of the Tiber River on seven hills, including the Palatine and the Aventine, with the site known today as 'The Seven Hills Of Rome'. In recent years, archaeologists have uncovered evidence of a wall that was constructed sometime between the 9th and the 8th century BCE – before the official date given for the founding of Rome – and there is evidence suggesting that inhabitants were living on the Palatine Hill back in the 10th century BCE.

However much of it is true, the story of Romulus and Remus certainly impacted the development of Roman identity and attitudes – for example, the she-wolf was adopted as the symbol of nationality when the Republic was established in c.509 BCE. We may never know the true origins of Rome, but they will undoubtedly continue to fascinate us for centuries to come.

"A she-wolf discovered the twins and suckled them, while a woodpecker found them food"



Nicolas Mignard's painting *The Shepherd Faustulus Bringing Romulus and Remus to His Wife* hangs in the Dallas Museum Of Art

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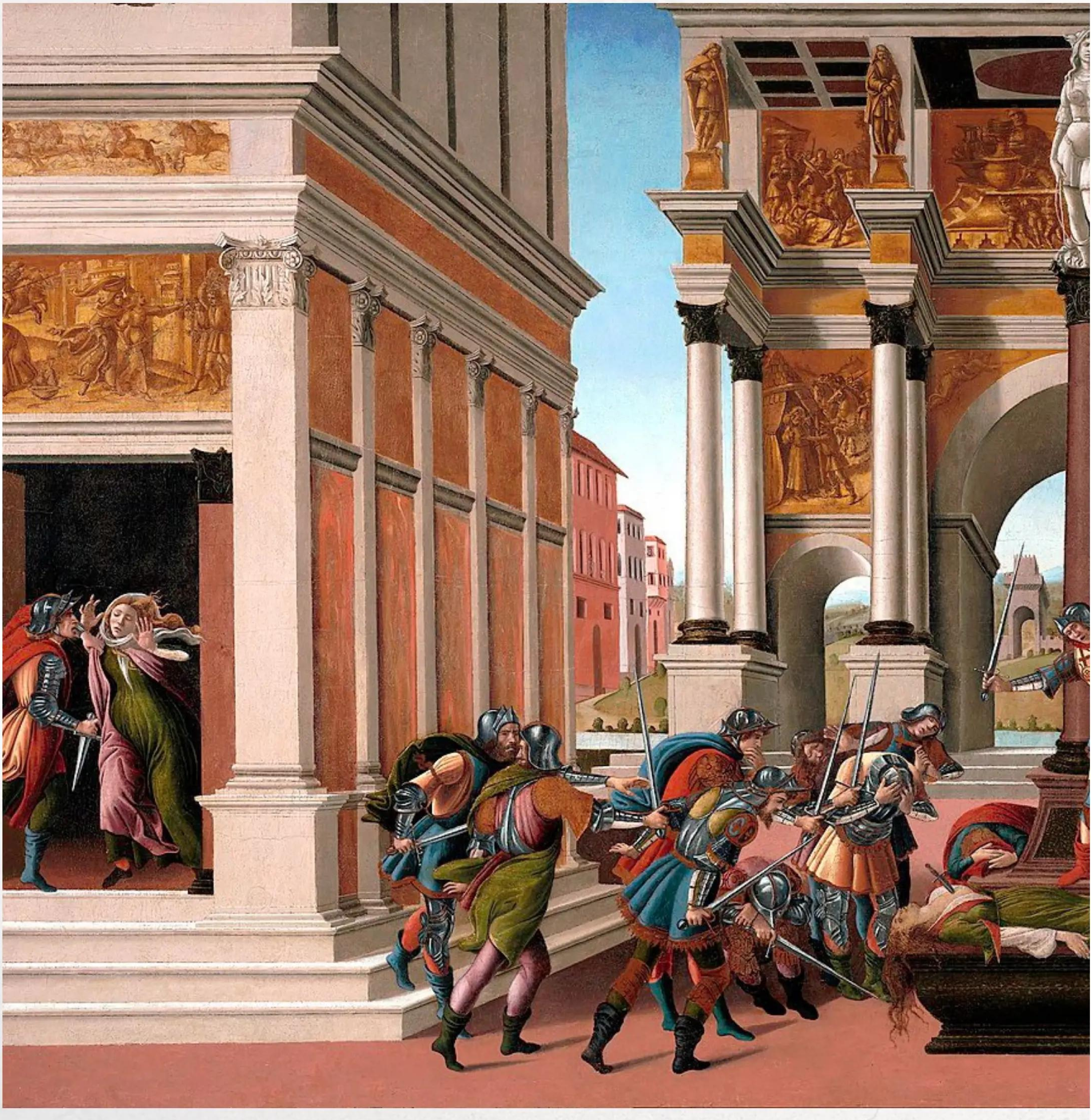
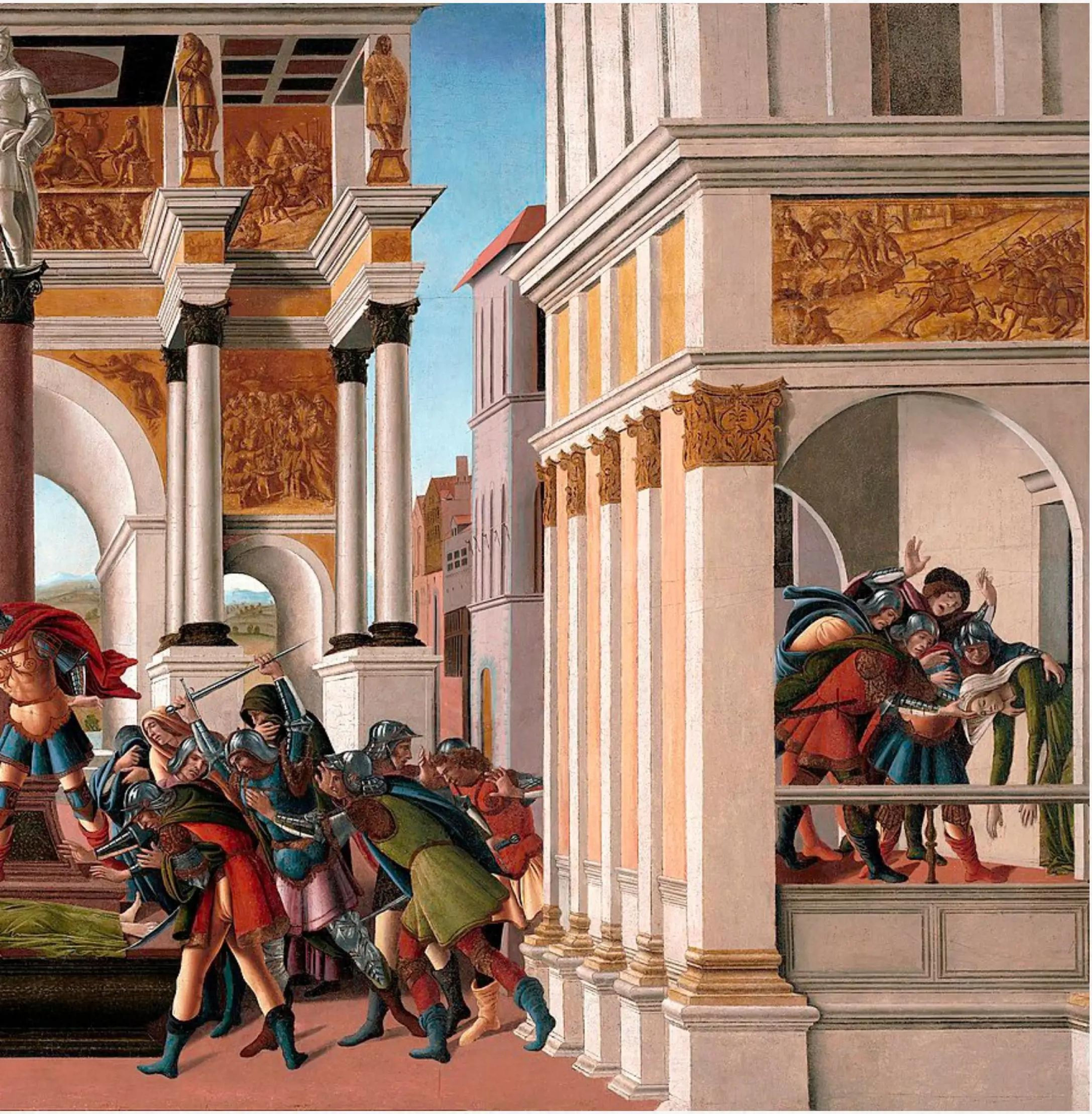
THE LAST KING

THE OUTRAGES OF THE ROYAL TARQUINS SPARKED A REVOLT THAT LED



OF ROME

TO THE FALL OF THE MONARCHY AND THE BIRTH OF A REPUBLIC



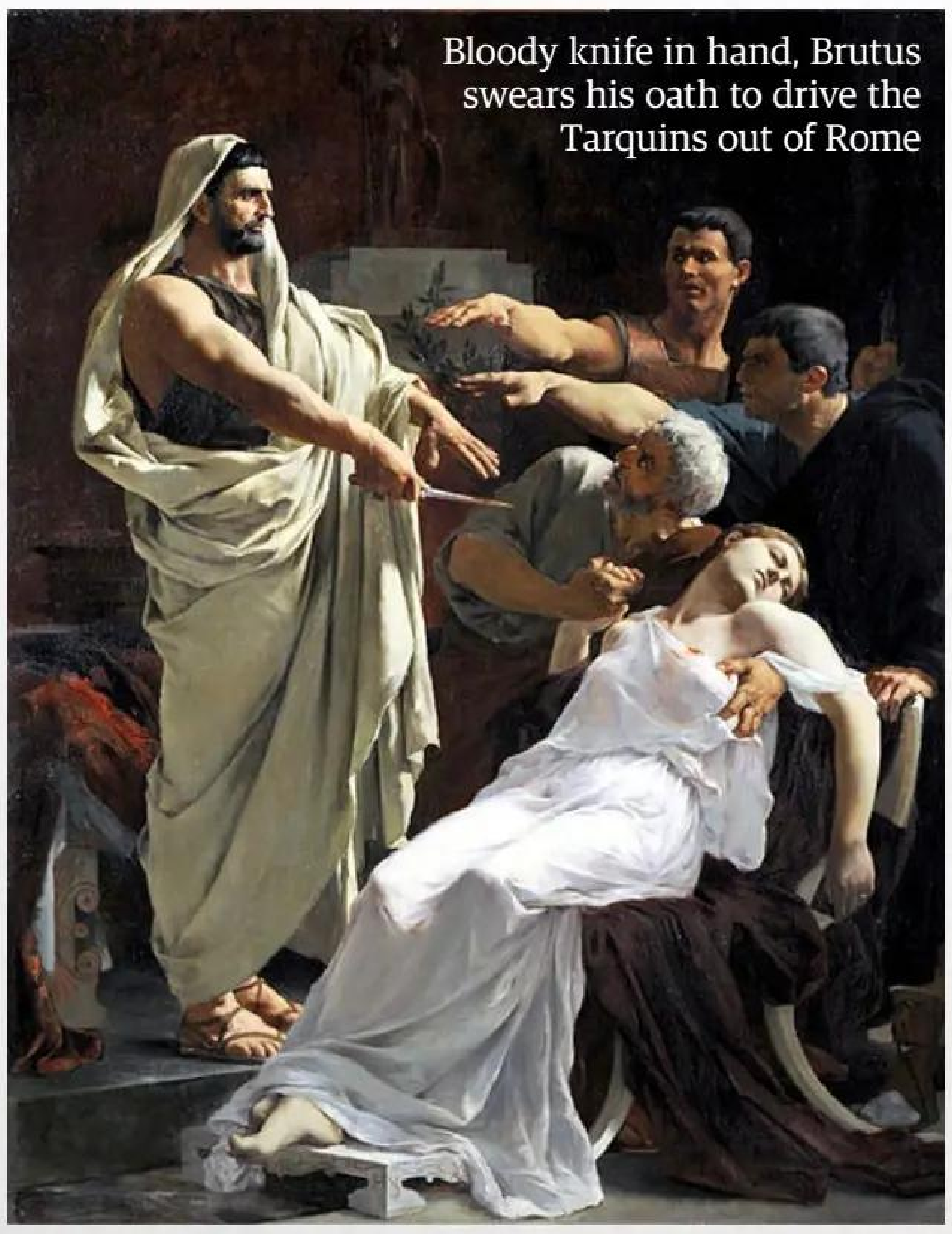
Written by Marc DeSantis

THE FALL OF LUCIUS TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS

The Roman monarchy, an institution founded in 753 BCE by Romulus, the first king of Rome, would last until the end of the 6th century BCE, well over two centuries later. Its dissolution came about as a result of a terrible crime committed by Sextus Tarquinius, the son of what would prove to be Rome's final king, Lucius Tarquinius Superbus. The king's surname was a fitting appellation – Superbus means 'the Arrogant' or 'the Proud'.

Superbus, a man of Etruscan origin, had become the seventh king of Rome in 534 BCE by killing the previous occupant of the throne, Servius Tullius. That Superbus' own wife Tullia was the daughter of Tullius did not prevent his coup. He then eliminated the senators who had supported the old king. The rest of the Senate was largely sidelined and ignored by Superbus, even though it had long been an esteemed advisory body to the monarchy. His opponents were either fined, exiled or executed on spurious charges in cases decided by the king himself. Taking advantage of his position, he exploited the people, building a magnificent temple to Jupiter, the king of the gods, using public money and forced labour. Hostility to his tyranny spread.

In 509 BCE the Romans were at war with the nearby city of Ardea. Unable to take Ardea in a swift strike, they had settled in for a siege. With little to do while they waited out the trapped Ardeans, the king's sons and their companions passed much of their free time feasting and roistering in camp. On one such occasion Sextus hosted Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus. The men got to talking, while drinking heavily, about which one of them had the best wife. With much alcohol having been imbibed, the exchange grew fierce. Collatinus suggested that they settle the matter by leaving the siege to pay a surprise visit to each man's wife and see with their own eyes which one was the best.


Bloody knife in hand, Brutus swears his oath to drive the Tarquins out of Rome

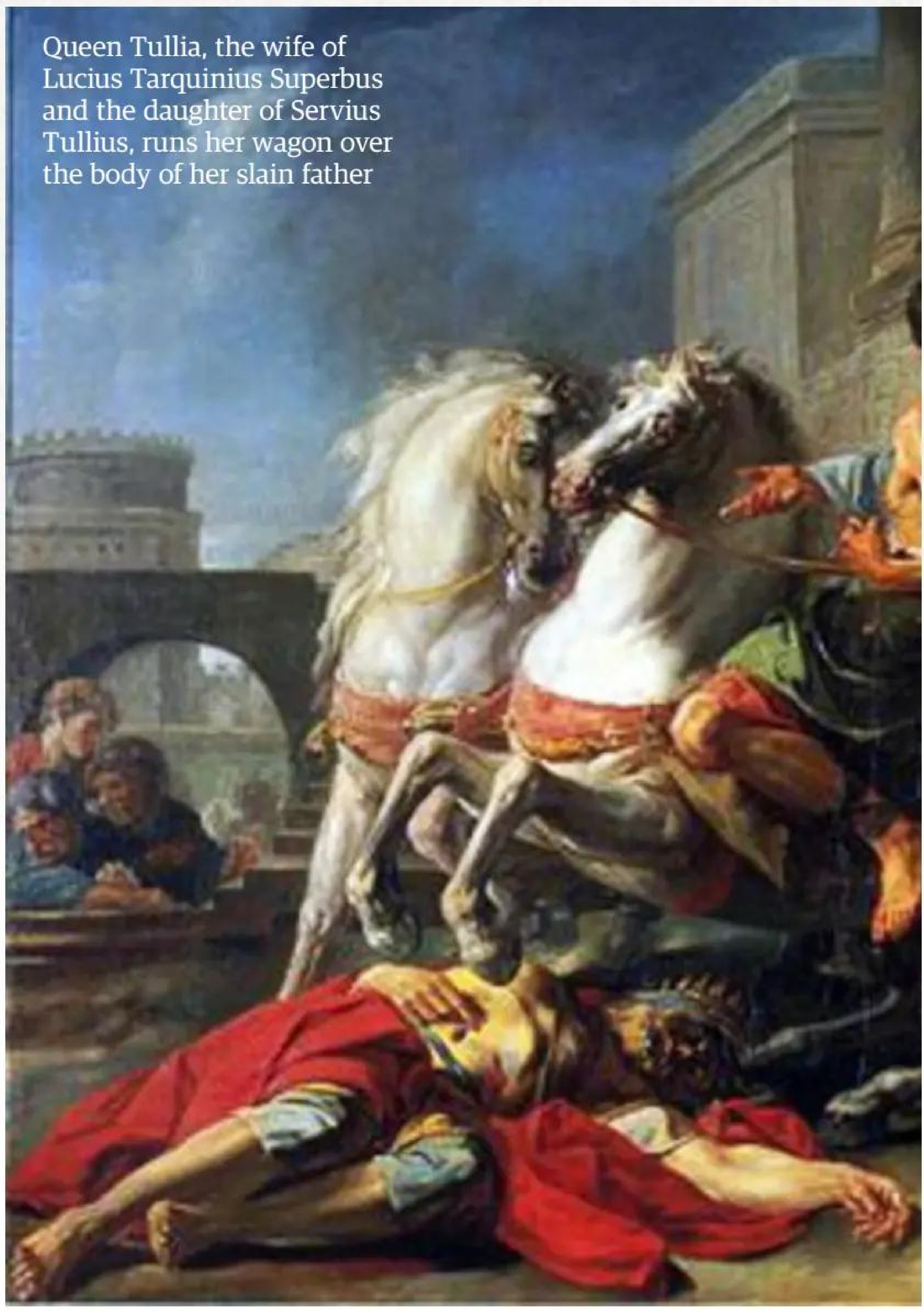
That night they found the wives of the princes were having a very good time, feasting with their companions. Going next to the town of Collatia, they found Collatinus' wife, Lucretia, at home in front of her spinning wheel, working quietly with her maids.
Lucretia thereby proved that she was the most virtuous and dutiful of all the women. Unfortunately, Sextus Tarquinius had now seen the beautiful Lucretia and was overcome with lust for her.

The men returned to the siege camp at Ardea, but Sextus and a companion went in secret back to Collatia a few days later. He was admitted to the Collatinus house as a friend by the unsuspecting Lucretia so that he could spend the night indoors. Later, when the whole of the household was asleep, Sextus crept up to the slumbering Lucretia, sword drawn, and woke her. He threatened her, but she would not agree to have sex with him.

Sextus next threatened to kill her and a male slave too. He said he would put the naked body of the dead slave next to her own corpse, to make it look as if she had been caught in bed with him and killed while committing adultery. This last threat, a threat to her honour, overcame Lucretia's determination, and she submitted to Sextus.

Later, after Sextus had left her, and aghast at what had happened, she sent messages to her father, Spurius Lucretius, in Rome, and to her husband Collatinus, who was still at the siege of Ardea. Both men were told to come to Collatia and that each should bring a trustworthy friend with him.

They arrived at Collatinus and Lucretia's home in Collatia, with Spurius Lucretius bringing Publius Valerius Publicola and Collatinus coming with Lucius Junius Brutus. Finding Lucretia utterly distraught in her bedchamber, she told them all that had occurred between her and Sextus. To prove her innocence, she pledged there and then to take her own life. First, however, she made the four all swear to punish Sextus Tarquinius. The men tried to persuade her that she was not at fault for Sextus' crime, but she took out a knife that she had kept hidden within her clothing and plunged it deep into her chest.

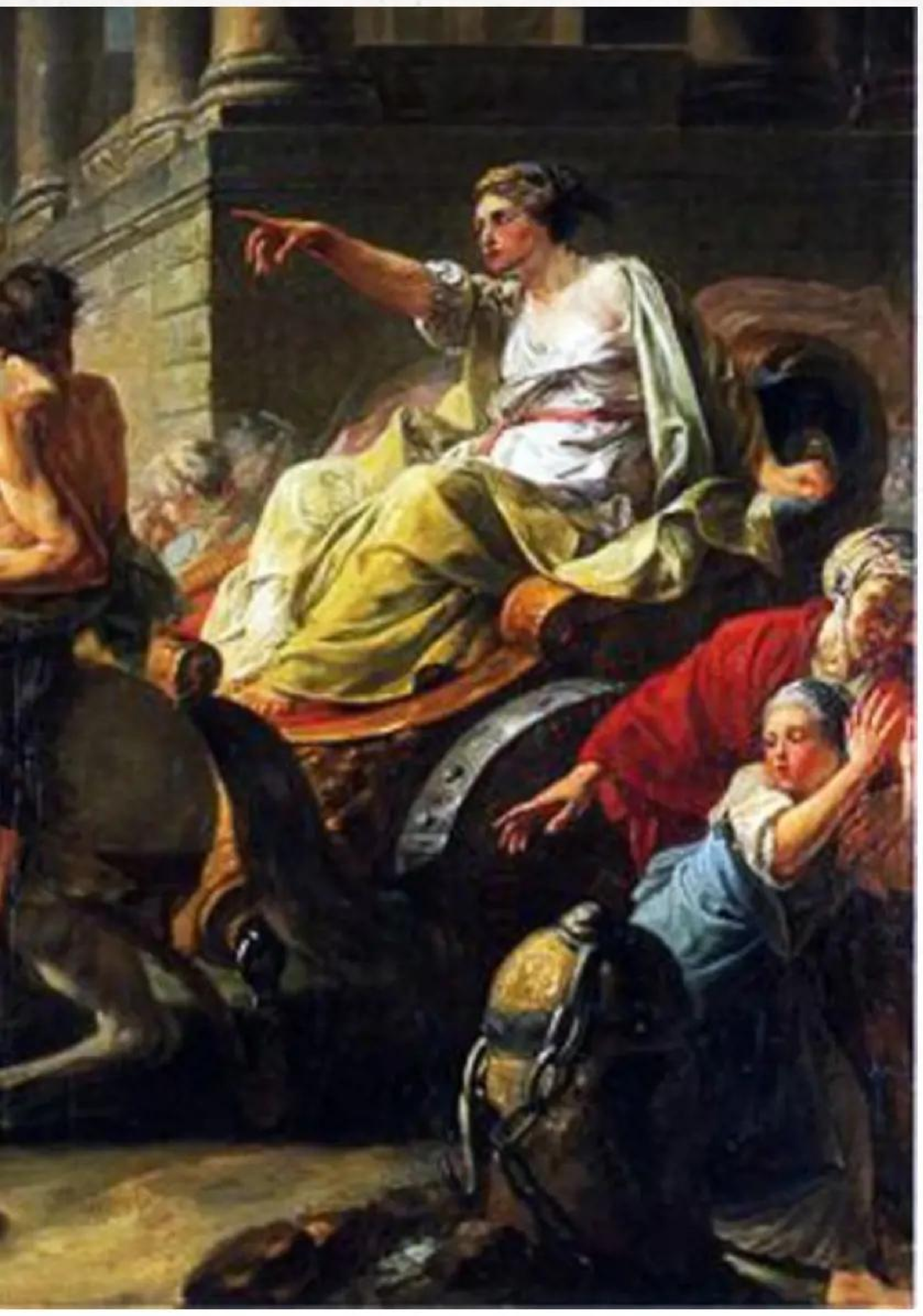

Queen Tullia, the wife of Lucius Tarquinius Superbus and the daughter of Servius Tullius, runs her wagon over the body of her slain father

> "Lucretia's body was laid in the forum so that all could see what Sextus had done to the innocent woman"

Drawing out the blood-drenched knife from Lucretia's body, Brutus, the king's own nephew, swore that he would drive King Lucius Tarquinius Superbus (Sextus' father) from Rome, along with the rest of the Tarquin family. Giving the weapon to the others, each man in turn swore the same oath.

Lucretia's body was laid in the forum of Collatia so that all could see what Sextus had done to the innocent woman. More men joined the cause against the Tarquins because of the vile crime. They left Collatia together and marched to Rome. The people of Rome were shocked at the rape and death of Lucretia. Going before the people in Rome's forum, Brutus spoke against the king, reminding his listeners of his murder of the previous king, Servius Tullius; of how Superbus's wife, Tullia, despite being Tullius' own daughter, had ridden her wagon over her father's body; of their own forced labour in Rome's sewers; and of the rape of Lucretia. The enraged crowd decided to revoke Superbus' royal power and demanded that he, his wife and children go into exile.

The bulk of Rome's power lay in its army, and much of that was besieging Ardea. The



soldiers would be needed to enforce the expulsion and defend Rome against the Tarquins, and so Brutus went to Ardea to turn it against Superbus. Queen Tullia, meanwhile, abandoned her home to the accompaniment of curses hurled at her by incensed Romans.

Word of the events at Rome reached Superbus at Ardea and he sped back to the city to suppress the revolt, but Rome's gates were closed to him. Simultaneously, Brutus reached Ardea, where he was given a hero's welcome by the soldiers. Superbus' sons were thrown out of the siege camp, with two, Titus and Arruns, going into exile in the Etruscan city of Caere, while Sextus Tarquinius went instead to Gabii. His stay there was short and unhappy. He was soon slain by inhabitants who wanted their revenge for his abuses of the town's citizenry while his father had reigned at Rome.

THE BIRTH OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

Back in Rome, a Republic was declared, and two consuls - officials whose combined, equal authority would replace that of the expelled king - were elected. Lucius Junius Brutus would serve that first year of their annual appointment with his colleague, Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus.

Brutus did all that he could to ensure that the time of the kings would never return. He made the Romans swear that they would never again tolerate a king ruling over them. He also

THE ROMAN HOPLITE ARMY

The Roman army of the time of the kings fought in a phalanx formation

Though the Romans are famed for their legionary army of swordsmen, the military in the late regal period and early years of the Republic was actually composed primarily of spear-armed hoplites, as was the case in the armies of contemporary Greek states of the 6th century BCE. Livy assures us that the soldiers of Rome fought in a phalanx. In Greek practice, the phalanx was a formation of hoplite warriors armed with spears and shields arrayed several lines deep.

Livy also tells us that it was Rome's penultimate king, Servius Tullius, who instituted the system of military recruitment based upon wealth. Then, as now, military equipment tended to be rather expensive, so he conducted a census of the Roman people to discover who could afford what for service in the army. After the census was completed, the Romans were divided into five classes, from the First Class, the wealthiest, to the Fifth Class, the poorest.

The First Class men were expected to appear for army service with the most complete panoply. This included a round bronze shield, a bronze helmet, a pair of bronze greaves, and a bronze breastplate. Their weaponry consisted of a long spear and a sword.

The men of the Second Class were to provide themselves with an oblong shield (instead of a round one), a bronze helmet and greaves, a long spear, and a sword. Breastplates were not required of them.

The Third Class men were to serve with the same gear as those of the Second, but their equipment list omitted the greaves. The Fourth Class men showed up for service only with one long spear and a javelin. The Fifth Class men, with minimal resources, were to fight as light skirmish troops and were armed only with slings and ammunition.

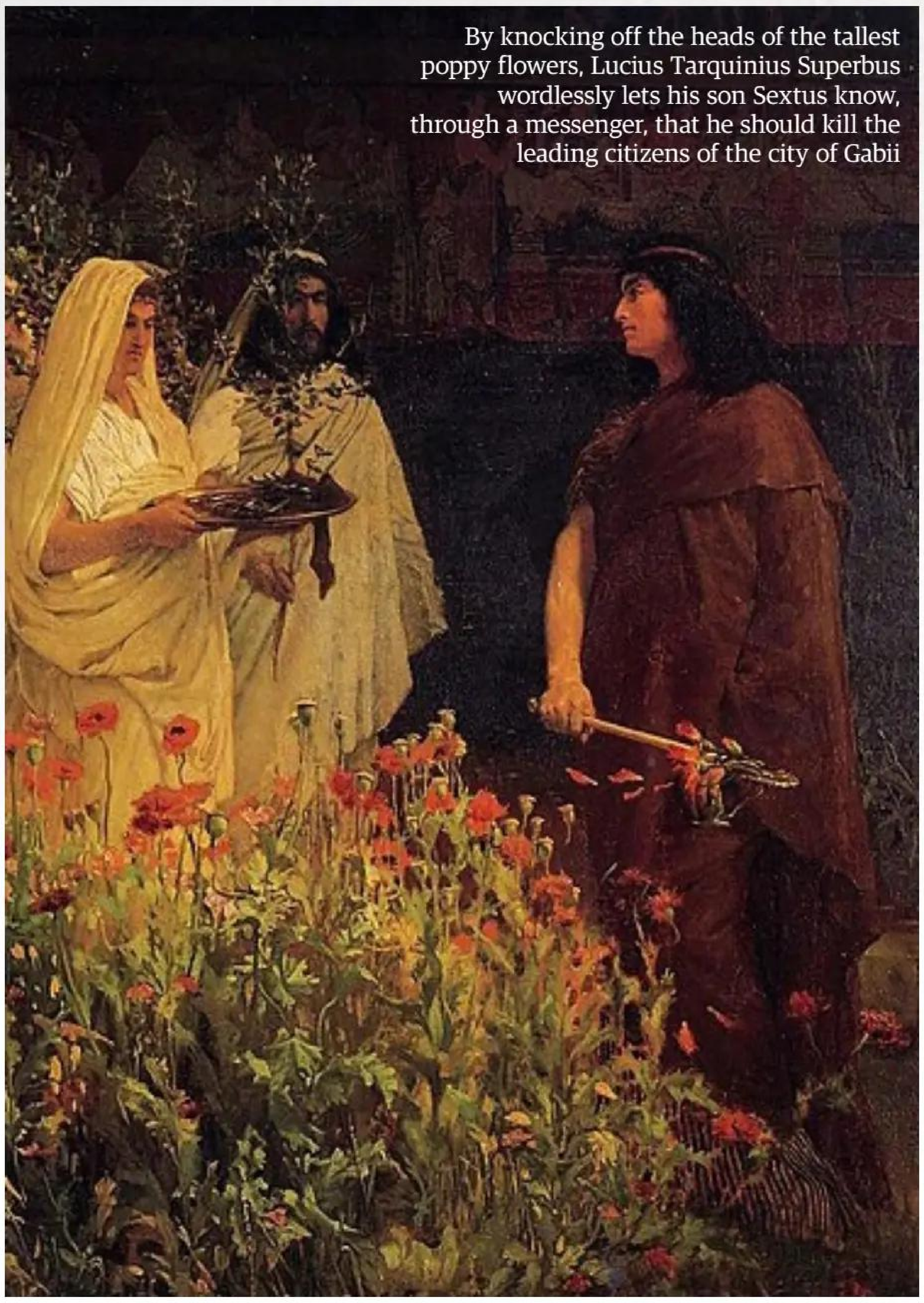
From the foregoing, it would seem that only the First Class men were armed and armoured as 'true' hoplites as history has come to understand the term. Our notions of how an ancient hoplite phalanx fought are largely derived from the Greek histories of the wars with the Persians (490-479 BCE), the Peloponnesian War of 431-404 BCE, and later conflicts. Further, in the Greek world of the Classical era, missile-hurling soldiers had no place inside the phalanx proper.

So how might a Roman hoplite army have fought? Sadly, our information on this matter is not solid. It is possible that only the First Class men fought in the phalanx battleline. It may also have been the case that the Second, Third and Fourth Class men fought on the flanks of the First Class men while the Fifth Class men fought as skirmishers.

Another possibility is that the Roman phalanx of the late Regal Period/Early Republic displayed certain 'old-fashioned' characteristics that became outmoded among the Greeks of later centuries, whose practices are better-known to us. The Roman phalanx may have done battle in a manner more in keeping with that of the archaic Greek phalanx that prevailed prior to the great wars of the Classical Hellenic world in the 5th century BCE, with the archaic Greek battle array being a formation in which missile-throwing troops still had a place in the battleline, fighting beside the heavier hoplites.

In such a case, Rome's Fifth Class slingers, and its Fourth Class men too, who bore a long spear and also a javelin, may have stood with their better-equipped comrades in the battleline. It also stands to reason that, if these aforementioned lighter missile-casting troops could have occupied places in the line, then the heavier Second and Third Class men, whose gear approximated - if did not altogether equal - that of fully equipped hoplites, may also have fought in the phalanx, together with the First Class men.

Greek hoplites depicted in battle on an amphora dating to the 6th century BCE



By knocking off the heads of the tallest poppy flowers, Lucius Tarquinius Superbus wordlessly lets his son Sextus know, through a messenger, that he should kill the leading citizens of the city of Gabii

restored the Senate to its old membership of 300 men, a number from which it had fallen under Superbus.

Ironically, some Romans objected to the continued presence of the consul Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus because he too was a Tarquin (a nephew of the fifth king). Brutus advised Collatinus to leave Rome with the assurance that all of his current property would remain his. Collatinus was bewildered by this development, and rightfully so since it was unjust. He had played a leading role in overthrowing the Tarquins, and Brutus, as the king's nephew, was even closer to the royal line. He was blameless in all that had happened. Why must he leave?

Nonetheless, sensing the mood of the people, and listening also to the pleas of his father-in-law, Spurius Lucretius, Collatinus resigned the consulship and left Rome for the city of Lavinia. He was replaced as consul by Publius Valerius Publicola, who had been one of the four men (along with Collatinus, Brutus and Spurius) who'd begun the revolt against King Tarquinius Superbus.

COUNTER REVOLUTION

Though the Tarquins were gone, there were still supporters of the old regime left within Rome's walls. The city would suffer an abortive insurrection by disaffected young nobles. Having lived a dissolute life in the company of the last king's sons, they favoured a return of the monarchy, an institution of governance that they believed would be more congenial to them than that of the dour, law-beholden Republic. Conspiring with envoys from the Tarquins who had come to Rome for the ostensible purpose of retrieving royal property, they were found out when a slave who'd heard them plotting came forward to reveal their secret.

Caught with an incriminating letter passing between them and the Tarquins' envoys, the men were sentenced to death and beheaded by the lictors, axe-wielding officials tasked by the Republic with the enforcement of the deadly pronouncements of the consuls. These executions were made all the more startling by the presence of two of Brutus' own sons among the condemned men. They suffered the same fate as the other conspirators while their father, struggling to maintain his composure, watched the lictors perform their stern duty.

THE TARQUINS STRIKE BACK

Lucius Tarquinius Superbus was infuriated by the unravelling of his scheme. He next rallied military support against the newborn Republic from the Etruscan cities of Veii and Tarquinii. Marching against Rome, their forces were met at Silvia Arsia by a Roman army under the command of the consuls Brutus and Publius Valerius Publicola.

Brutus engaged Superbus' son, Arruns Tarquinius, in single combat. Both men perished in the encounter but the Romans had the victory in the battle, and Publicola, who survived the engagement, held a magnificent funeral for Brutus, Rome's fallen liberator.

Reeling from the defeat, in 508 BCE Superbus went to the Etruscan city of Clusium, where he enlisted the support of his fellow Etruscan monarch, King Lars Porsena. Going against Rome, the Clusian army seized the Janiculum Hill and might even have carried the city in one fell swoop but for the courage of the Roman soldier Horatius Cocles. With just two companions, Horatius held the Sublician Bridge over the Tiber River against the oncoming Etruscans until it could be pulled down.

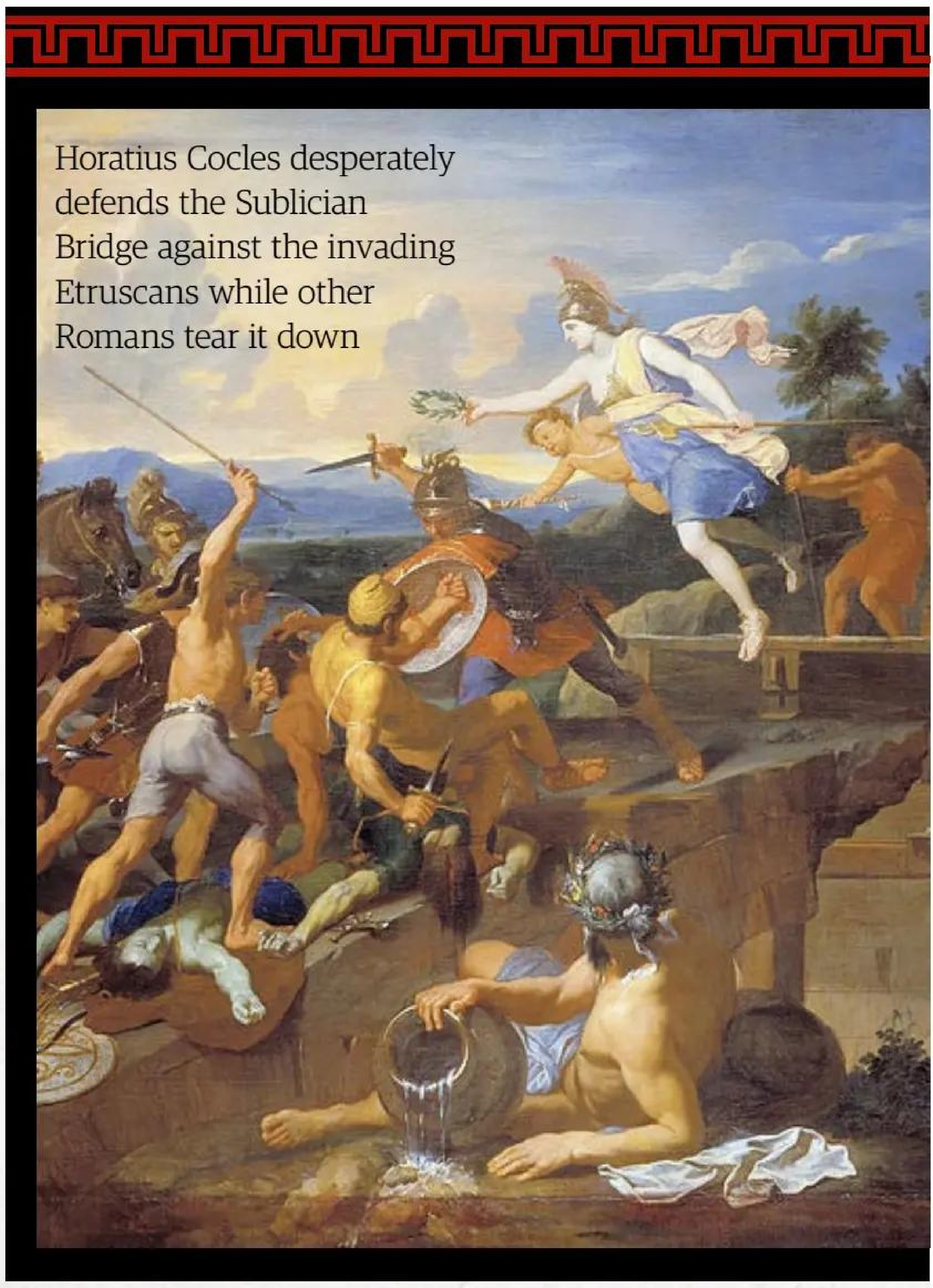
Unable to take Rome by direct assault, Porsena laid siege. He was impressed by the bravery and patriotism of the Romans. One young Roman, Gaius Mucius Scaevola, tried to assassinate Porsena, failing only because he mistook the wrong man for the Etruscan king. When questioned by Porsena, Scaevola's hand was forced into a fire, but he didn't cry out. He promised the king that there were 300 other young Romans who were prepared to try to assassinate him.

Porsena was taken aback, both by Scaevola's steely determination and the unwelcome notion that he would have to endure so many attempts on his life. Seeking a better resolution than unending strife, he soon made peace in exchange for the Romans giving him hostages.

THE BATTLE OF LAKE REGILLUS

Though Porsena had failed to restore the Tarquins, they did not give up on their dream of reinstatement in Rome. In 496 BCE, the Romans were at war with the Latin League. Though the Romans were Latins themselves, they and the other Latins were sometimes at odds, and as part of the First Latin War (c. 498-493 BCE), their armies met in battle at Lake Regillus.

With the Latins came Lucius Tarquinius Superbus. In a bid to regain his throne, the



Horatius Cocles desperately defends the Sublician Bridge against the invading Etruscans while other Romans tear it down

> “In a bid to regain his throne, the deposed king again made war on his former subjects”

deposed king again made war on his former subjects alongside the Latin League army. The Romans were aware of his presence, and their detestation of him spurred them to enter battle immediately to get to grips with their opponents.

The battle was notable for being especially hard-fought. The generals of both armies took direct part in the combat, instead of hanging back to direct their troops more easily. Superbus is said to have spurred his horse forward to charge at Aulus Postumius Albus, the Roman dictator (the dictatorship was an office in which a single Roman official was temporarily granted vast, practically unchecked power to preserve the state in a time of military emergency), who was himself busy forming up his own troops for battle. Thundering over the field, Superbus was struck in his side by a Roman missile, but the Latins were able to pull him to safety.

Elsewhere on the battlefield, the Latin general Octavius Mamilius, Superbus’ son-in-law, and Titus Aebutius Helva, Rome’s Master of Horse (the Roman officer in charge of cavalry while Rome was commanded by a dictator), charged at one another like knights at a tournament. Mamilius’ lance tore straight through Aebutius’s arm, but Aebutius’ own lance sank into Mamilius’ chest.

Both men were pulled from the fight by their comrades. Aebutius had been so badly wounded that he had to leave the field entirely. Mamilius, however, despite his chest wound, remained, exhorting the Latins on. When the Latins drew back from contact with the Romans, Mamilius sent in a unit of Roman exiles under the command of Superbus’ last living son, Titus Tarquinius. Thundering into the fray, they managed to gain the upper hand, and the Romans on this part of the field were pushed back.

Marcus Valerius Volusus, the brother of Publius Valerius Publicola (the man who had replaced Collatinus as consul alongside Brutus) saw Titus Tarquinius prancing on horseback in front of the Roman exiles and he rashly charged ahead. Titus Tarquinius evaded the attack by simply retreating into the midst of friendly troops. Volusus drove his horse onward but was quickly brought down, impaled by a Latin spear.

With Volusus dead, the Roman exiles attacked and drove the Romans backward. Postumius, seeing them breaking, sent in his own elite cohort of troops to prevent them from running away. Sandwiched now between the enemy and the dictator’s men, the Romans turned and resumed fighting. Postumius’ crack soldiers also joined the battle with them - they had, until then, been in reserve - and, being fresh, they battered the by-now weary exiles.

Mamilius gathered several maniples (small units of soldiers) to go to the rescue of the embattled exiles. He was identified by a Roman officer, Titus Herminius Aquilinus (notably one of the two courageous warriors who’d stood with Horatius Cocles on the Sublician Bridge back in 508 BCE), because of his ornate armour. Herminius charged Mamilius and drove his spear into the enemy general, killing him. Herminius was himself injured by a spear thrust as he attempted to strip Mamilius’ corpse of its arms and armour. Mortally wounded, Herminius was brought back to the Roman camp where he died shortly thereafter as his wounds were being dressed.

To bolster his army, Postumius had his cavalrymen dismount and take places in the main battle line beside the Roman infantrymen. Thus reinforced, the Romans renewed their attack, drove the Latins from the field and captured their camp.

The defeat at Lake Regillus was Superbus’ last attempt to retake his throne. He would die soon after, in 495 BCE, in the Italian-Greek city of Cumae, where he had found refuge after the battle. The time of the kings of Rome had finally come to a bloody end. The time of the Republic had only just begun.

HORATIUS HOLDS THE BRIDGE

The venerated Roman hero Horatius Cocles prevented the Etruscans from crossing the Tiber and storming Rome

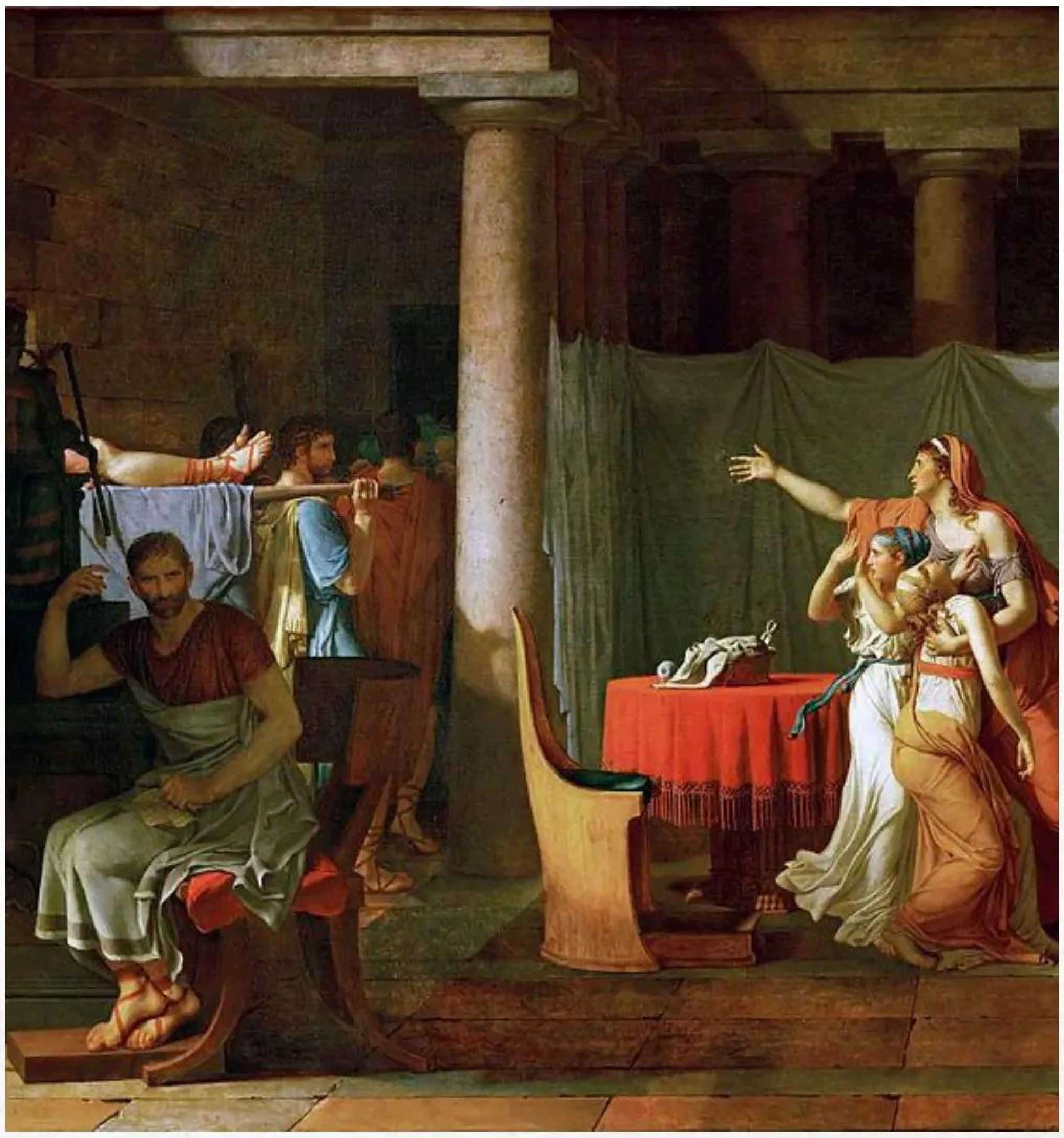
Following the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus, Lars Porsena, the Etruscan king of Clusium with whom Superbus had sought refuge, moved to restore his fellow Etruscan to the Roman throne. In 508 BCE he marched on Rome with his army, occupied the Janiculum Hill, and in a bid to carry the city with a quick assault, sent his troops across the single bridge (the Sublician Bridge) over the Tiber.

The Roman soldiers on guard at the wooden pile bridge would have all taken to their heels but for the resolute courage of one man: Horatius Cocles. Horatius turned soldier after soldier around, warning them that if they did not return to their posts and hold the bridge the enemy would soon be inside Rome itself. He told the other men to demolish the bridge and while they did he would hold off the Clusians on his own.

Walking onto the bridge, the stalwart Horatius faced off against the advancing enemy with just two companions, Spurius Larcius and Titus Herminius Aquilinus, by his side, while the rest of the soldiers busied themselves with dismantling the bridge. The trio withstood the Etruscan onslaught until only the last portion of the bridge remained to be taken down.

Horatius told his comrades to retreat. Alone now on the bridge, he glared at the Etruscans and challenged them to do battle with him. They came at Horatius, throwing spears that embedded themselves in his shield. Horatius would not budge. He held off his attackers until the final portion of the bridge was brought crashing down, severing the route over the river.

His task finished, Horatius uttered a prayer to ‘Father Tiber’ and plunged into the water below. Though still clad in his heavy armour, he managed to swim to safety despite the heavy burden. This was a feat, Livy slyly notes, that later Romans would see as more commendable than it was believable. For this brave deed, his fellow Romans honoured Horatius with a statue erected in the Comitium and a generous grant of land.



The bodies of Brutus’ sons, executed on his own order following their attempt to overthrow the Republic, are brought to him

THE TWELVE TABLES

IN THE ROMAN REPUBLIC LAWS WERE DISPLAYED ON 12 BRONZE TABLETS

Written by Katharine Marsh

The Roman Forum as it appears today

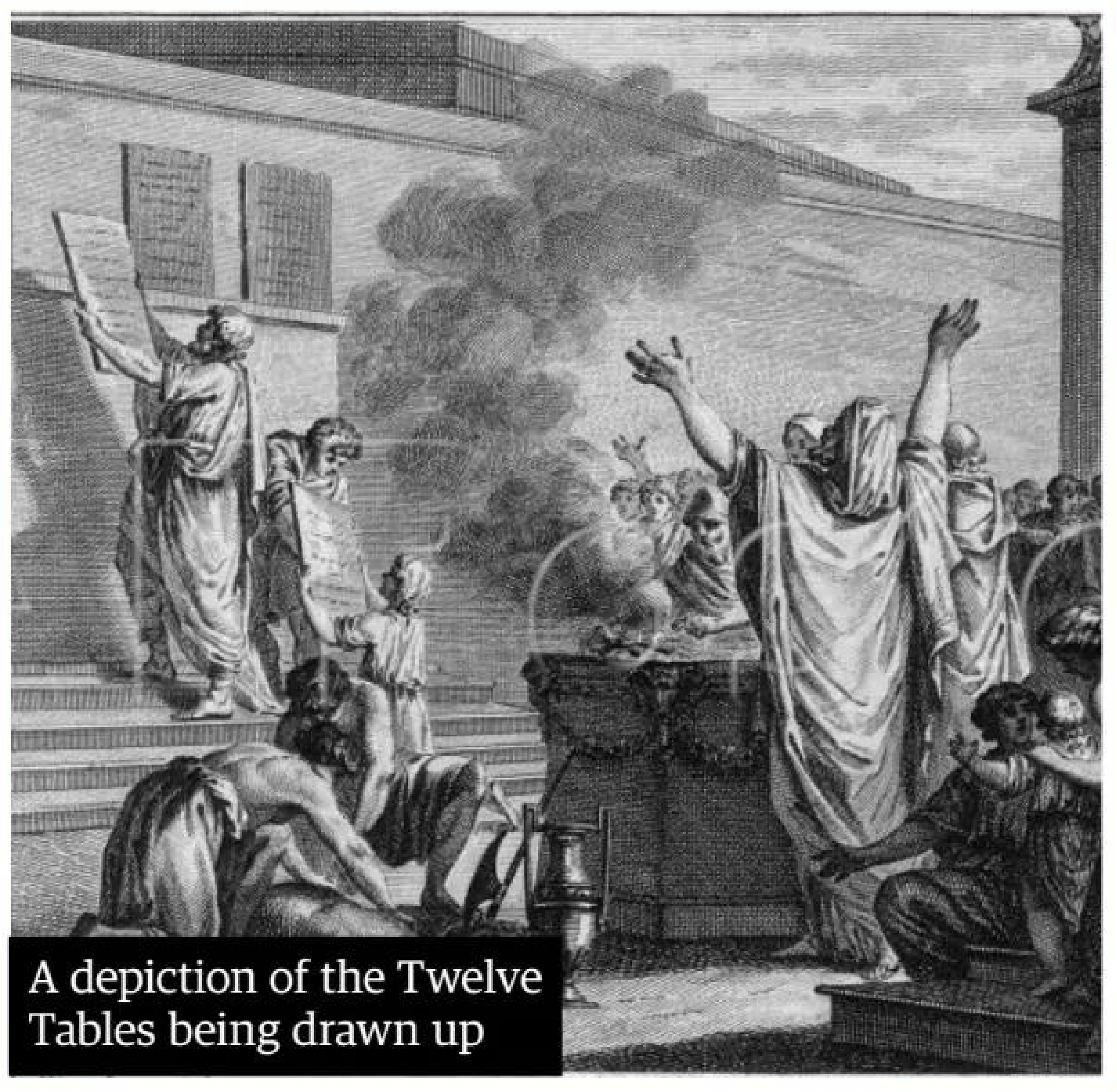
It was the 5th century BCE and the Romans needed a law code. It needed to ensure some amount of fairness for the ordinary people; the elite had their own council that could sway trials their way. The upper-class patricians had a history of gaining judgements in their favour. Naturally, the plebeians were angry.

According to legend, three men were sent to Athens to study the laws of Solon, a famous lawgiver who had died a few years previously. In 451 BCE, a group of ten men - the decemviri - were appointed to draft the laws. They put forward ten tables to combat elite abuses of power, with a further two tables added later.

The tables were inscribed on bronze tablets and displayed in the Roman Forum alongside other important notices. The reason was simple: it was somewhere everyone could see them and read them. The people could see their rights enshrined in bronze.

But the Twelve Tables weren't a liberal legal reform that gave the lower classes power in the Roman Republic. Instead, they laid out what was already known: that the patrician class had the power and people could be enslaved for unpaid debt. One thing they did introduce, however, was that religious leaders should have less power in civil cases.

The Twelve Tables would later move out of use as times changed, but they were never really abolished. In fact, their legacy can still be felt today.



A depiction of the Twelve Tables being drawn up

EVERYTHING HAPPENS IN THE FORUM

The Roman Forum was one of the most important places in the city

If you head to any city today, you'll be able to find its hub - the place where the main shops are and where the legislative and judicial buildings find their home. That's not a new concept - in ancient Rome, these areas were called forums (or fora). The city of Rome was home to perhaps the most famous of all: the Roman Forum, or Forum Romanum.

Situated between the Palatine and Capitoline hills, from its early days in the Roman Kingdom it was filled with shops and markets. As time went on, though, its use expanded to include public affairs from around 500 BCE. At one end stood the Curia, the meeting place of the Senate, until it burnt down in the late Republic. The first temple was constructed around 498 BCE and was dedicated to Saturn, a god of agriculture. Temples were later built to Castor and Pollux, and to Vesta.

The Roman Forum was the main hive of activity in Rome. It was where people congregated or did their shopping. So it made sense for notices to be published there. In 304 BCE, a calendar was erected there so everyone could see what was happening in the city, and it was where the Twelve Tables had been displayed a couple of centuries earlier.

The Roman Forum was no stranger to politics. Assemblies took place there - or on the Campus Martius - and criminal trials were held there. Politicians gave public speeches, public meetings took place and religious ceremonies were held. It was the centre of the city's activity.

I, II

PROCEDURE FOR COURTS AND JUDGES AND FURTHER ENACTMENTS ON TRIALS

The first two tables outlined trial proceedings. Table I laid out what should happen leading up to a trial - for instance, defendants couldn't try to flee, and the court would provide a vehicle to bring defendants to court if they were too ill or old to make it there themselves. If either party failed to attend court, then after noon the judge would make judgement in favour of the party who was present. It also gave a time limit for trials - they would end at sunset. Table II went on to set out a limit on fines. "The penal sum in an action by solemn deposit shall be either 500 asses or 50 asses," it said.

III

EXECUTION OF JUDGEMENT

Table III told you how long you had to pay a fine after a trial. If it wasn't paid within 30 days, the guilty party would return to court, where the accuser could either discharge them or take them away. They would then be fastened "with not less than 15 pounds of weight or, if he choose, with more". The creditor had to give them a pound of grits to eat each day, or more at his discretion. Alternatively, the debtor could bring their own food. A compromise could be sought, or else the debtor would be held in bonds for 60 days. During that time, they would be brought to the magistrate on three successive market days, and the amount they owed declared publicly. On the third market day they either received capital punishment or were sold abroad.

IV

RIGHT OF FAMILIAL HEADS

The oldest living male in a household - the paterfamilias - was the head of the Roman family. He had all the authority, and Table IV laid out just what that entailed. He had the power of life and death over his sons and had to kill babies with severe physical deformities. If he wanted to leave his wife, he could order her to leave and manage her own affairs. However, if a father tried to sell his son three times then the son would earn his freedom from the father.

> "The head of the family held the power of life and death over his sons"

V, VI, X

GUARDIANSHIP, POSSESSIONS AND SACRED LAW

Women had very little power and the Twelve Tables confirmed it. Table V stated that all women, except Vestal Virgins, were under the guardianship of men - they belonged to their fathers and husbands. They couldn't inherit property, so a man's estate would go to a male relative. According to Table VI, a man and woman were considered married if they lived together continuously for a year. It wasn't just estates and guardianship that saw women's agencies ignored - women were possessions and their actions were regulated. Table X dictated rules surrounding funerals, including orders that the dead should not be buried within the city and that women couldn't make a scene or cry too loudly during a funeral.

VII

PROPERTY, LAND RIGHTS AND CRIMES

When it came to property, Table VII had all the answers. Disputed property boundaries would go through an arbitration process and trees leaning over boundaries could be removed by the neighbour. The tablet even dictated to whom fruit belonged if it fell from a tree onto a neighbour's property. Roads were a big part of what remains of Table VII. They were to be kept in good condition and people who lived near the road were in charge of maintaining it. It also specified that straight sections of road should be 2.5 metres (eight feet) wide, while bends should be five metres (16 feet) wide. Slaves were also considered to be property, so Table VII dictated the terms under which one might be set free in a will.

VIII

TORTS AND DELICTS (LAWS OF INJURY)

If anyone sang or composed a song that insulted someone else, "he should be clubbed to death". It seems like an incredibly harsh punishment today, but this was par for the course in ancient Rome. Table VIII went on to say that patrons who defrauded their clients should be killed, and if you maimed someone, the same must be done to you. And lying during a trial wasn't an option either - that would see you flung from the Tarpeian Rock. Stealing crops was punishable by hanging as a sacrifice to Ceres, a goddess of agriculture, although the punishment was lesser if the offender had not yet reached puberty. If someone attempted to steal during the night and was killed by the owner, the killing was deemed lawful.

IX

PUBLIC LAW

Treason has never been leniently punished, and that was certainly the case in ancient Rome. According to Table IX - which mostly covers crimes against Rome - anyone found guilty of treason would suffer capital punishment. Similarly, judges and arbiters found guilty of receiving bribes in return for decisions were to be put to death. The table dictates that the punishment of a person must only be decided through the greatest assembly, or maximus comitatus. It also says, "He who shall have roused up a public enemy or handed over a citizen to a public enemy must suffer capital punishment" and that the "Putting to death of any man who has not been convicted, whosoever he might be, is forbidden." The Romans weren't afraid to send people to their deaths but they did want to make sure the penalty was dished out by the proper authorities.

XI, XII

THE SUPPLEMENTS – MARRIAGE BETWEEN CLASSES AND BINDING INTO LAW

Drafted the year after the original 12 laws, Tables XI and XII were added to supplement the legal code. Little remains from these, but from what we have we know that Table XI forbade marriages between plebeians and patricians. People were also not allowed to use controversial items for consecrated use, but the punishment for this is unknown as part of this fragment has sadly been lost to time. Table XII covers the punishment slaves faced for thieving or damaging property, and also the terms of binding into law. It dictates "Whatever the people ordain last shall be legally valid."

© Wolfgang Moroder

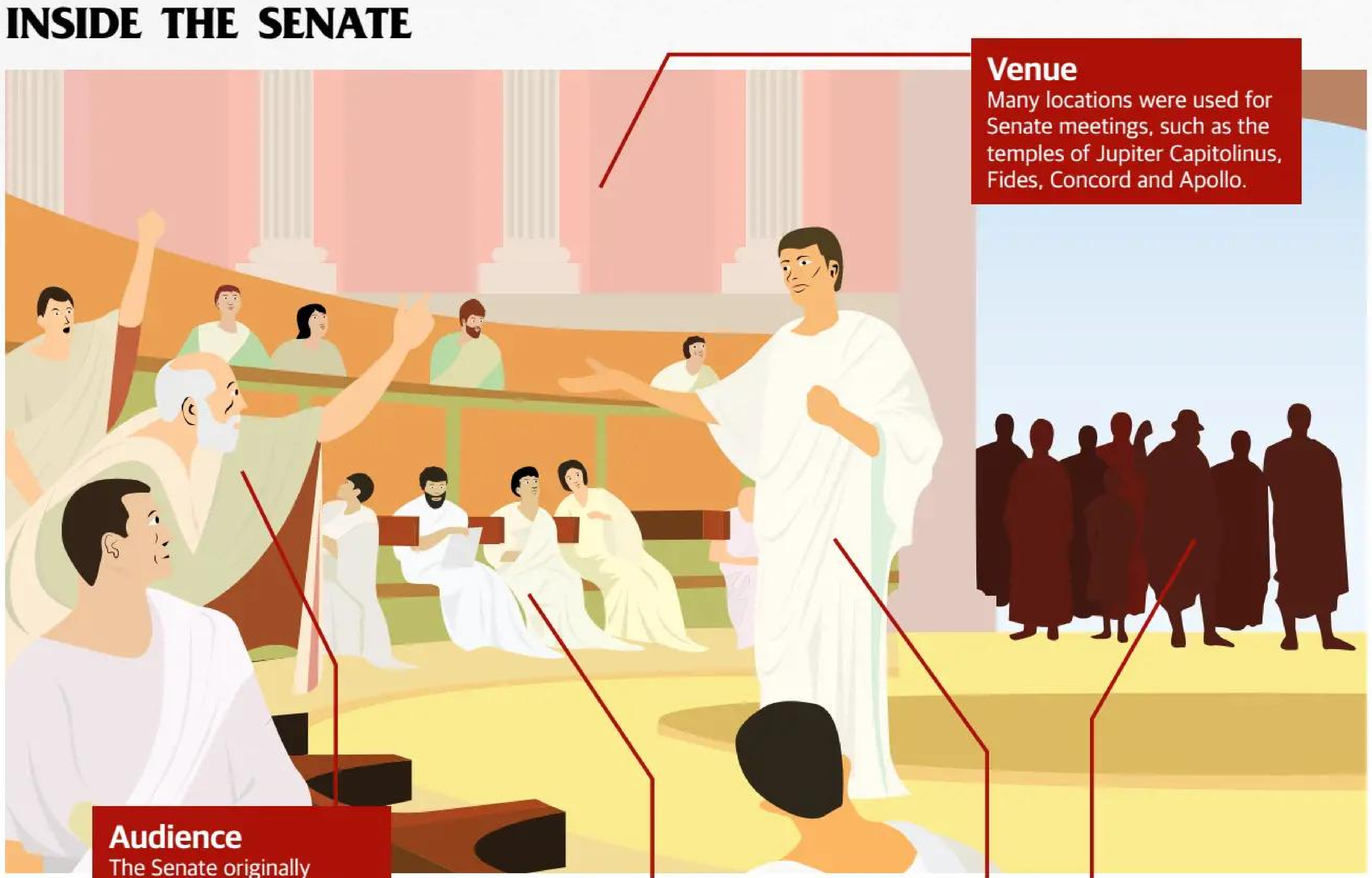
HOW TO
BECOME A ROMAN CONSUL

ROMAN REPUBLIC 509–27 BCE

The highest elected office in the days of the Roman Republic, and two consuls were elected at any one time, each serving a one-year term before being replaced. Their duties spanned a vast range of civil and military tasks, and from 367 BCE a plebeian (common) citizen could even stand for office. This kind of democracy wouldn't last, however, as the death of Julius Caesar and subsequent wars led to the establishment of the Roman Empire in 27 BCE. The consuls' powers were absorbed by that of the emperor, leaving them as mere figureheads.

> "Two consuls were elected, each serving a one-year term. Their duties spanned a range of civil and military tasks"

INSIDE THE SENATE



Venue
Many locations were used for Senate meetings, such as the temples of Jupiter Capitolinus, Fides, Concord and Apollo.

Audience
The Senate originally comprised 100 men but increased to around 300 at the height of the Republic.

Traditions
One way to keep your opponents from the floor was to keep talking – a tactic employed several times by Cato the Younger.

Consul
As the consul would frequently address the Senate, he was expected to have a dominant presence and strong oratory style.

Open doors
Meetings were public. To highlight this, doors were left open during meetings, so anyone could observe them.

DUTIES OF THE CONSUL

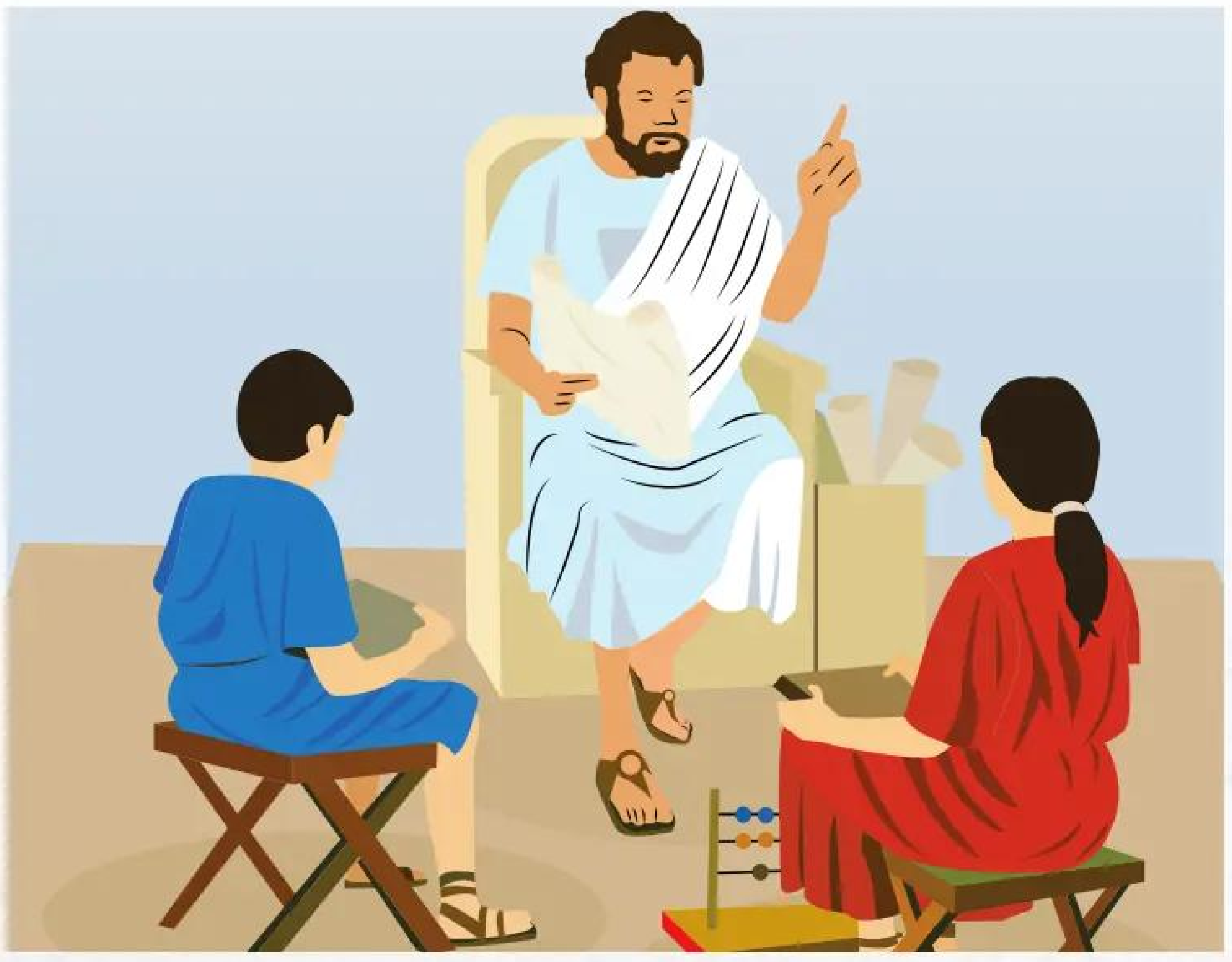
Chief judge
This power was transferred to the praetors in 366 BCE, but consuls would still serve as judges in serious cases and whenever called upon.

Senate
Consuls were responsible for passing the laws of the Senate as well as acting as ambassadors on behalf of it.

Military
Consuls were the commanders-in-chief of the vast and strong Roman army, which they governed with the assistance of military tribunes.

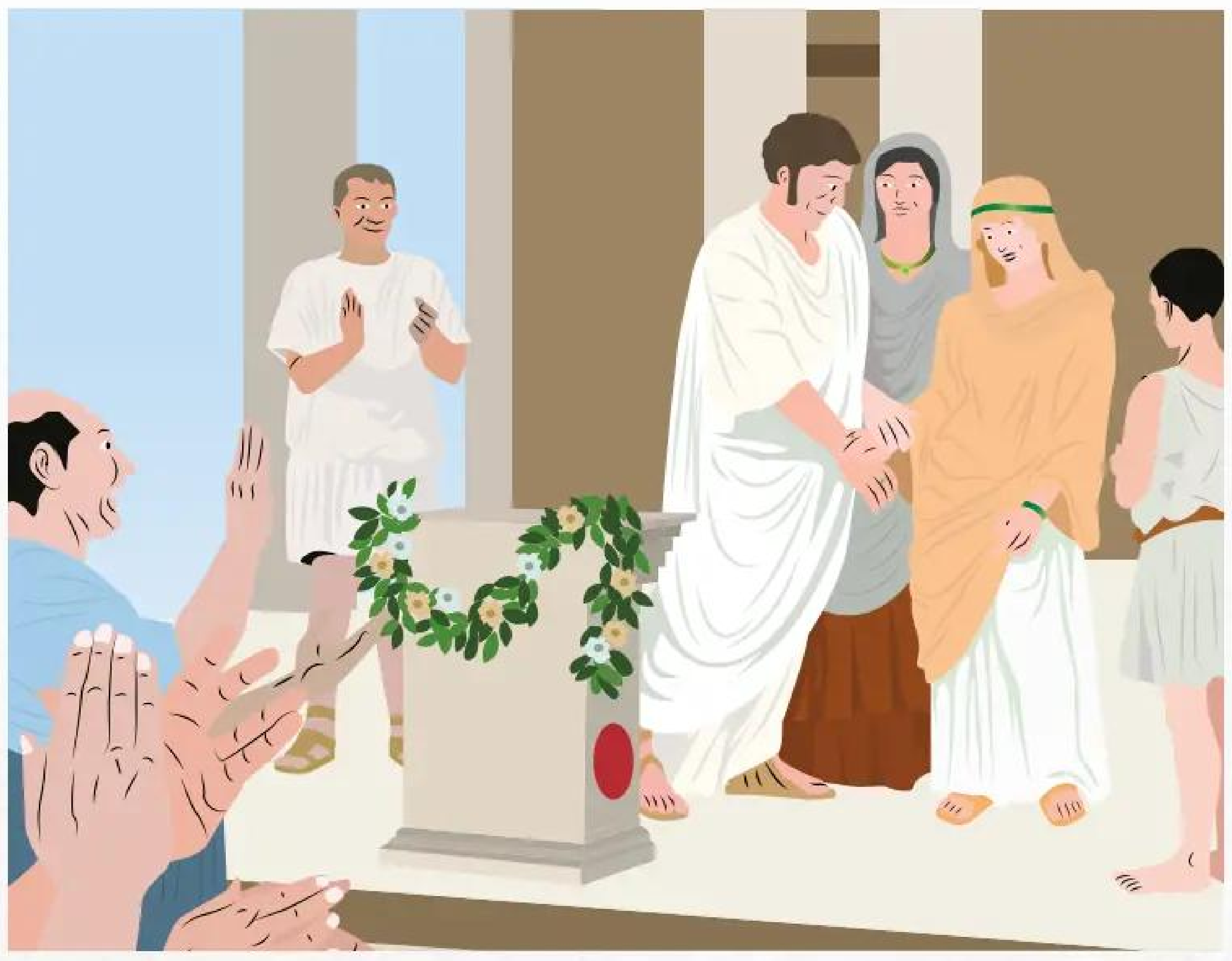
Governorship
After leaving office, each consul was assigned – at random – a province or area to govern for a term of anywhere between one and five years.

Veto
Each consul had the power to block his colleague's decree, in the process ensuring that important decisions were only made in unison.



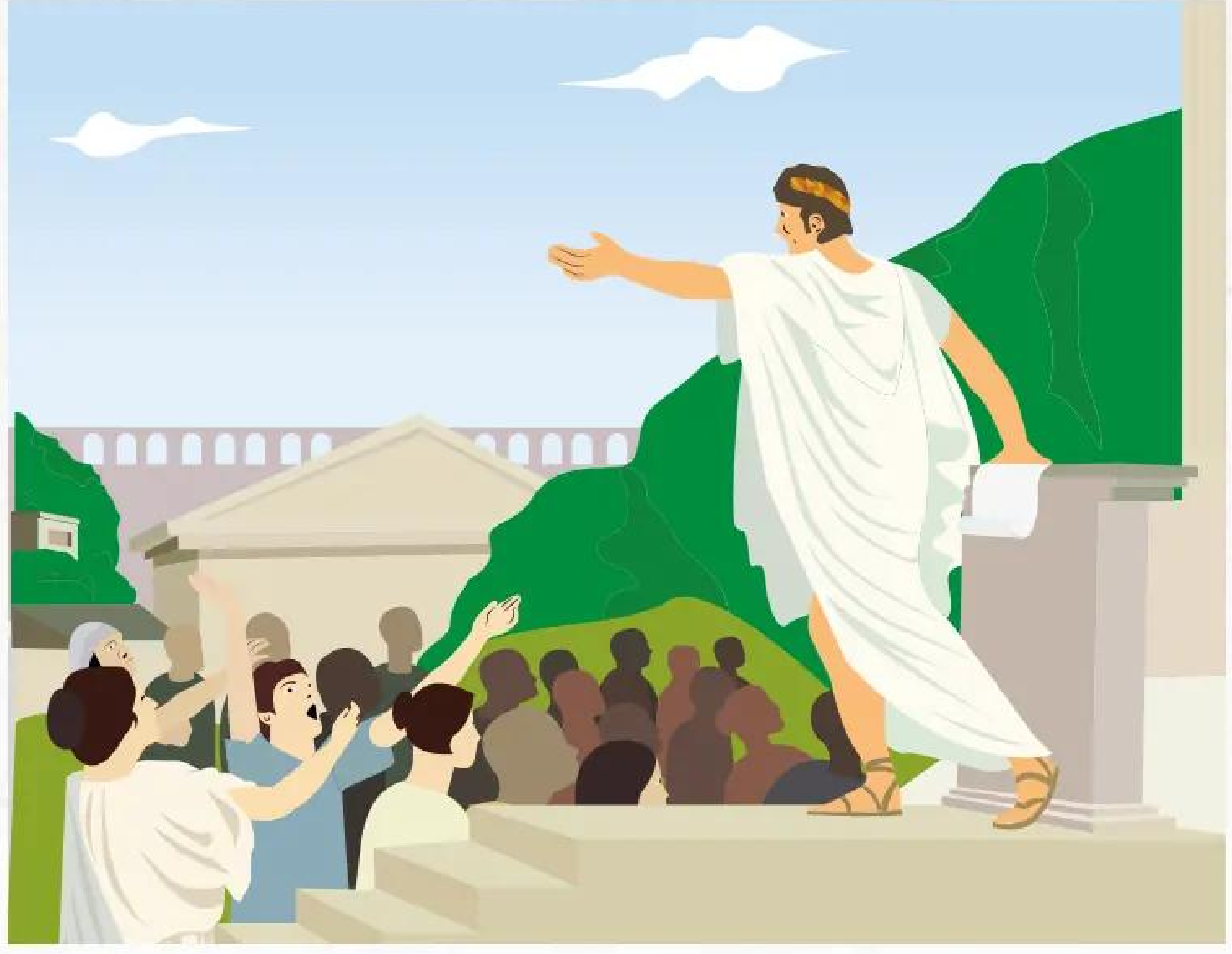
01 Get educated

Roman consuls are expected to have the immense confidence and education necessary to be superb public orators. For this reason, find yourself a private tutor - known around these woods as a pedagogue - to make sure you have the basic reading skills to lay the foundations you need to learn the art of rhetoric.



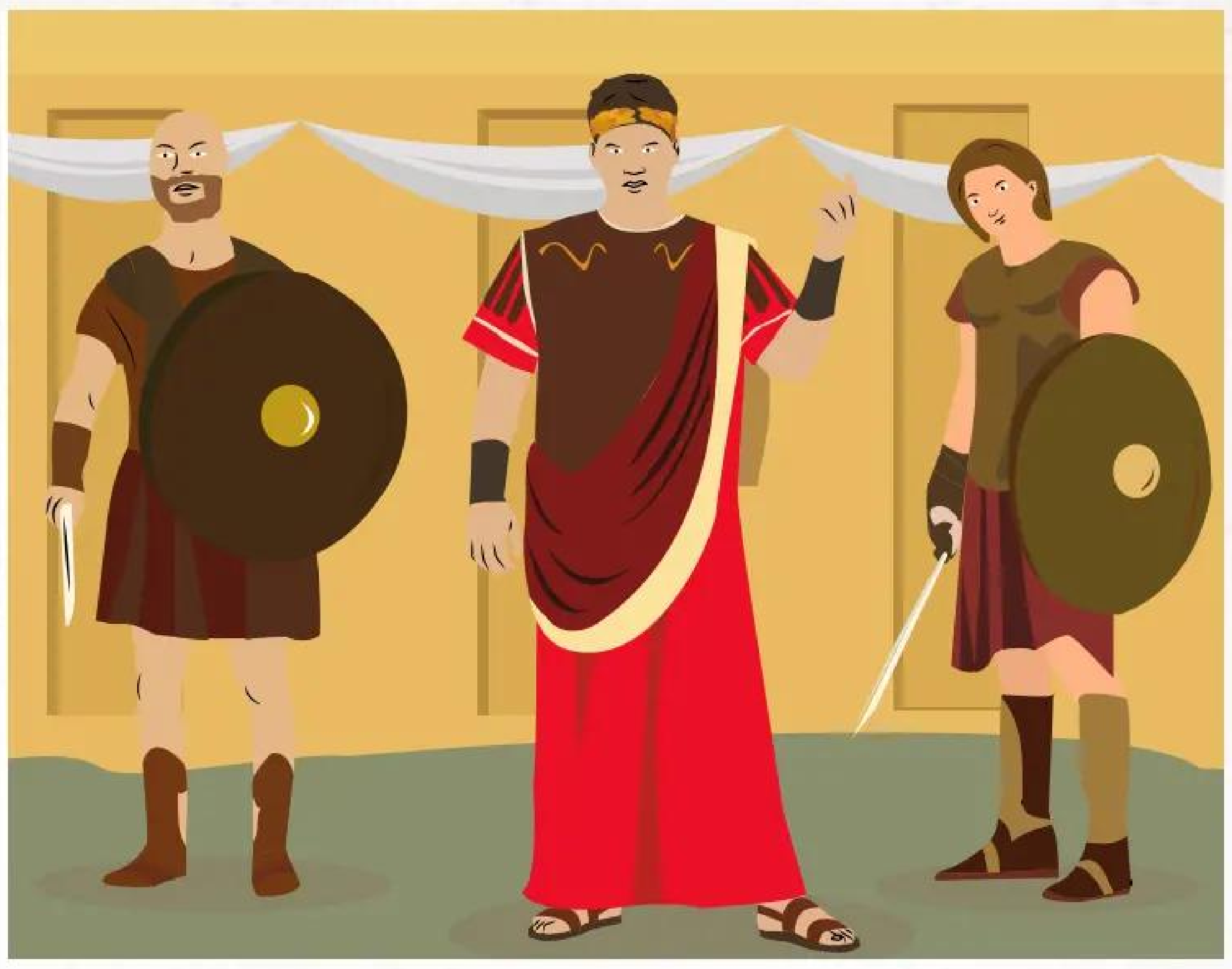
02 Marry into a wealthy family

If all else fails, attempt to increase your influence by marrying into it. In Rome, wealthy families often support each other in the form of alliances known as amicitia, which are generally made concrete in the form of arranged marriages. Being associated with a great family is a quick way to get some votes.



03 Be a showman

The better you present yourself to the people, the higher your odds of becoming a consul. As Marcus Tullius Cicero himself says, "Surround yourself with large numbers of people from every class and rank… Make sure your campaign has plenty of ceremony, brilliance and entertainment for the people."



04 Intimidate your rivals

You mustn't be afraid to use less than savoury means in order to get what you want. This can include inciting riots or hiring heavies - gladiators are particularly effective options here - to beat people up. If you happen to be a general, even better; simply make use of your heavily armed troops to threaten disorder.

05 Indulge in bribery

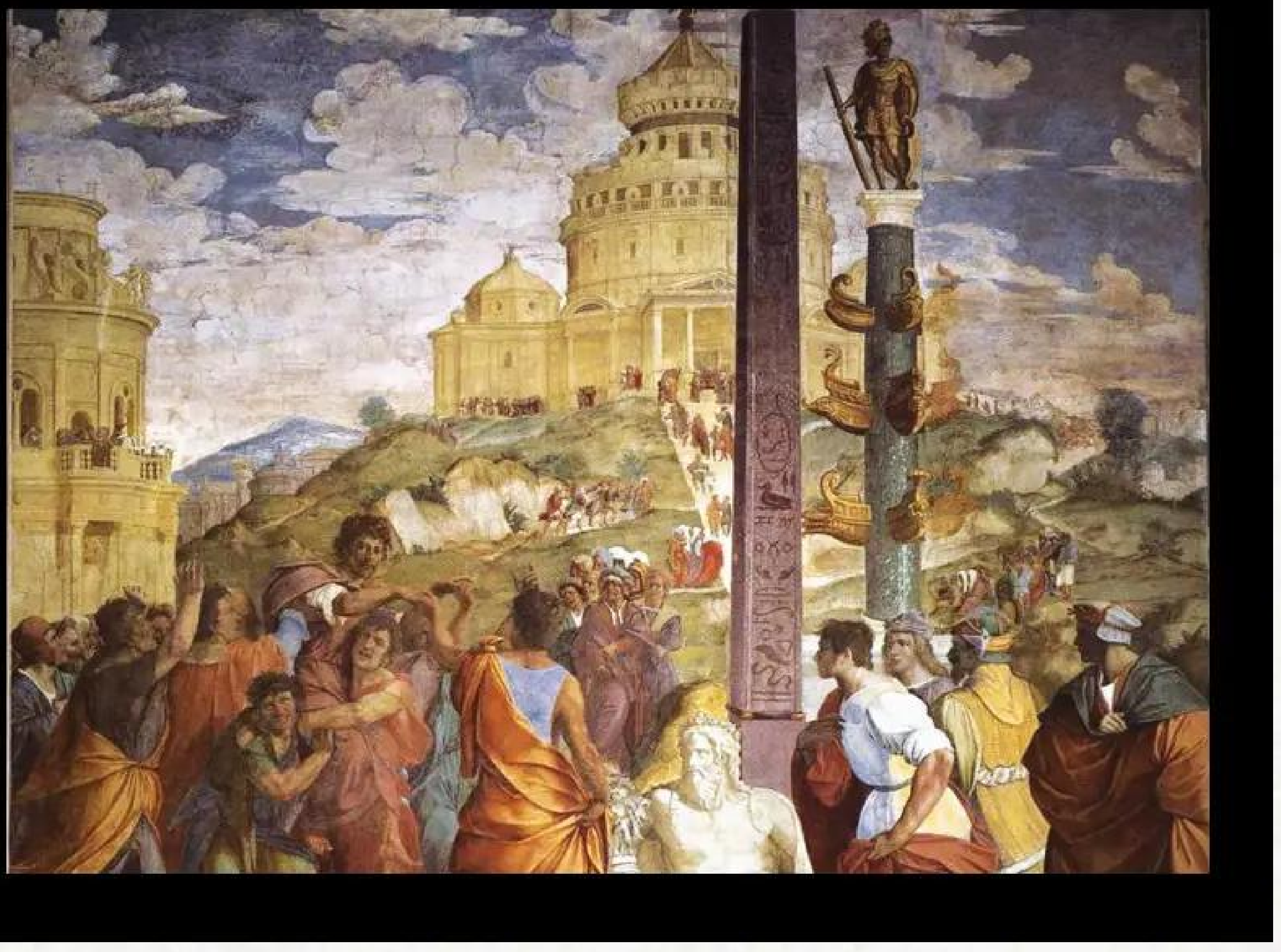
Bribery is common, especially in these waning days of the Roman Republic. Should you decide upon this as an option, be aware that it can take two forms: direct bribery (paying off officials with money in return for votes) or indirect (provision of free grain, entertainment and outdoor banquets).

06 Become a mob favourite

A man who has the support of the mob is a powerful man indeed, one likely to battle his way to the top. Putting on a series of gladiatorial games - preferably with a host of exotic animals - is a safe method of getting the mob on your side and willing to support you.

HOW NOT TO… SEIZE POWER

Lucius Sergius Catilina, more commonly known as Catiline, was a prospective consul whose attempts to seize power went horribly wrong. Having been forbidden to campaign for election as a consul at an earlier date due to facing charges of extortion (he was ultimately acquitted), he was later defeated in 64 BCE by Cicero. Angered by this, he planned to take power by force, gathering a number of followers by promising to cancel debts, as well as appealing to the wants and needs of the poor. However, Cicero was constantly kept abreast of Catiline's actions, forcing him to flee Rome after denouncing him as a traitor. Catiline later tried to enter Gaul (France) with his army, but he was prevented from doing so by forces led by general Gaius Antonius Hybrida in 62 BCE at Pistoria, where he and the majority of his followers were killed.



INFAMOUS CONSULS

Lucius Junius Brutus

509 BCE

The founder of the Roman Republic, he was one of the first consuls and is claimed to be an ancestor of Marcus Junius Brutus, one of Julius Caesar's assassins.

Julius Caesar

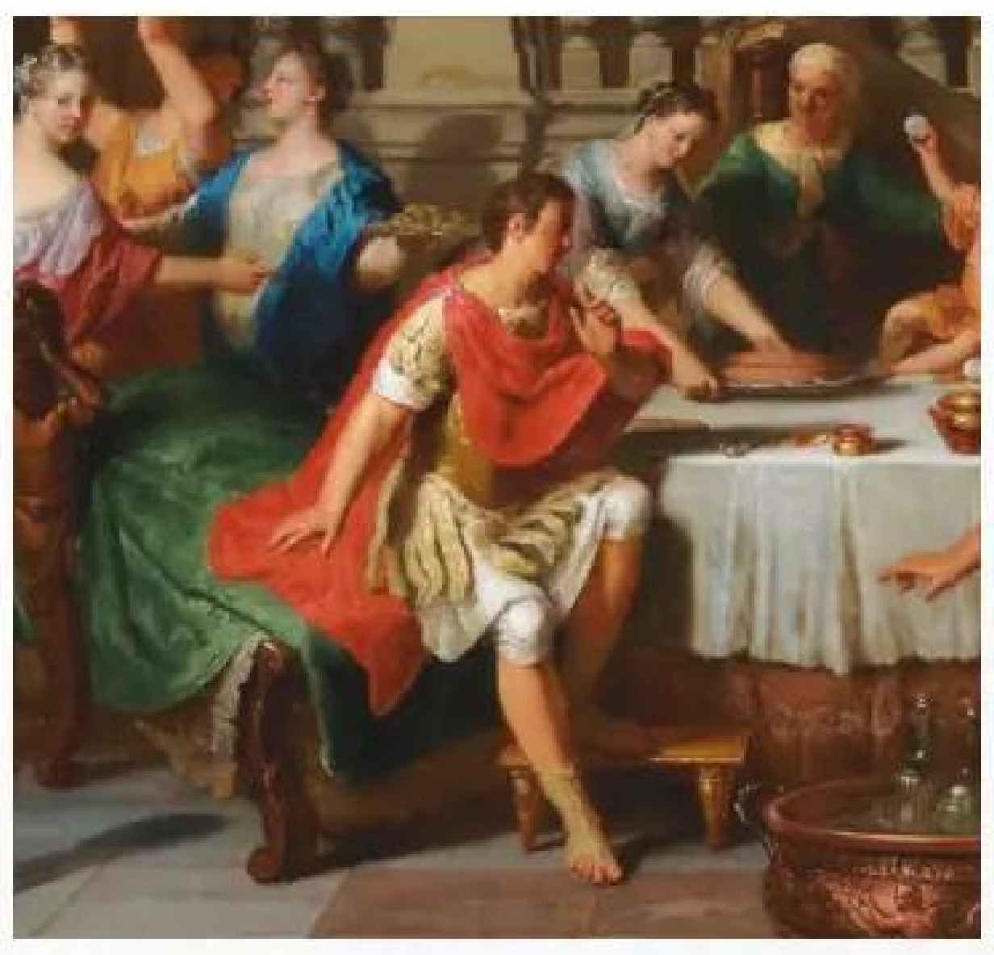
100-44 BCE

Caesar was consul on five separate occasions before being murdered after declaring himself dictator for life.

Mark Antony

83-30 BCE

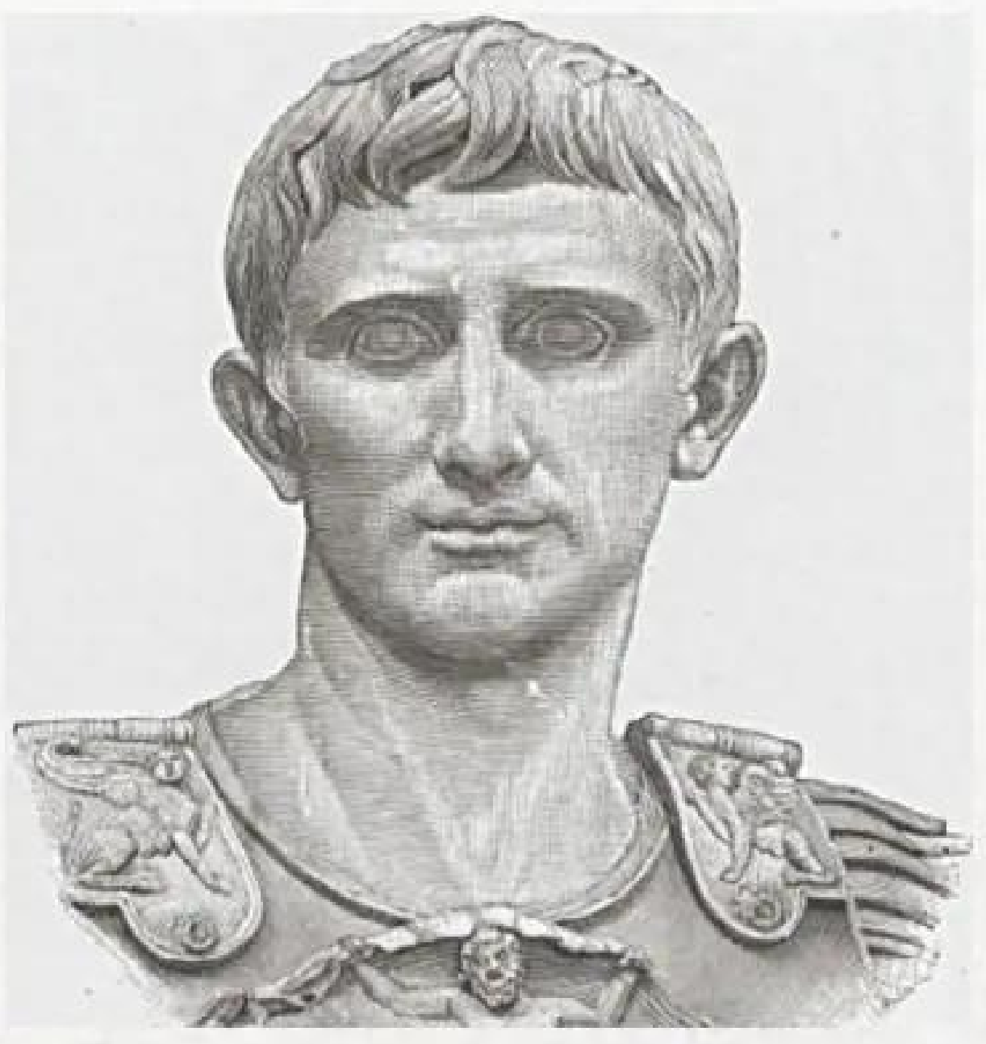
A consul on two occasions, he later ruled with Octavian before falling out, losing against him in battle and committing suicide with his lover Cleopatra.



Augustus

63 BCE-14 CE

Formerly known as Octavian, he first became consul in 43 BCE before becoming the first Roman emperor in 27 BCE.



SACKINGS AND

26 The sacking of Rome 390 BCE
In 390 BCE Rome was ransacked by a horde of Gauls. Could her people recover?

30 The Republic goes to war
Determined to rule the Italian Peninsula and the lands beyond, Rome unleashed her legions

36 Daily life in the Roman Republic
Discover what daily life was really like for the rich and poor of the Eternal City

40 A domestic slave in ancient Rome
Without slaves Rome could never have mastered the Mediterannean. Find out what these captive servants did all day

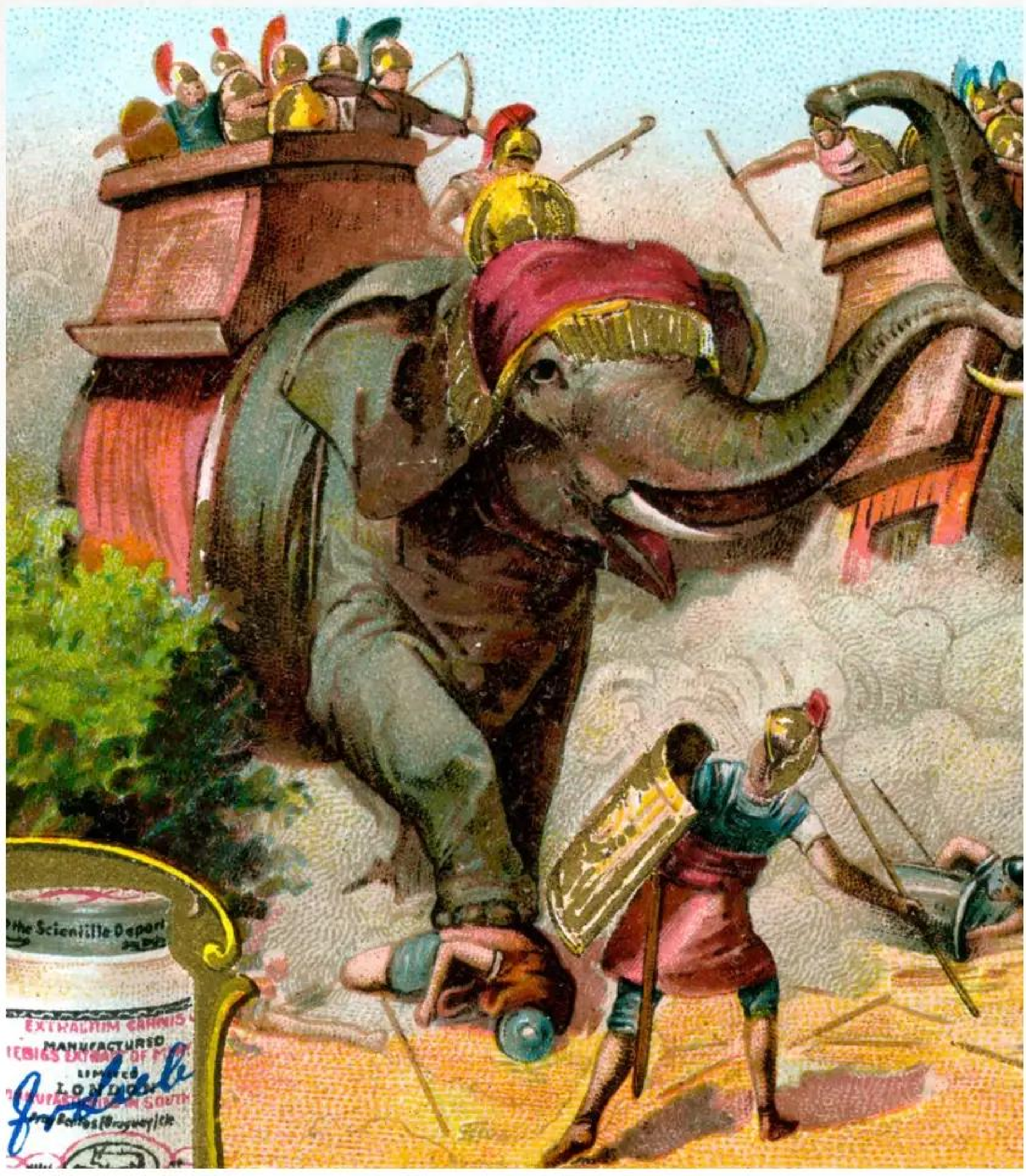
42 How to celebrate Saturnalia
It's time to eat, drink and let your slaves call the shots. Io Saturnalia!

44 Inside a Roman villa
Step inside the plush confines of a Roman villa

46 Roman aqueducts
Explore the mechanics behind one of Rome's most ingenious inventions

48 Inside the Circus Maximus
Roll up! Roll up! The Circus Maximus, home to the greatest shows in town, awaits you. Which chariot rider are your sesterces on?

50 The Appian Way
Walk Europe's first superhighway, a feat of engineering that opened up new trade routes and decided a war



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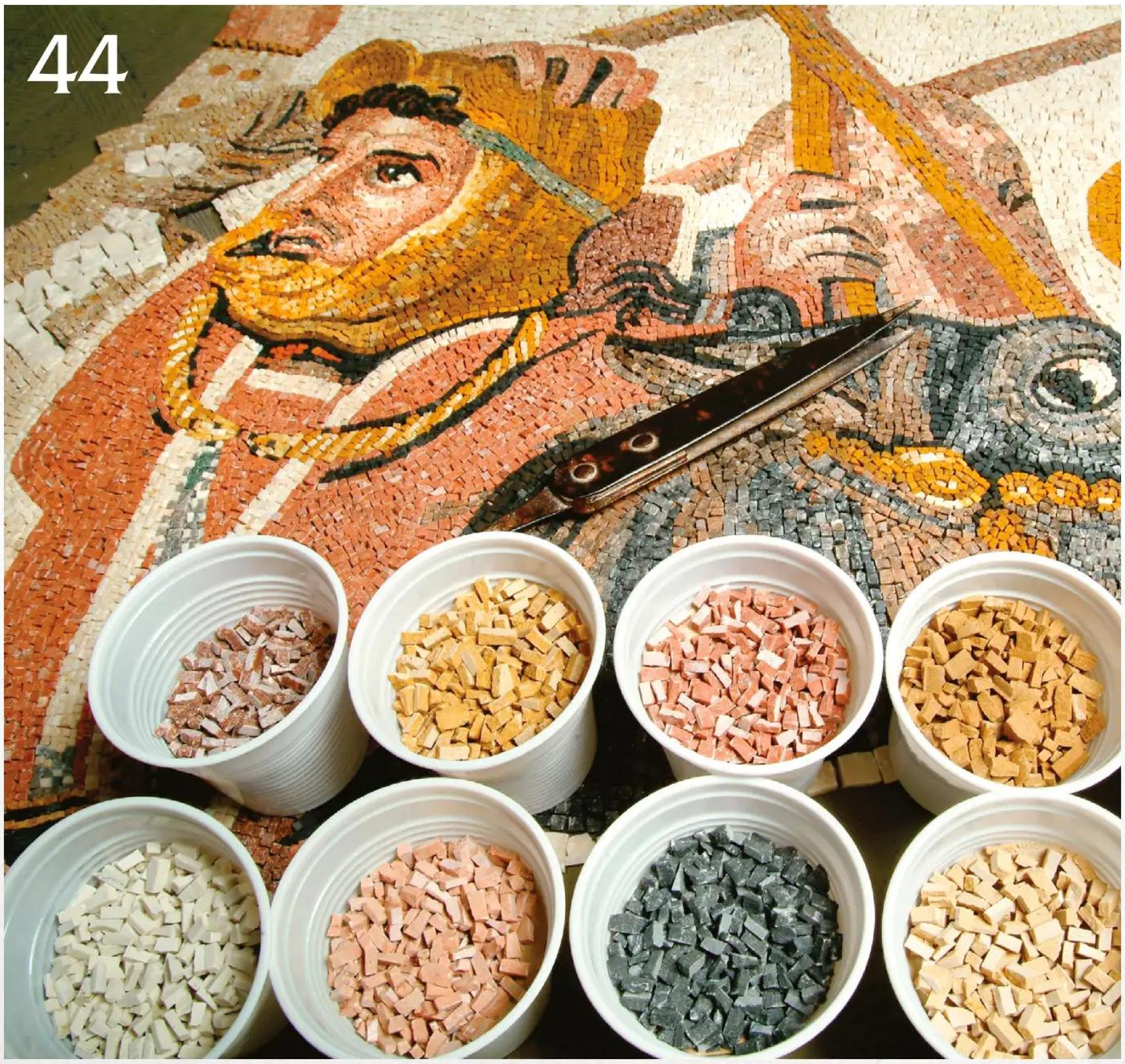
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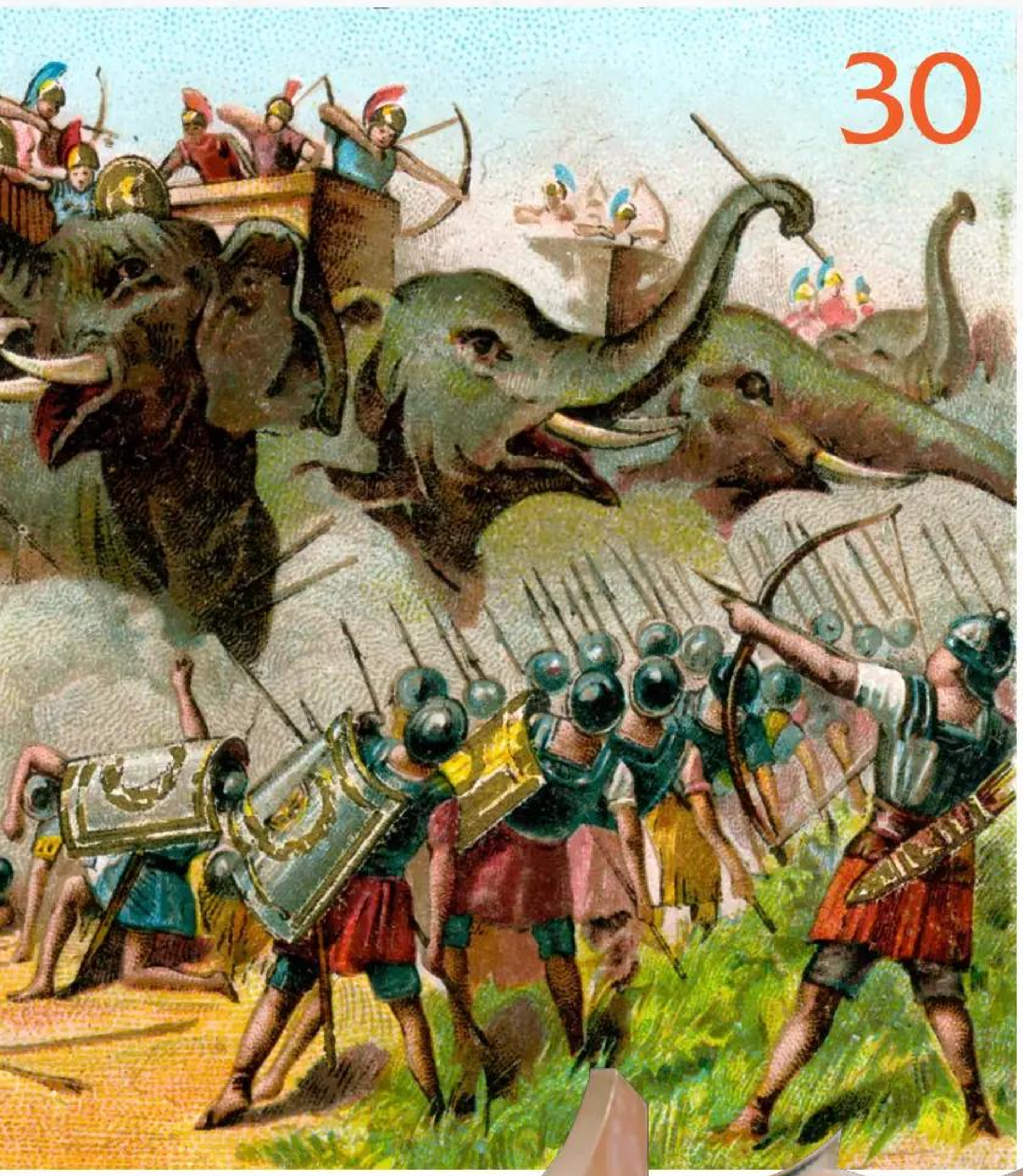
SLAVERY



THE SACKING OF ROME 390 BCE

THE SHOCKING DEFEAT THAT FORCED THE CITY TO BUILD ITSELF BACK UP

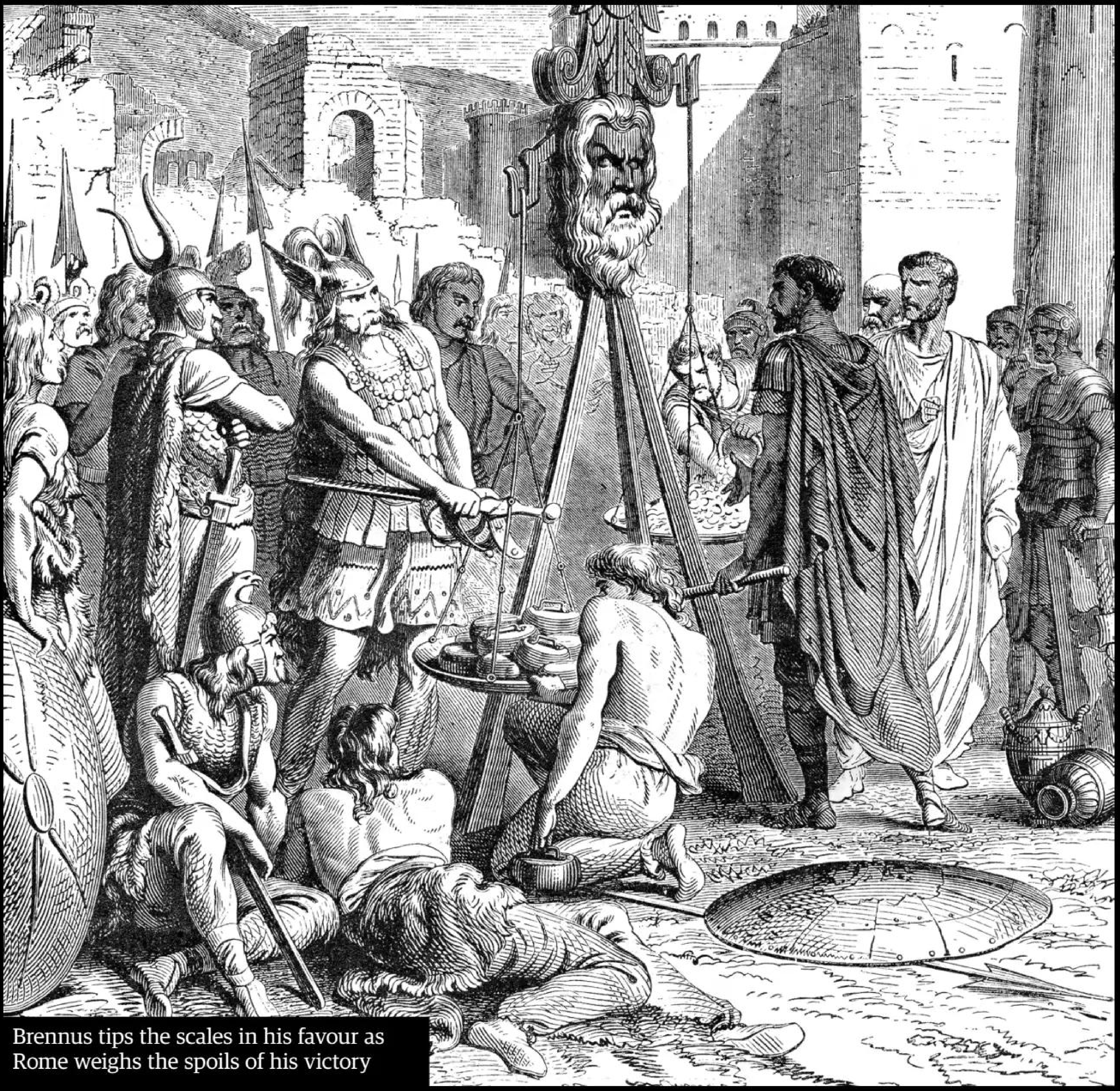
Written by Jessica Leggett

The 18 July was a date that was deemed unlucky by the Romans for centuries. Why? It was on this day that the Battle of Allia, traditionally believed to have taken place in either 390 or 387 BCE, was fought between the Roman Republic and the Senones, a Gallic tribe, at the Allia River just outside Rome. The Roman army was swiftly crushed and the Senones made their way to the city, committing the first sacking of Rome in history.

During the 4th century BCE, the Gauls invaded and settled themselves across northern Italy, with their territory referred to as the Cisalpine Gaul by the Romans. Why they chose to establish themselves in Italy remains unknown, but it has been speculated that they left Gaul, located in Western Europe, because it became overpopulated.

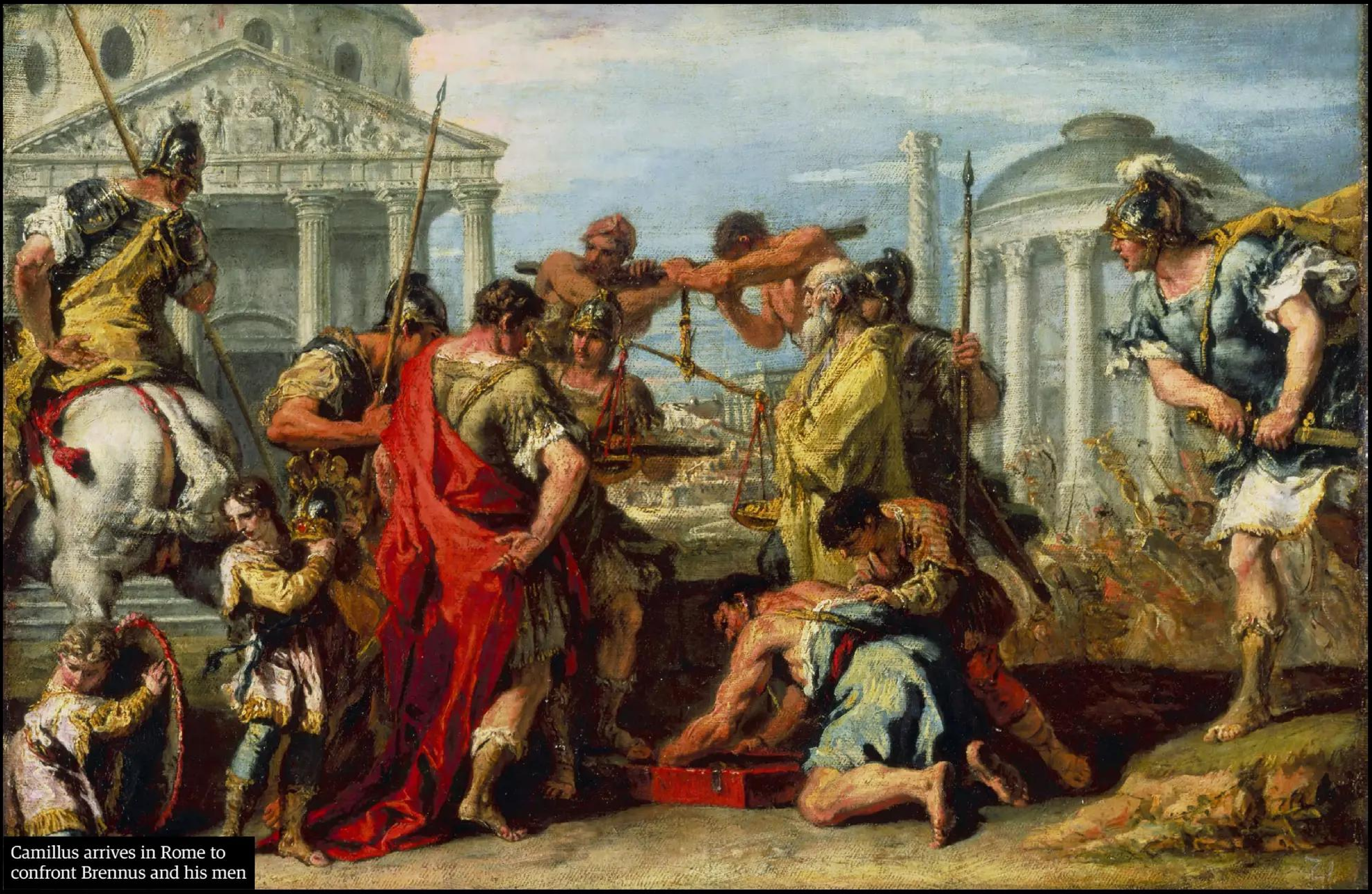
While many Gallic tribes had focused their attention on northern Italy, it is thought that reports of rich lands located to the south led to raiding parties travelling further down, attacking and seizing any land they wanted. One of these tribes was the Senones, led by Brennus, who decided to assault the Etruscan town of Clusium. This assault could have been launched because they wanted land, but ironically it's also possible that the Senones had initially been invited to the town to serve as mercenaries before they decided to attack.

Needing help, the Clusians asked their neighbours in Rome to intervene with the Senones, and the Romans sent three ambassadors of the Fabii, one of the city's most ancient patrician families, to try to negotiate a peace. According to the philosopher and historian Plutarch, when the ambassadors asked Brennus why his tribe had besieged Clusium, he argued that the Clusians had refused to share their land and that the Romans had also attacked their own neighbours for the same reasons.



Brennus tips the scales in his favour as Rome weighs the spoils of his victory

"This is the wrong which ye too suffered, O Romans, formerly at the hands of the Albans, Fidenates, and Ardeates, and now lately at the hands of the Veientines, Capenates, and many of the Faliscans and Volscians. Ye march against these peoples, and if they will not share their goods with you, ye enslave them, despoil them, and raze their cities to the ground… Cease ye, therefore, to pity the Clusians when we besiege them, that ye may not teach the Gauls to be kind and full of pity towards those who are wronged by the Romans."



Camillus arrives in Rome to confront Brennus and his men

Realising that they would not be able to negotiate with Brennus, the ambassadors went to the Clusians and encouraged them to fight the Senones and drive them from the city. In the ensuing fight, one of the ambassadors killed a Senone chief, which angered the Gauls. After all, the ambassadors were supposed to remain neutral and seek peace but had chosen to take up arms with the Clusians.

Wanting retribution, the Senones demanded that the ambassadors be punished for their actions, but Rome did no such thing. Infuriated, the Senones decided to leave Clusium and declare war on Rome. They were so focused on seeking revenge on the Romans that they did not even bother to attack the populated areas they travelled through en route.

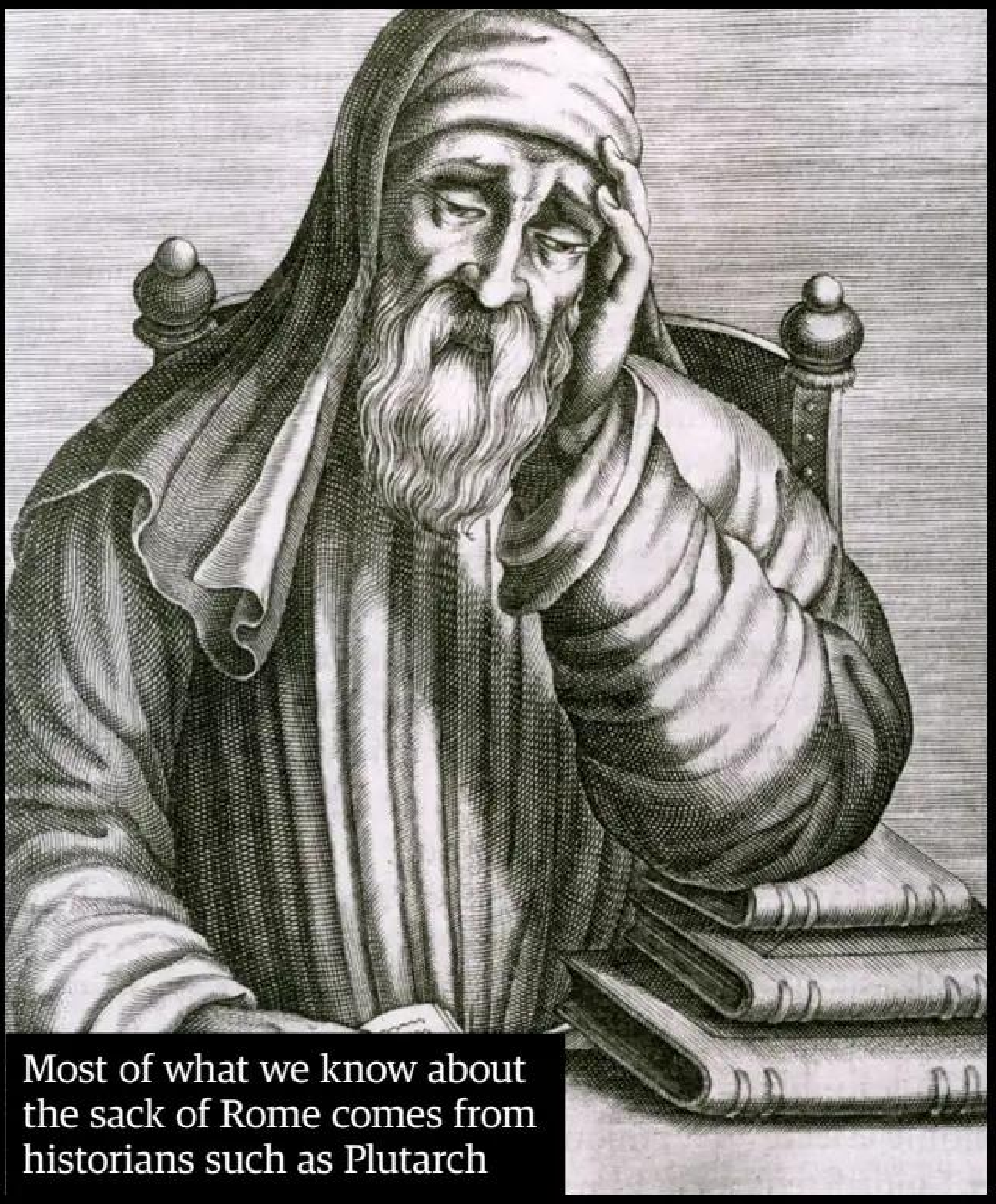
Upon receiving word from the Clusians that the Senones were on their way, the Romans mobilised their army, which left the city to intercept the approaching Gauls on the banks of the Tiber, before they could reach Rome. The army ended up near the Allia River and, while estimates differ, it is thought that the Romans had at least 9,000-15,000 men ready to fight. Rome was confident that victory would be easy, believing the Senones to be nothing more than a barbarian tribe, even though they had more than twice as many men in their ranks.

> “Rome was confident of victory, even though the Senones had twice as many men”

However, while we tend to think of the Roman army as a powerful force to be reckoned with, it was neither professional nor well prepared at this time. Although they were equipped with helmets, armour, shields and long spears, the soldiers were not trained or experienced in battle. Roman historian Livy claimed that in the ensuing battle the Roman commander split his army in half to try to outflank the Gauls, placing the less-experienced reserves on the higher ground.

This proved to be a grave mistake. According to Livy, Brennus “directed his attack upon the reserves, feeling certain that if he drove them from their position, his overwhelming numbers would give him an easy victory on the level ground”. Consequently, the Roman army was decimated by the Senones - whom they had underestimated - with the survivors fleeing to the nearby city of Veii, which boasted strong fortifications, or running back to Rome.

When news reached Rome of the army's crushing defeat many citizens fled the city knowing that they could not defeat the Senones. Livy said that the Vestal Virgins escaped with their sacred relics to the Etruscan city of Caere with the help of a plebeian named Lucius Albinus, who ferried them to safety in his cart. Those who stayed in



Most of what we know about the sack of Rome comes from historians such as Plutarch

BRENNUS, LEGENDARY WAR CHIEF OF THE SENONES

The fierce Gallic leader who carried out the first sack of Rome

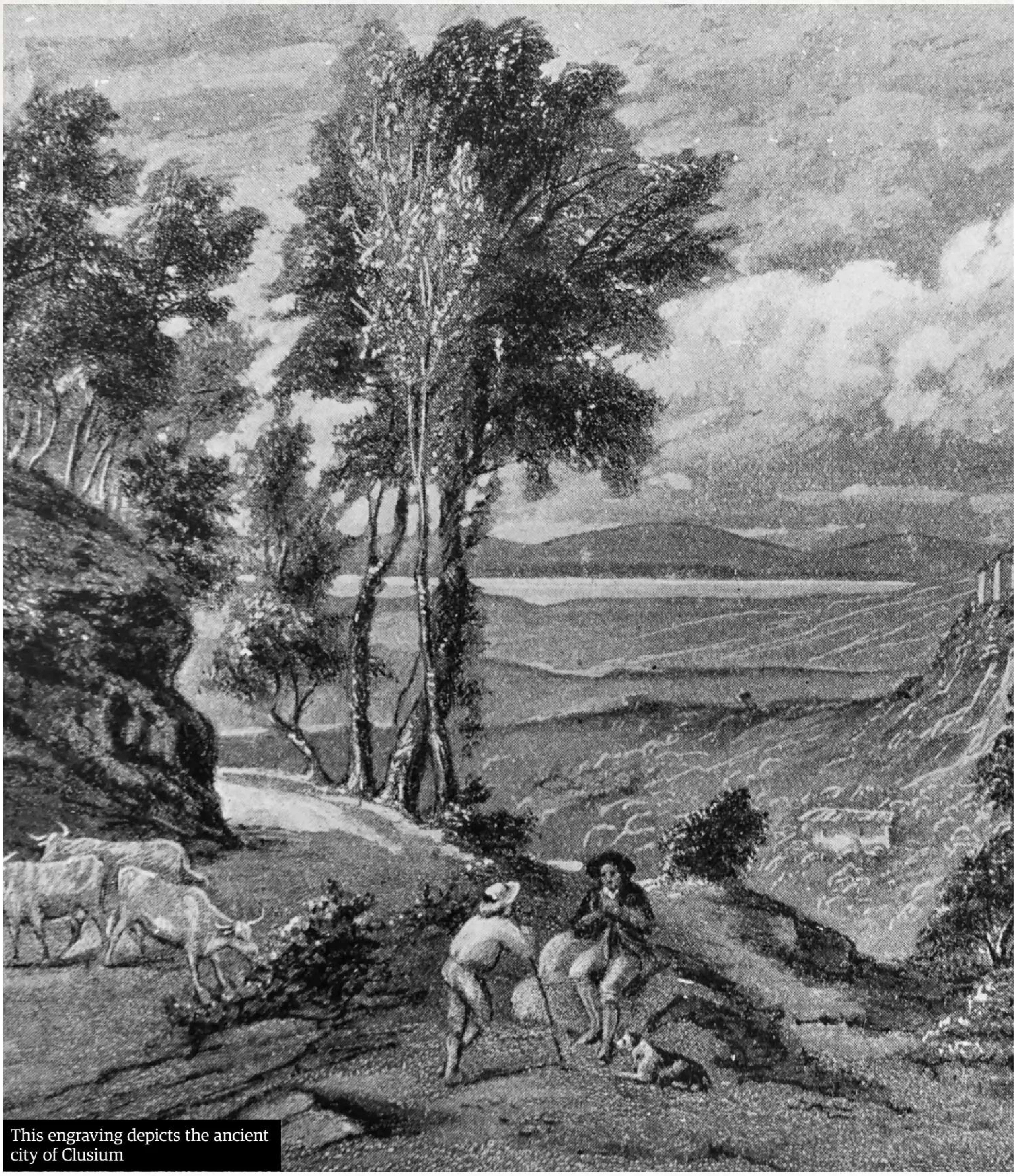
Brennus has gone down in history as the chieftain who led his tribe to victory over the Romans in either 390 or 387 BCE. Upon their arrival in Italy, the Senones had founded the town of Sena Gallica, located on the coast, which became their capital. The Gauls' raiding parties moved further down south, attacking towns and cities before returning to Sena Gallica with their plunder, which encouraged more Gallic tribes to explore lands in the south - including Brennus and his men.

Although Brennus is remembered for his siege of the city of Clusium, his victory over the Romans at the Allia River and his subsequent sack of Rome, very little else is known about him. Much of what we know about Brennus comes from Roman authors such as Plutarch and Livy, who wrote their accounts centuries after the sack took place, accounts based on sources that no longer exist.

Unfortunately, we also do not know what actually happened to Brennus after the defeat of the Senones at the hands of the Romans. It has been speculated that he carried on moving through the south of Italy with the remainder of his men after leaving Rome, but it is possible that he was actually killed in the battle with Camillus because there is no further record of him.

> "The Gauls' raiding parties moved south and attacked towns before returning with their plunder"

A figurehead of Brennus from the French battleship of the same name



This engraving depicts the ancient city of Clusium

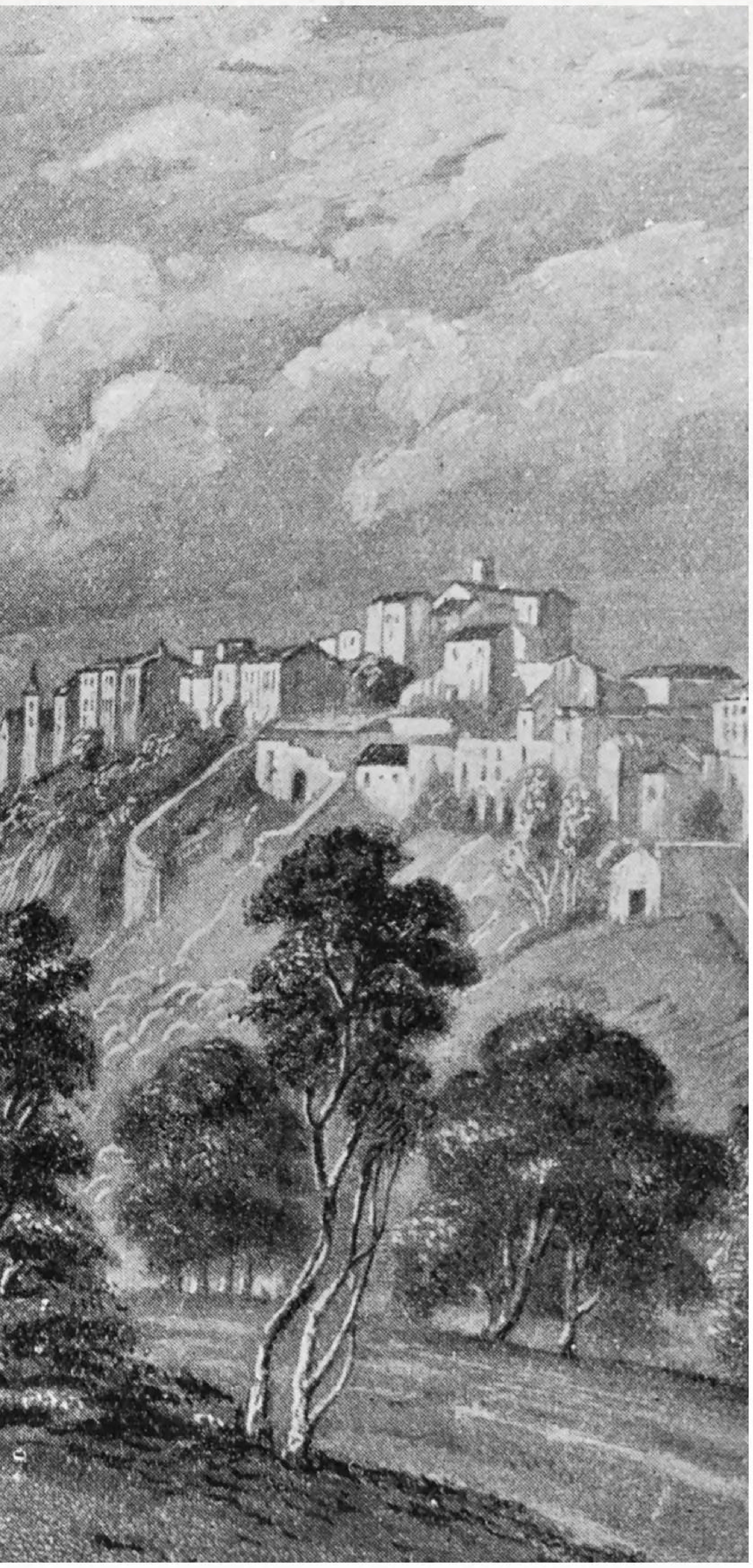
Rome moved inside the citadel on the northern spur of the Capitoline Hill, ready to defend themselves, although some elderly senators remained in the forum, realising that there were not enough resources for everyone.

During this period, the walls of Rome were incomplete, weak and undefended. Besieging the city would have been so easy that the Gauls actually hesitated for two to three days before they attacked, fearing that they were walking into a trap. When they finally entered the city to find it empty they set about looting it and killed the senators who had stayed behind in the forum.

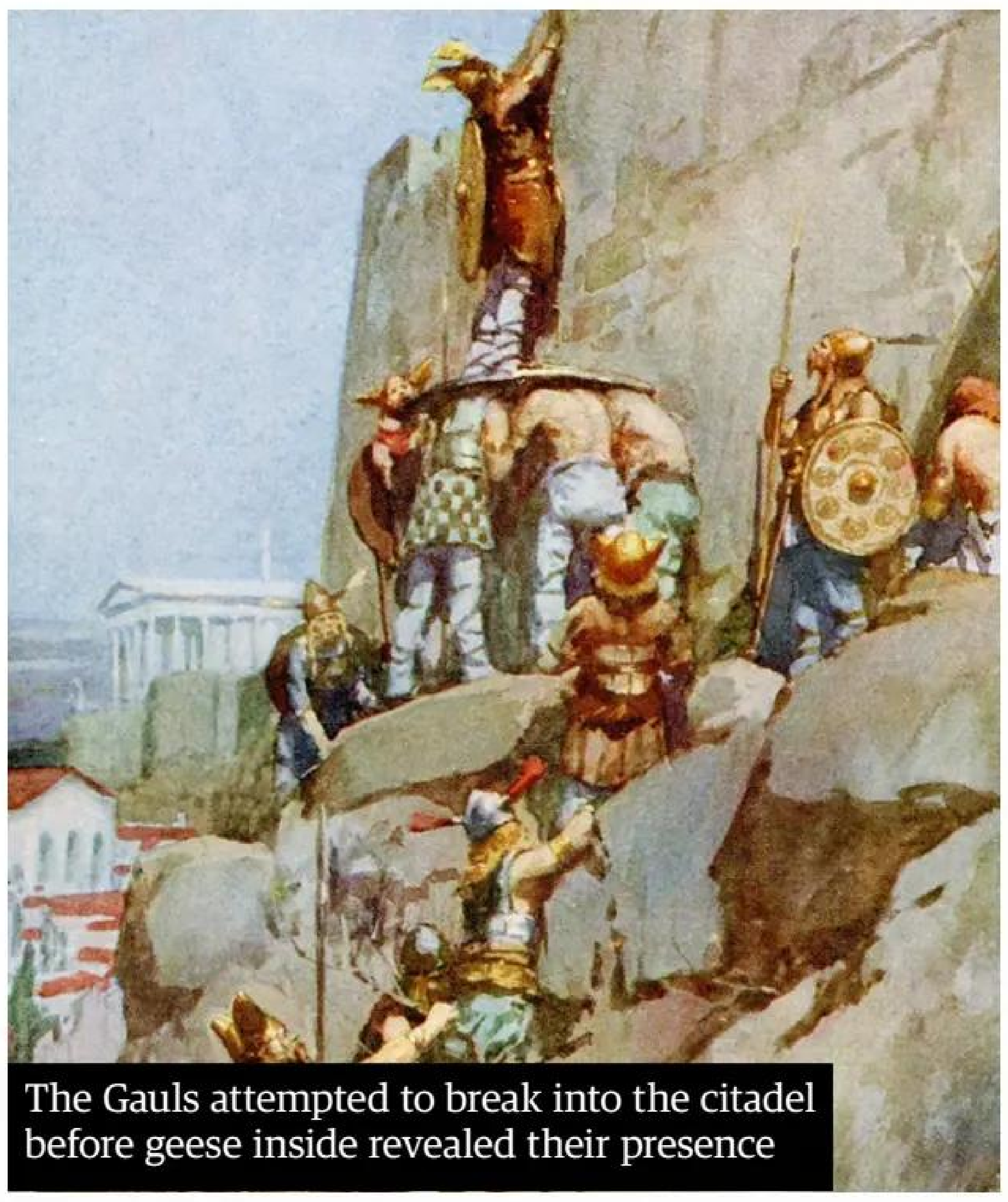
The Gauls attempted to assault the citadel but were unsuccessful, so they set up a blockade instead, preventing those inside from leaving to get resources. The siege lasted for seven months and both sides suffered from famine, with the Gauls also ravaged by disease. To get supplies to keep the siege going, the Senones sent out raiding parties to attack nearby towns and cities.

One of these raiding parties attacked the city of Ardea, where Camillus, the soldier and former dictator of Rome, was living in exile. He had previously secured a celebrated victory against the Etruscan city of Veii in 396 BCE, which was Rome's biggest military triumph to date, but he had been banished from the city after the Romans turned against him, accusing him of embezzlement.

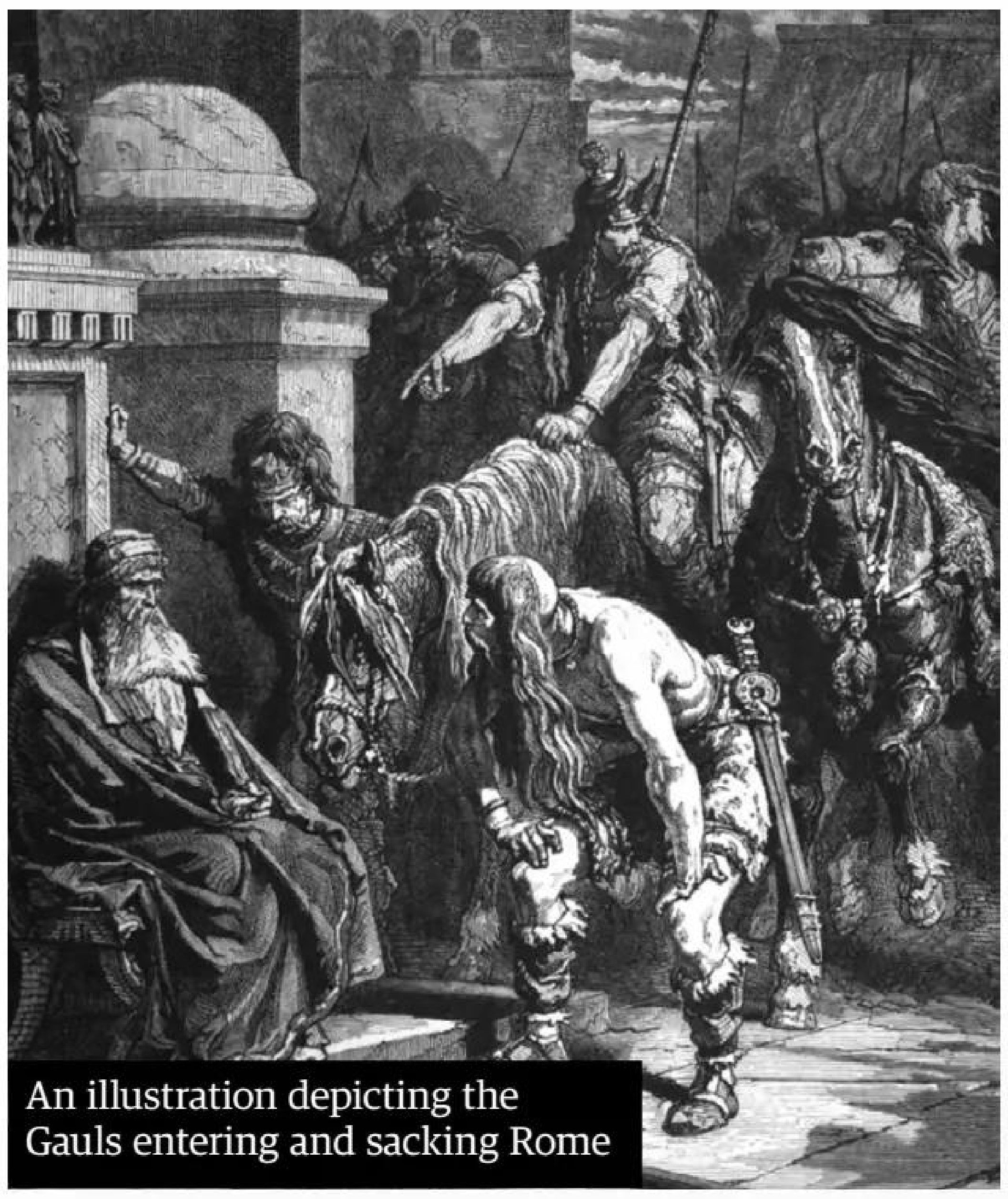
Camillus successfully led the defence of Ardea against the Gauls, and news of his victory reached the Romans who had fled to Veii. They asked him to lead the fight against the siege in Rome but he refused because he did not have the permission of Rome itself. To get permission, a Roman messenger, Pontius Cominius, sneaked back to Rome, scaled the



A 16th-century map depicting Cisalpine Gaul



The Gauls attempted to break into the citadel before geese inside revealed their presence



An illustration depicting the Gauls entering and sacking Rome

outer part of the Capitoline Hill and was pulled over the wall by the sentries. Inside, the senators approved the plan and reappointed Camillus dictator, tasking him with ridding the city of the Senones. The messenger returned to Camillus undetected, but the broken twigs and torn ivy he left in his wake were later spotted by the Gauls, thereby showing them a route to access the citadel. At night, they took the opportunity to climb up to the citadel, but their presence was revealed thanks to the geese from the sacred Temple of Juno. Their cries alerted Marcus Manlius Capitolinus, the former consul of the Roman Republic, and he was able to fend off the first assailants until reinforcements arrived.

Desperate to rid themselves of the Gauls and not knowing if Pontius Cominius had made it back to Camillus safely, the Romans agreed to pay a ransom of 1,000 pounds of gold. However, the Gauls tampered with the scales in their favour. Angered, the Romans demanded an explanation. In response, Brennus supposedly added his sword to the scales while shouting "Vae victus!", which means 'woe to the vanquished'. To get the Gauls to leave, the Romans would need to contribute more gold.

It was at this moment that, according to Plutarch, Camillus and his army arrived in the city. He told the Romans to take back their tribute and ordered the Gauls to leave Rome, which enraged Brennus, who argued that he had already struck a deal with the Romans. Camillus responded by stating that as dictator he was the only person who had the authority to make such a deal and he wouldn't agree to it.

Another fight broke out between the Romans and the Gauls, but this time the Gauls found themselves on the losing side. Brennus led his army out of the city, but they were pursued by Camillus and his men, who decisively defeated them. For his victory, Camillus was declared the 'second founder of Rome'.

Although the Gauls had been driven from the city, there was no denying that the sack of Rome had been a disaster. Major improvements were carried out, both in terms of military and city defences, with Rome rebuilding its walls to prevent the city from being sacked again in the future. This included the Servian Wall, which was probably built around 378 BCE using stone from the Grotta Oscura quarries in Veii. The improvements were worth it as Rome would not be sacked again for another 800 years.

Interestingly, although the Battle of Allia is remembered as a devastating defeat, there is no evidence to suggest that Rome was burnt to the ground. Nevertheless, the humiliating sack of Rome hardened her people, who vowed never again to suffer such a fate. In time, Rome would have her revenge.

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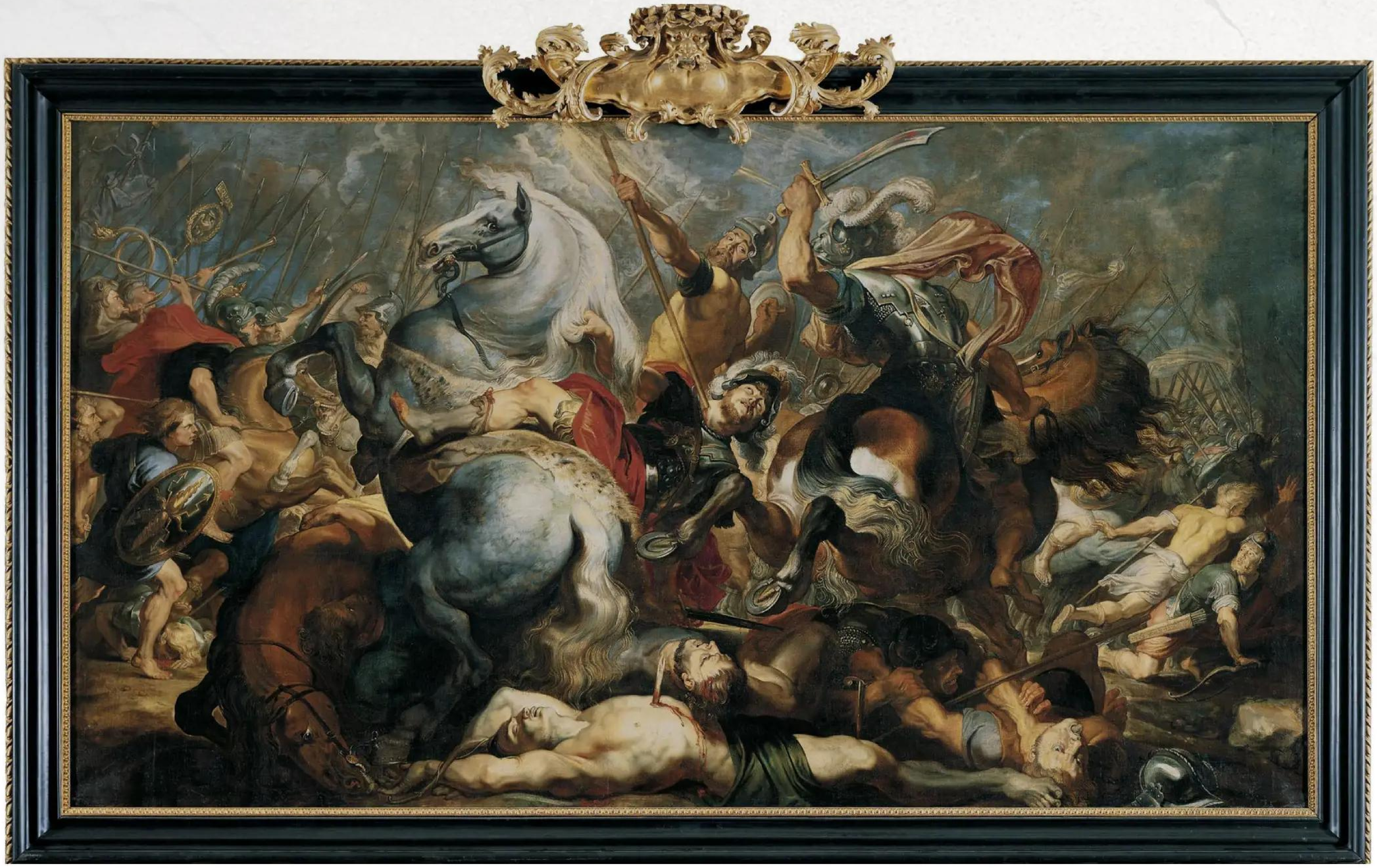


THE REPUBLIC GOES TO WAR

BEFORE SHE COULD BECOME MASTER OF THE WORLD, ROME HAD TO TAME THE ENEMIES AROUND HER

Written by Edoardo Albert

What took them so long? From the traditional date of its foundation - 753 BCE - it took the Romans, future conquerors of all the known world, 481 years to complete the conquest of the Italian Peninsula - and that's not including the area north of the 'boot' and south of the Alps that forms part of present-day Italy. By comparison, it took the Romans only another 280 years to conquer all the lands around the Mediterranean, turning the sea into Mare Nostrum ('Our Sea').

It took the Romans so long to conquer the Italian Peninsula because it was home to their bitterest, most dangerous and most determined enemies, peoples and city-states that were very, very nearly as stubborn, ruthless, courageous and dangerous as themselves. The rival peoples of Italy inflicted defeat after defeat upon the Roman Republic, sometimes coming close to defeating it utterly. But in this cauldron of almost constant warfare, the Roman people were tested again and again, until they became hardened to defeat and determined, above all other things, to avenge defeat with victory and to never, ever surrender. Rome was made not by the generals and emperors whose names are household words still today - Julius Caesar, Mark Anthony, Pompey - but by the largely unknown succession of consuls, generals and leaders of the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE. These were the men who forged Rome into the most implacable military machine of the ancient world, and in this article we will look at how they did it and their duel with the most formidable of Rome's enemies, the Samnites.

A VOLATILE LAND

Italy in the centuries after the foundation of Rome was violent. Warfare was endemic, slave taking was normal and the people inhabiting the land clung to their tribes and their clans as the only possible bulwarks against the depredations of their neighbours. With no law and less security, the only recourse people had were their relatives, their clan and their tribe. To strike one member of the tribe was to strike them all: bellum omnium contra omnes ('the war of all against all') as Thomas Hobbes called it in his 1642 work *De Cive* (that Hobbes still wrote in Latin so many years after the fall of Rome is testament to the enduring influence of Roman civilisation). What's more, warfare was also the primary avenue to riches, through booty, slaves and land, and, just as importantly, it was the way to gain glory. Among the extraordinarily competitive nobility of Rome and the other Italian city-states, success in warfare, and its accompanying glory, was the prerequisite for political advancement and power. The Romans were by no means unique in this, but the shift to a Republican system had the effect of pitting the Roman elite into an unending Darwinian struggle for survival where only the most ruthless and able could reach the top. The effect was the complete militarisation of Roman society, from top to bottom (excluding the slaves, who remained property and a source of unease for free Romans in case they should revolt). The Romans believed that their founder, Romulus, was the son of Mars, the god of war, which made them all the descendants of Mars. They were, quite literally, bred for war. In the next few centuries, they would prove it.

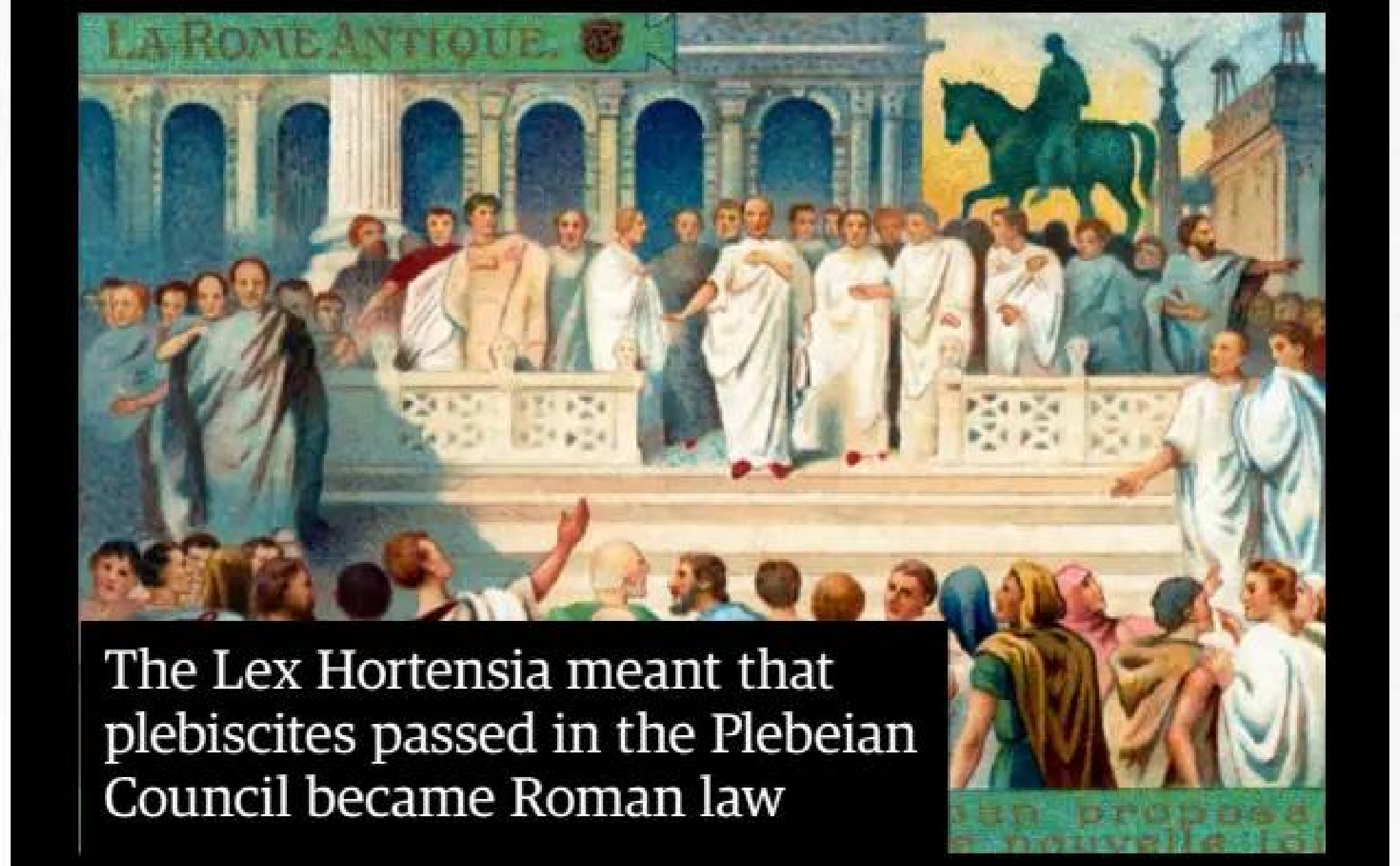
THE SAMNITE WARS

To the southeast of the rich Roman plain lies the long chain of Italy's spine, the Apennine Mountains. Living in those inhospitable hills were a people that were every bit as tough and resourceful as the Romans: the Samnites. Speaking Oscan, a sister language to Latin, the Samnites believed that they too were children of Mars (or 'Mamers' in Oscan), for they traced their presence in the south-central Apennines to following a bull sent by the god to lead them to their homeland. The Samnites were composed of four tribes, each with its tutelary animal. As Rome expanded its influence south into the rich and fertile plain of Campania, it came up against the Samnites, who were also expanding out from their

> "The Romans believed they were descendents of Mars, the god of war. They were, quite literally, bred for war"

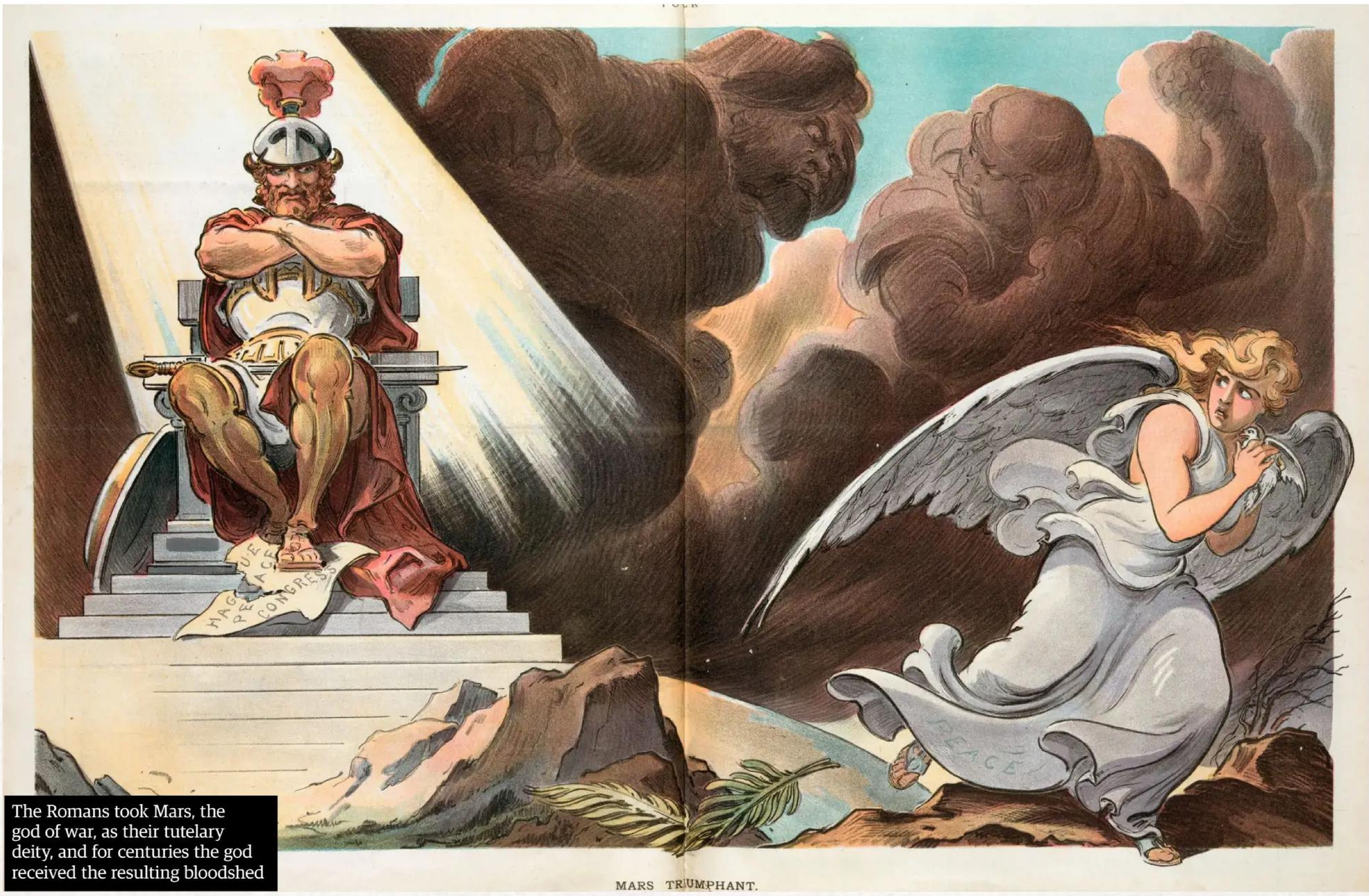
THE PEOPLE'S LAW

The Lex Hortensia gave Roman commoners a key voice in drafting new laws

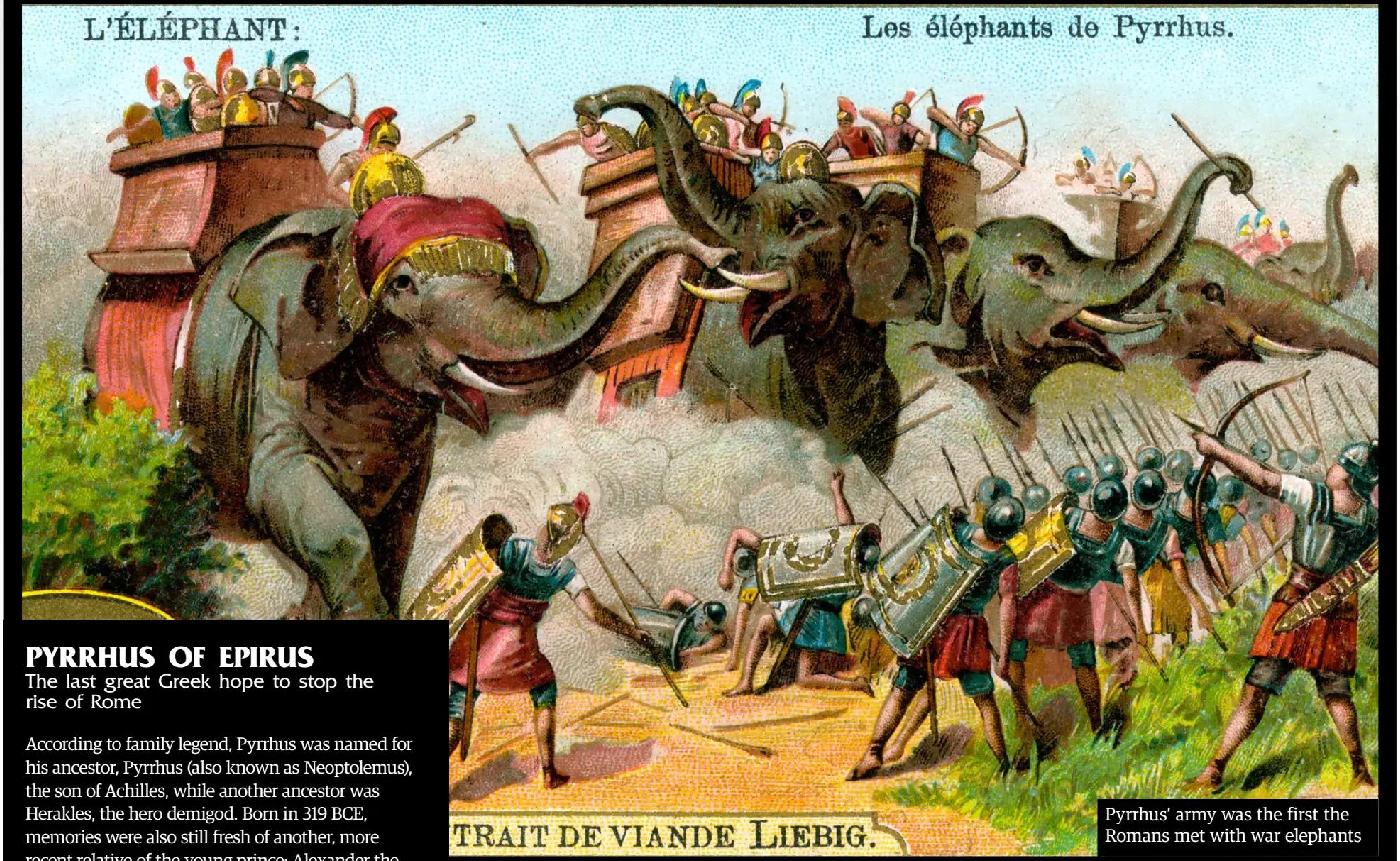

LA ROME ANTIQUE.

The Lex Hortensia meant that plebiscites passed in the Plebeian Council became Roman law

If Rome was marked by strife with its neighbours, its internal history was almost as scarred by the conflict between the patricians, the descendants of the original aristocratic class of Rome, and the plebeians, the free men of Rome without title. In this struggle, the greatest weapon the plebeians possessed was an early version of strike action: they would, as a body, leave the city and go to Janiculum, a hill on the west bank of the Tiber. In the aftermath of the Samnite Wars, the plebs were in a position to demand greater say in the running of Rome and they pushed hard, with their representative, Quintus Hortensius, elected dictator of Rome in 287 BCE, able to push through a law, the Lex Hortensia, that stipulated that all laws passed by the Plebeian Council, the assembly of Roman commoners, were law without requiring ratification by the Senate. The law ensured political representation for the plebeians and brought an end to the Conflict of the Orders.



The Romans took Mars, the god of war, as their tutelary deity, and for centuries the god received the resulting bloodshed


L'ÉLÉPHANT:
Les éléphants de Pyrrhus.
TRAIT DE VIANDE LIEBIG.

Pyrrhus' army was the first the Romans met with war elephants

PYRRHUS OF EPIRUS

The last great Greek hope to stop the rise of Rome

According to family legend, Pyrrhus was named for his ancestor, Pyrrhus (also known as Neoptolemus), the son of Achilles, while another ancestor was Herakles, the hero demigod. Born in 319 BCE, memories were also still fresh of another, more recent relative of the young prince: Alexander the Great (356–323 BCE).

With such a family, it was hardly any surprise that Pyrrhus turned to war to make a name for himself. With the Hellenistic world in turmoil as Alexander's generals fought to carve up his empire, the young prince attracted notice by his daring even when he fought on the losing side in the wars of the Diadochi, with Antigonus the One-Eyed going so far as to declare the young man a better general than Alexander so long as he lived to be old.

Installing himself as King of Epirus, Pyrrhus attracted an intensely loyal group of soldiers. His hopes of conquering Macedonia blocked, Pyrrhus took up the offer of the Greek-speaking city of Tarentum, in the arch of Italy's foot, to aid it against the expanding power of Rome. Sailing to Italy with an army that included 20 war elephants, Pyrrhus fought the Romans between 280 and 275 BCE, emerging victorious but at such cost that his response to the victory at the Battle of Asculum in 279 BCE – "If we are victorious in one more battle with the Romans, we shall be utterly ruined" – became proverbial as a Pyrrhic victory.

Leaving Italy, Pyrrhus took Sicily but was forced out and finally returned to Greece where, still fighting to create his legend, he died at the Battle of Argos in 272 BCE. Caught up in street fighting, the mother of one of the Argives, watching from the rooftop, saw Pyrrhus engaging her son in the street below and, wrenching out a roof tile, hurled it at the King of Epirus. The tile knocked Pyrrhus from his horse, the fall leaving him paralysed on the ground. Seeing him incapacitated, a soldier made to kill Pyrrhus but quailed before the expression in the paralysed king's face. But with Pyrrhus unable to move, the soldier inexpertly sawed off the king's head. It was an ignominious end to a flamboyant life.

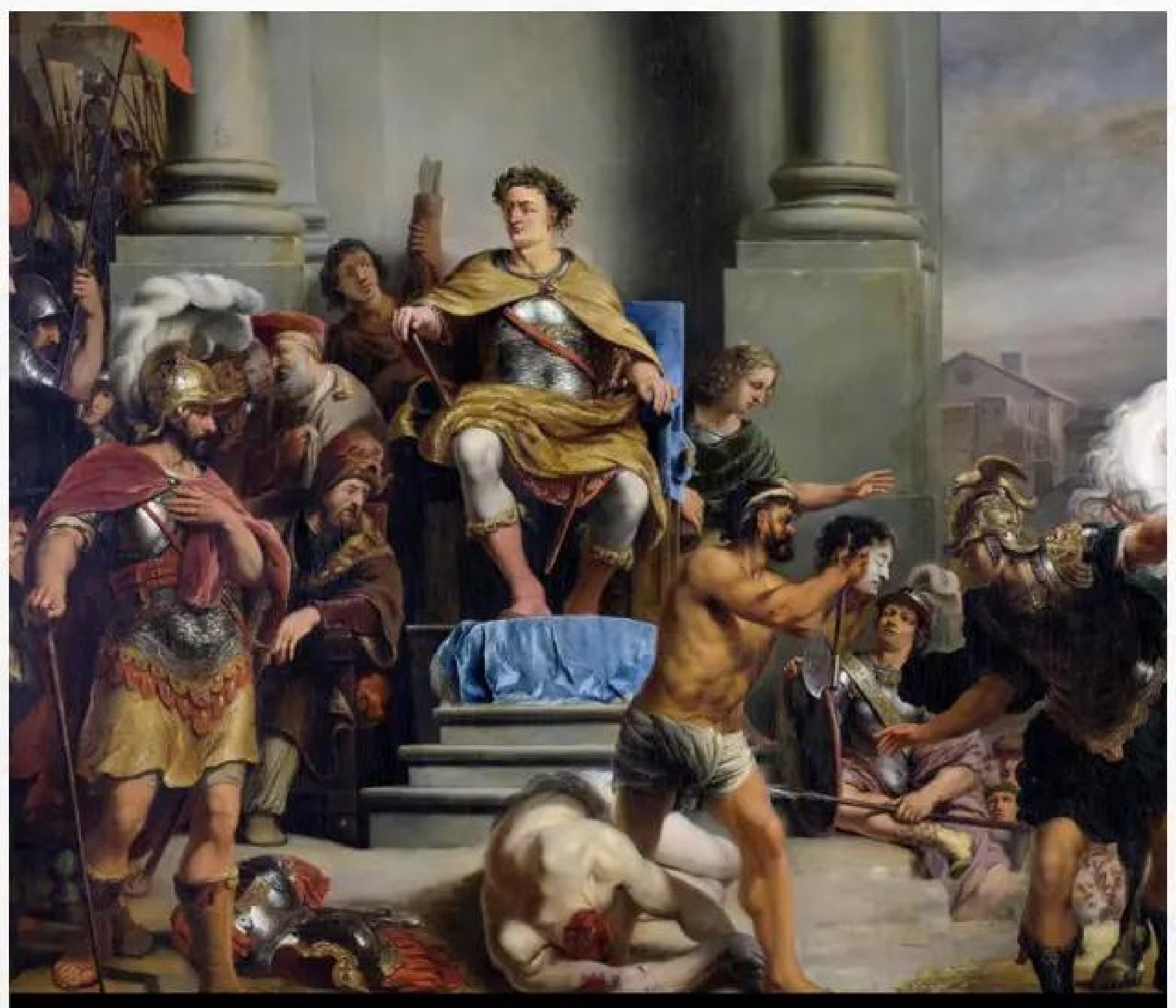
mountain stronghold. Conflict, in the war-torn world of 4th-century Italy, was inevitable. It would prove to be one of the longest and hardest struggles in Roman history.

There were, in fact, three distinct Samnite Wars, lasting from 343–341 BCE, 326–304 BCE and 298–290 BCE, with periods of peace in between. The First Samnite War resulted from Roman and Samnite contention over the rich city-state of Capua in the Campanian plain south of Rome and west of the Samnites. For their part, the Capuans appear to have tried to avoid becoming the bone of contention between two such formidable powers but eventually threw in their lot with the Romans.

Roman history of the period presents its endless wars of expansion as being waged in self-defence when it's clear that the Roman aristocracy was pursuing a vigorous policy of conquest to enrich itself and to gain the glory necessary for prestige in the status-conscious society of the Republic. This first war was brief and successful so far as the Romans were concerned, gaining the victorious consuls Valerius Corvus ('Valerius the Crow') and Cornelius Cossus ('Cornelius the Greasy') triumphs from a grateful Senate. The Romans might well have pressed on against the Samnites if they had not had to face a sudden revolt virtually on their own doorstep.

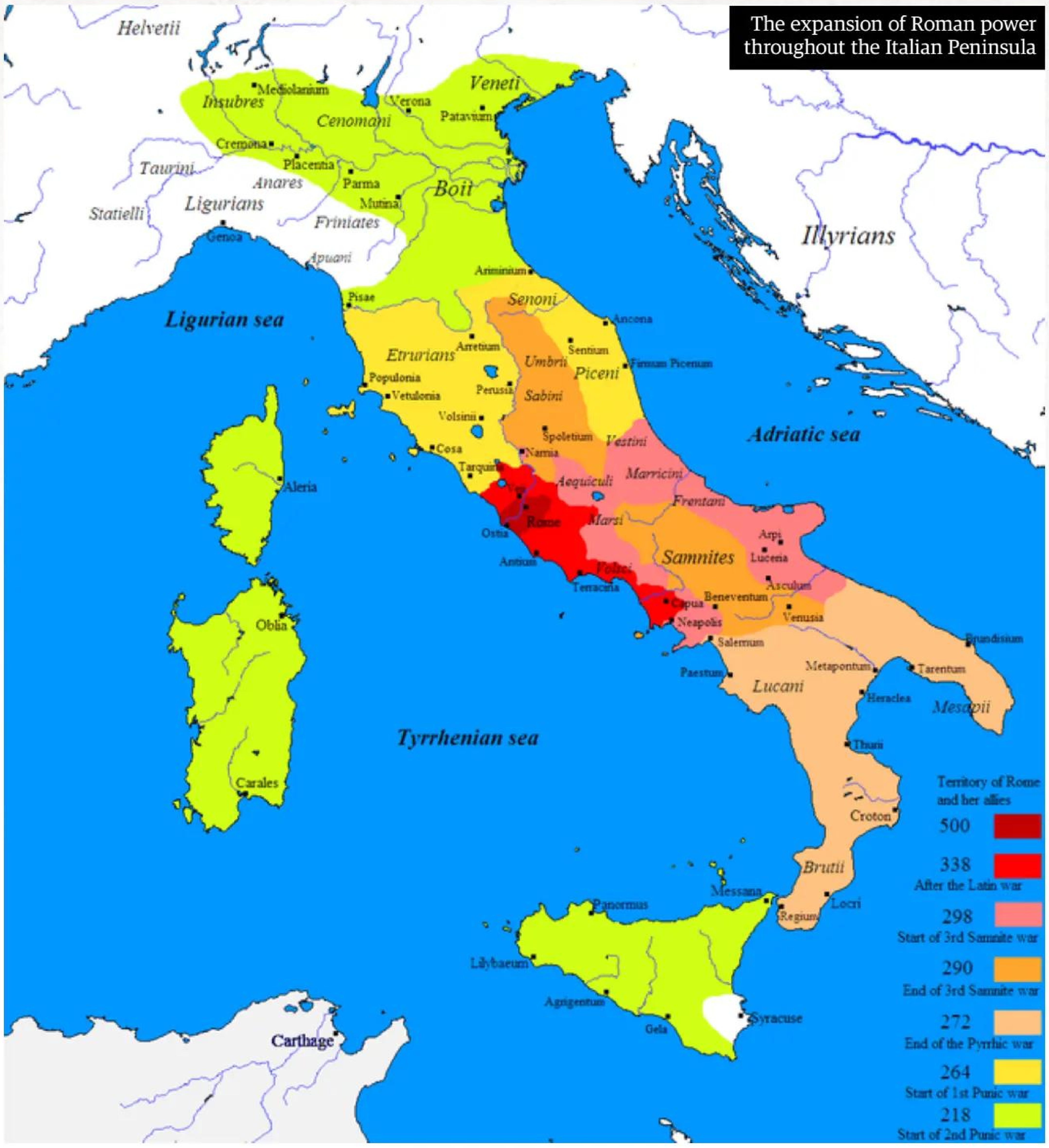
THE LATIN WAR

It's difficult, from our vantage point in history, to realise just how small the political units were in the early days of Rome. The city itself – and it would scarcely qualify as one today – was just one of about 30 villages and tribes that clustered mainly to the south of the Tiber River. To the north, the Etruscans were dominant, to the east, the Sabines. For mutual protection, the Latin-speaking tribes made alliances with each other and with Rome as the strongest state among them. However, as Roman power grew, the rest of the Latin League (a modern historical term coined by



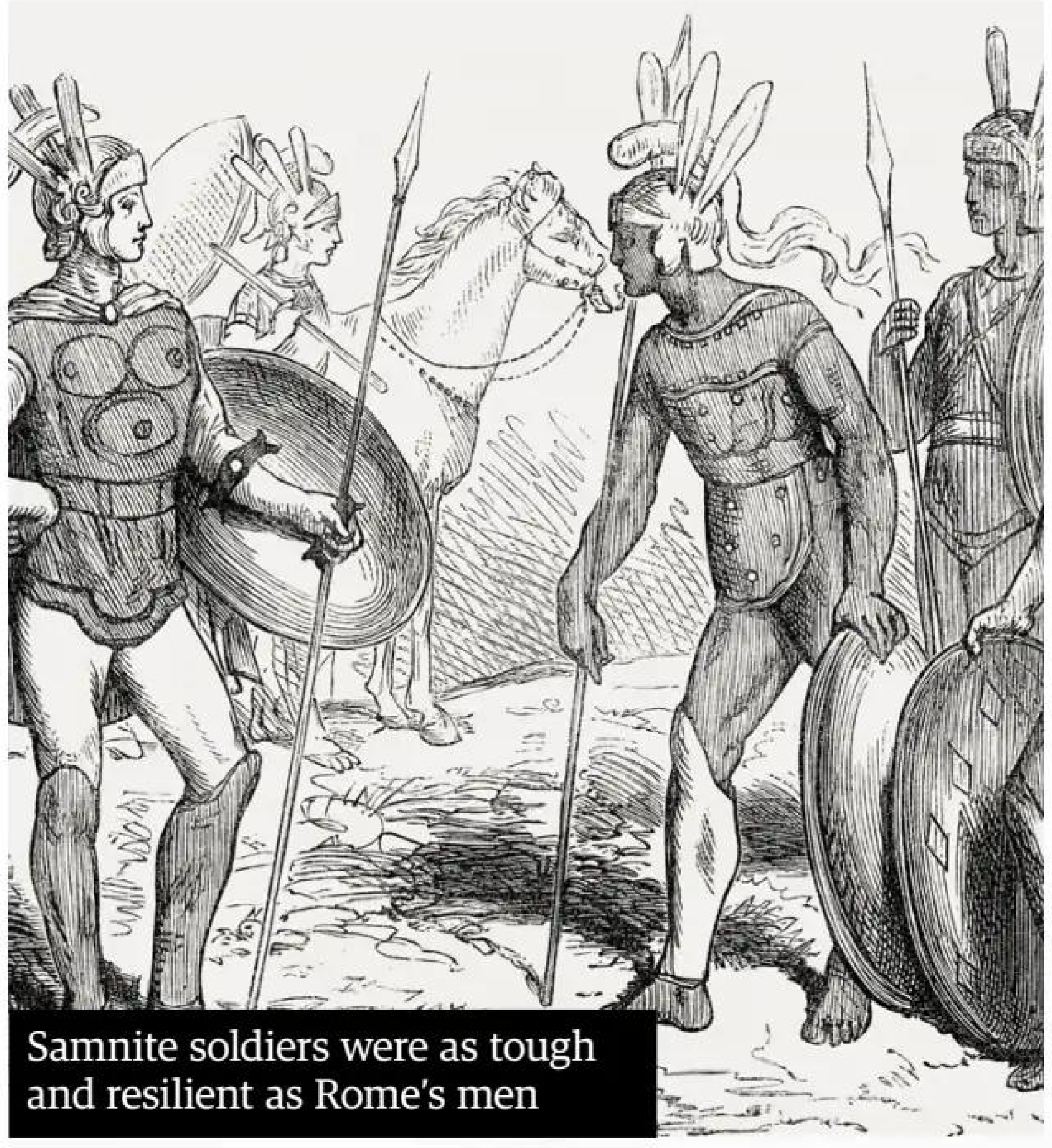
Consul Manlius Torquatus overseeing the execution of his own son for not following orders

Pyrrhus of Epirus, descendant of Achilles and Herakles, the last great Greek hope



The expansion of Roman power throughout the Italian Peninsula

Helvetii
Insubres
Mediolanium
Veneti
Verona
Cenomani
Patavium
Cremona
Taurini
Placentia
Anares
Parma
Mutina
Boii
Statielli
Ligurians
Friniates
Genoa
Apuani
Illyrians
Ariminium
Pisae
Senoni
Ligurian sea
Ancona
Etrurians
Arretium
Sentium
Umbri
Firmum Picenum
Picenti
Populonia
Vetulonia
Perusia
Sabini
Volsinii
Adriatic sea
Spoletium
Narnia
Vestini
Cosa
Tarquinii
Aleria
Aequiculi
Marrucini
Frentani
Ostia
Rome
Marsi
Arpi
Luceria
Samnites
Antium
Volsci
Asculum
Terracina
Capua
Beneventum
Neapolis
Venusia
Olbia
Salernum
Brundisium
Paestum
Metapontum
Tarentum
Lucani
Heraclea
Messapii
Tyrrhenian sea
Thurii
Carales
Territory of Rome and her allies
500
338 After the Latin war
Croton
298 Start of 3rd Samnite war
Brutii
Messana
Panormus
Locri
Regium
290 End of 3rd Samnite war
Lilybaeum
272 End of the Pyrrhic war
Agrigentum
Syracuse
Gela
Carthage
264 Start of 1st Punic war
218 Start of 2nd Punic war



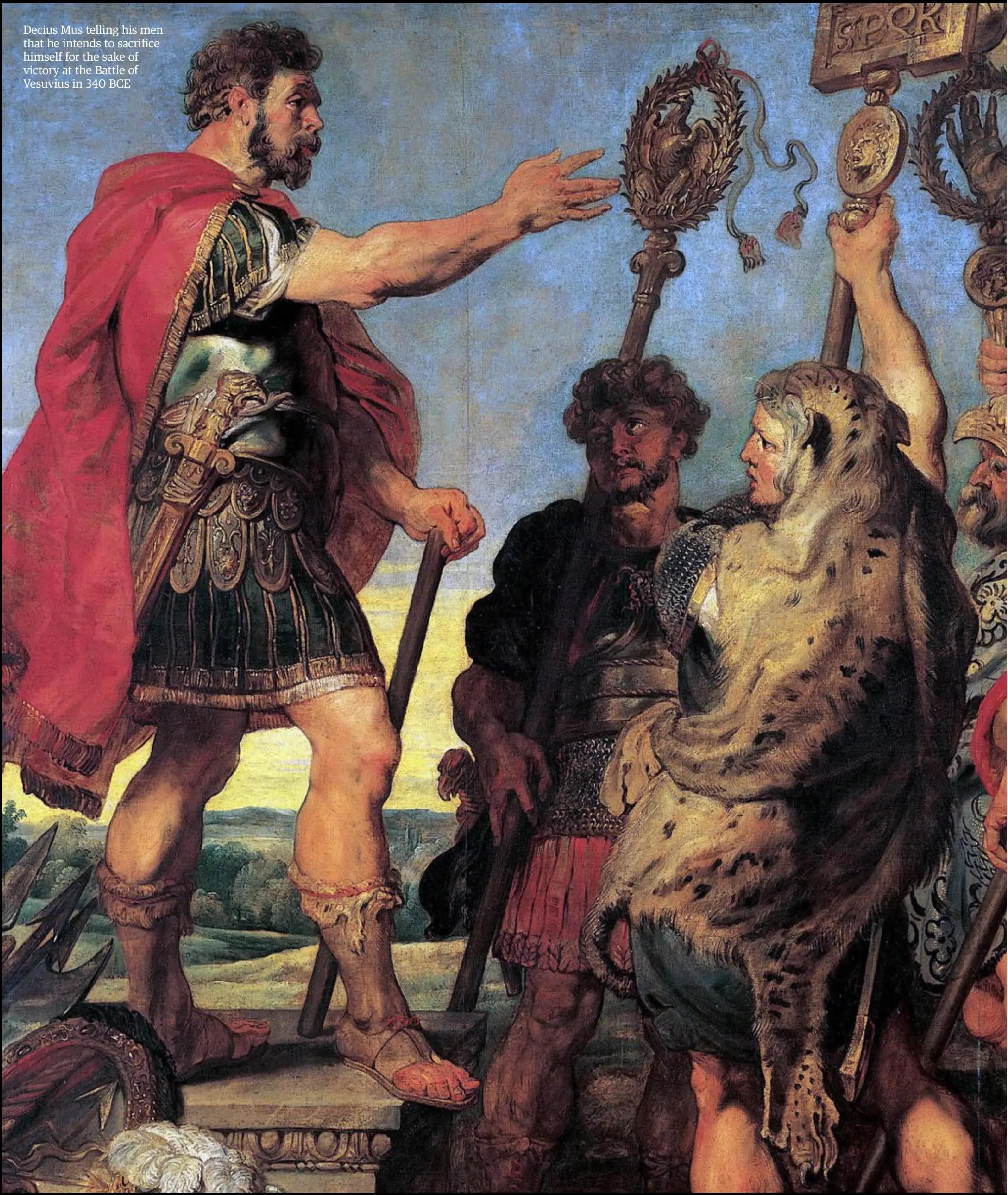
Samnite soldiers were as tough and resilient as Rome's men

> "Manlius Torquatus had his own son publicly beheaded for disobeying orders, an example of the Romans' unbending devotion to duty"

historians to describe this loose confederation) grew restless at the domination of their neighbour and began to chafe against Roman mastery. Having helped Rome in her struggles, the members of the Latin League asked for equal status with Roman citizens and equal voice in decision-making. The Romans rejected these demands: citizenship was still identical to place and blood. To be a Roman you had to have been born a Roman.

Seeing Roman forces engaged with the Samnites, the tribes of the Latin League sent out embassies to the people of Capua and Campania, who had only recently come under Roman domination, inviting them to join in the revolt. The Romans were never so vengeful as when fighting people whom they could convince themselves were traitors, but theirs was a vengefulness born as much from fear as righteousness: the Latins were on their doorstep and the city might fall to them when the Roman army was away campaigning.

The seriousness with which the Romans took the campaign can be judged by the extraordinary events of the Battle of Vesuvius, the first clash in the Latin War. The campaign was led by the consuls Titus Manlius Torquatus and Publius Decius Mus. Before the battle, the two consuls gave strict orders that all their troops were to remain with their units and avoid single combat under pain of death. They both also received a dream suggesting that victory would go to the side whose general was prepared to sacrifice himself to the Dii Manes, ancient chthonic gods of the dead. Battle joined, Decius Mus found the wing he was commanding under heavy pressure from the Latins. Calling on the gods of the underworld, Decius Mus performed the ritual of devotio under the guidance of the Pontifex Maximus, the high priest of Rome, and then, fully armoured, made a suicidal charge into the enemy's ranks. The Latins cut the consul down but, in the demon-haunted ancient world, all the combatants knew that the dark gods of death were now on the side of the Romans. Victory was assured. But it did not come before the son of the other consul, Manlius Torquatus, who was leading a 30-man troop of cavalry, was insulted and challenged by a high-ranking aristocrat of the Latin League. Stung into accepting the challenge, Manlius junior fought, killed and despoiled the enemy of his weapons and, after the battle was over, proudly came and laid the spoils of his victory before his father, the consul. Titus Manlius Torquatus congratulated his son for his victory and then called forward a lictor, one of the consul's bodyguard, and, before the horrified gaze of the army, had his son publicly



Decius Mus telling his men that he intends to sacrifice himself for the sake of victory at the Battle of Vesuvius in 340 BCE

beheaded for disobeying orders. This was held up, in generations to come, as an example to future Romans of the unbending devotion to duty that won Rome its pre-eminence.

Having won, through ritual and sacrifice, the Battle of Vesuvius, the Romans followed up with a crushing victory at the Battle of Trifanum that forced the Capuans back into the Roman fold, although the Latin League continued to resist for another two years. Having dissolved the Latin League, the question arose as to what to do with these troublesome neighbours. The answer was the first step towards widening the idea of Roman citizenship that would prove crucial in the creation of the wider Roman state. The peoples of the Latin League were given commercium, the right to do business with Rome, and connubium, the right to marry Roman citizens, as well as civitas sine suffragio, Roman citizenship but without voting rights. The idea of what it was to be a citizen of Rome was beginning to spread beyond ties of blood and place; it was on its way to becoming an idea.

THE SAMNITES FIGHT BACK

The Samnites were almost as stern as the Romans. Unwilling to lose their independence, they rose against Rome in two further wars, dealing out a number of crushing defeats to the Romans along the way. Of particular note were the Battle of the Caudine Forks in 321 BCE, which was a humiliation rather than defeat as the trapped Romans were allowed to leave unharmed but stripped of weapons and honour, and the Battle of Lautulae in 315 BCE, where the Samnites were not so merciful.

> "The trapped Romans were allowed to leave unharmed but stripped of weapons and honour"

Faced with these adaptable mountain warriors, the Romans adopted the Samnite tactic of fighting in maniples rather than the less flexible phalanx formation that they had used before. The maniple formation consisted of a forward line of skirmishers, the velites ('swift ones'), who were young, poor and, as a result, lightly armed. Behind them came a triple line of infantry arranged in a chessboard pattern that allowed the front line to retire behind their comrades. Once the velites had engaged the enemy they retreated through the Roman line, which then formed up in its first battle formation with the hastati. These were also young men, relatively raw in battle but eager and with enough money to buy armour, shield and sword. Behind them were the principes, seasoned troops who were well armed and, at the back, the triarii, veteran troops who had seen it all and were heavily armoured and carried long spears rather than swords. As the last line of the battle formation, the triarii prompted a Roman saying, 'res ad triarios venit res ad triarios venit' ('It comes down to the triarii') when fighting to the wire. The flanks were screened by equites, Roman cavalry, the richest and most aristocratic soldiers in the Roman army. The manipular formation allowed the Romans much greater battlefield flexibility and helped infantry advance over rough ground without losing their formation and cohesion. It was a key element in future Roman military success.

With their new tactical formations in place, the Romans inflicted two crushing defeats on the Samnites, forcing them to sue for peace in 304 BCE. But even after so much death, the Samnites still clung stubbornly to their independence and rose up in a final bid to throw off the Roman yoke in 298 BCE. With the peoples of Italy beginning to realise that Roman domination was not going to pass, others among Rome's ancient enemies joined the Samnites in making a final bid to break free from Roman rule. The Etruscans, the Umbrians, even the Gauls joined the Samnites and launched coordinated attacks from the south, east and north. However, the Romans quickly beat a Samnite army and then turned to deal with the others, the war coming to a head at the Battle of Sentinum in 295 BCE, where the Romans faced a combined army of Samnites and Gauls. Commanding the left wing of the Roman army was Publius Decius Mus, the son of the consul who had sacrificed himself for victory at the Battle of Vesuvius. With the Romans again hard-pressed, the son emulated his father, performed the ritual of devotio and sacrificed himself in a suicidal charge into the enemy. The Samnites and the Gauls, unmanned by this new sacrifice by another member of the Decian clan, were thrown into despair and confusion and the Romans won a decisive victory. The Samnites were absorbed into the growing Roman state. By now, central Italy was firmly in the grasp of Rome. Only the south of the boot of Italy remained unconquered. But this offered fresh challenges for the growing power of Rome, for the south of Italy was not Italian but Magna Graecia ('Greater Greece'), its cities founded and inhabited by Greek-speaking peoples who had brought Hellenistic culture and commerce into the central Mediterranean. They were the heirs of Alexander and they would not surrender without a struggle.

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DAILY LIFE IN THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

FROM GLAD RAGS TO GLADIATORS, IMMERSE YOURSELF IN THE ROMAN WAY OF LIFE

Written by Bee Ginger

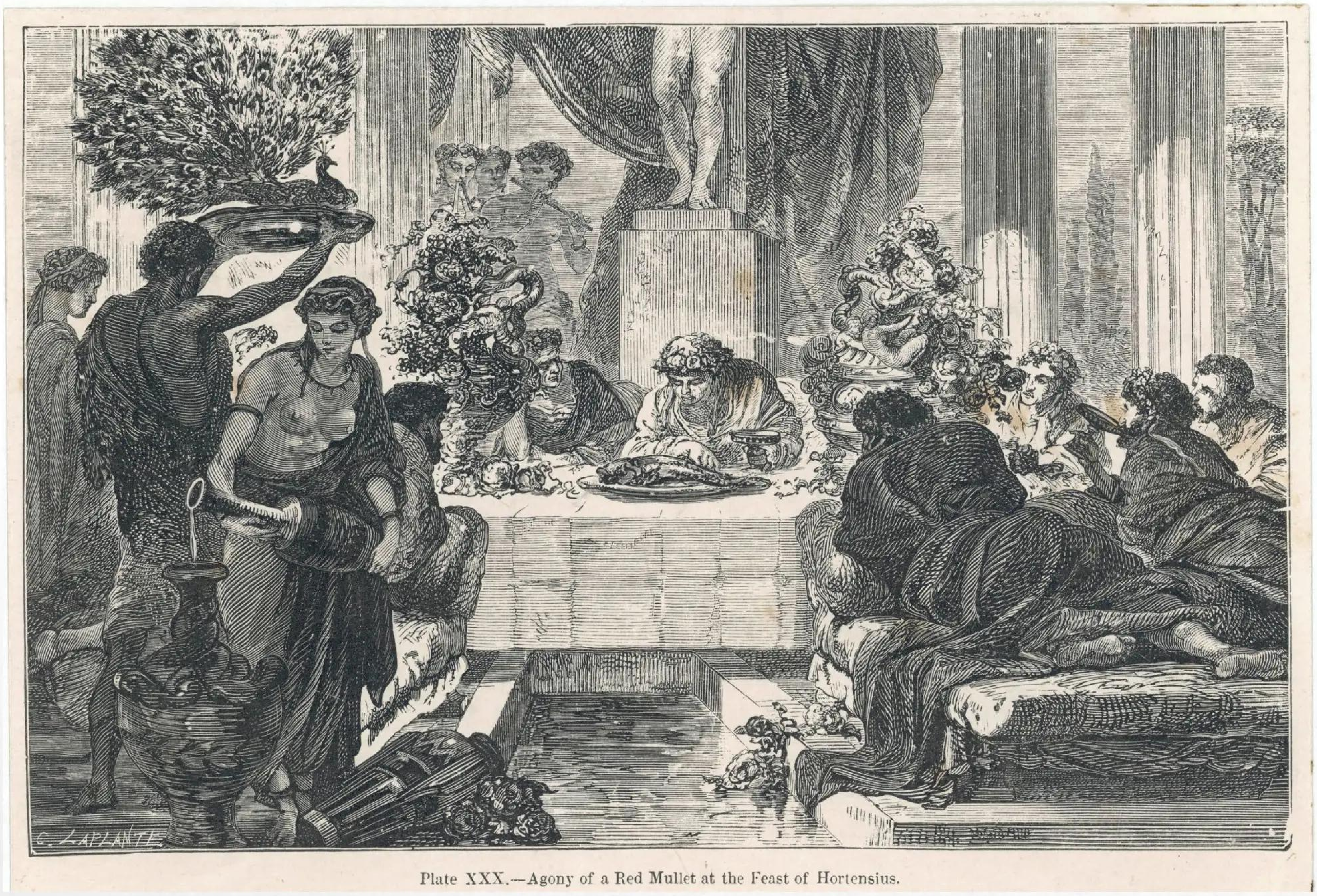
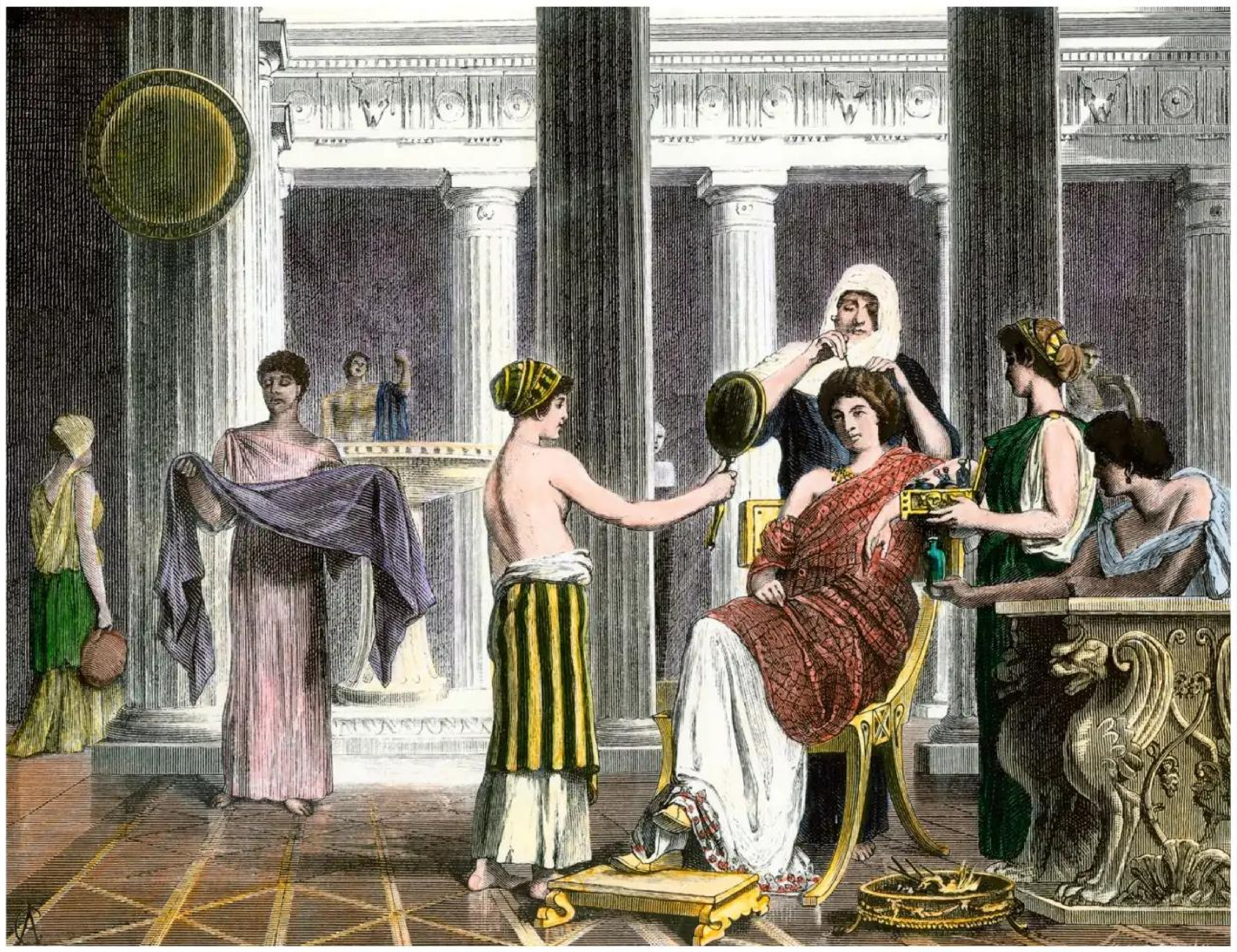


Plate XXX.—Agony of a Red Mullet at the Feast of Hortensius.

As one might expect, the differences in lifestyles between the poor and the wealthy of the Roman Republic were worlds apart. Daily life differed drastically depending on your whereabouts in the Republic, but even more so on your standing in society. Having encompassed numerous different cultures throughout its existence, the Roman Republic was a melting pot of ethnic, religious and diverse beliefs. As in today's society, who you were had a big impact on your day-to-day life. It goes without saying that a slave would have a vastly different lifestyle to that of a wealthy patrician, but, between these two extremes, the citizens making up the rest of the population all had varied expectations and opportunities. Romans worked hard to earn a living, spent time with family and friends, enjoyed leisure time and pursued sporting activities and events. This is something to which we can all relate today.

THE FAMILY STRUCTURE



The Romans gave a much broader meaning to the term 'family' (familias). It was extended not only to blood relations but to anyone with whom the family was familiar, even slaves.

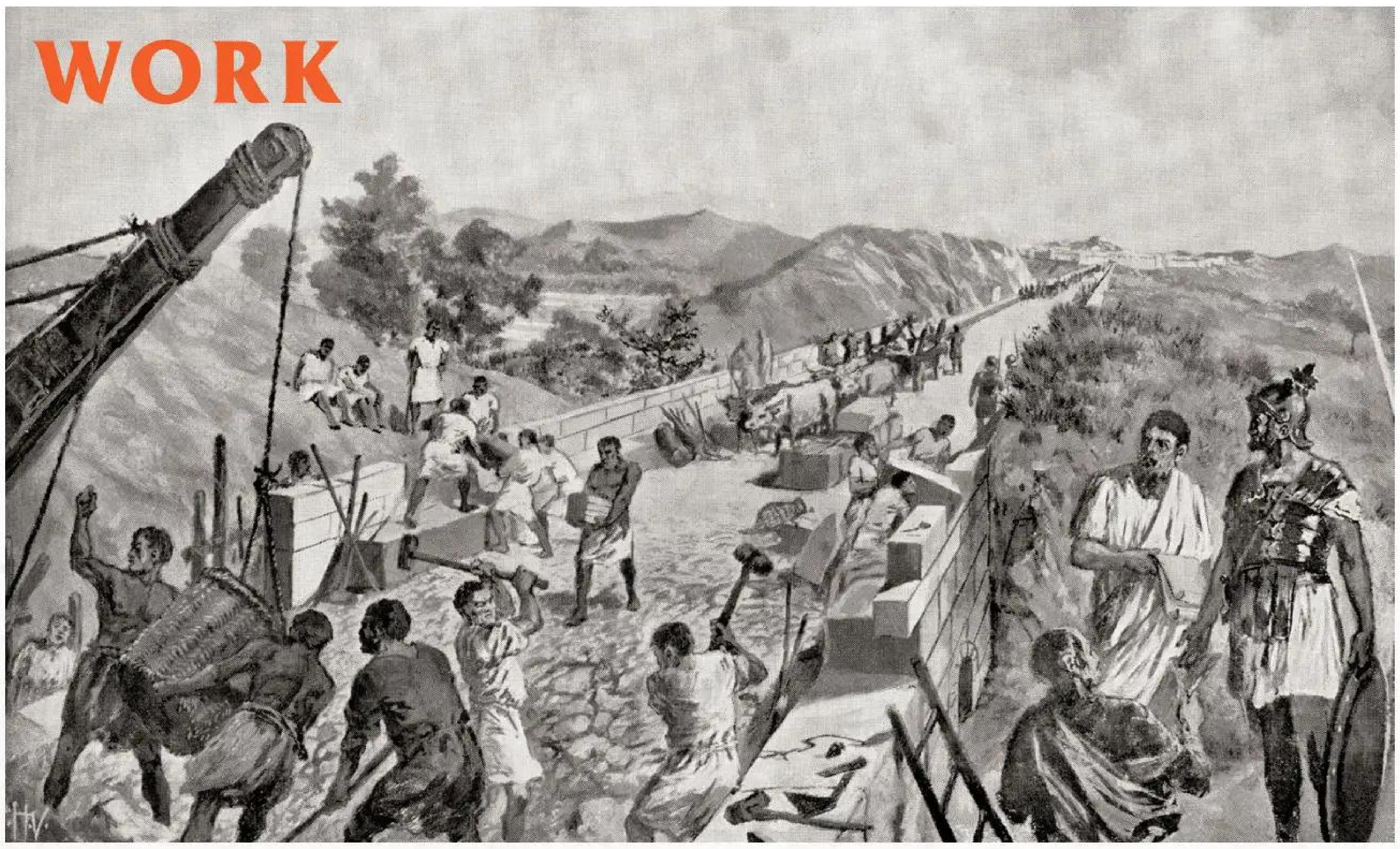
Families were patriarchal, led by the oldest living male – the paterfamilias, or 'father of the family'. He had complete authority over everyone else – his power was so absolute that he could divorce his wife or sell her into slavery if he so wished. He would choose partners for his children, and if a child misbehaved he could punish them with slavery, banishment or even death. His newborn children were placed at his feet so he could decide if they would be raised by the family or discarded. If they were deemed to be weak they would be left outside to either die or be picked up and raised as a slave by someone else.

Despite initially not having many legal rights, the wife of the paterfamilias, the materfamilias, had prestige and respect in the home and society. She raised the children but also took responsibility for the running of the household and finances. She was permitted to leave the home to visit courts with her husband, attend the theatre or games, and visit her friends. A materfamilias was honoured. Those from powerful and wealthy families could run businesses and even own property. They could hire slaves to do their housework, allowing them more time for entertainment and the study of literature and art. Due to high infant mortality rates, women were rewarded with legal independence if they birthed three live babies (or four children for former slaves).

Sons were greatly valued as heirs because they brought money into the home. If a family had no sons to carry on the name, it was common to adopt males, such as a nephew, to ensure an heir. It was expected that a son would follow in his father's footsteps, whether that be a slave or a politician.

Daughters would pass into their husband's family households, and, by 'marrying up' in society, they could increase their parents' influence and status.

WORK



While there was no legal requirement for children to be educated, most did learn to read and write. Boys could attend school, although those from wealthy families often had private tutors in the home instead. Boys were taught about customs, laws and traditions, as well as respect for authority and the gods. They were taught to obey and to demonstrate the qualities of dignity and virtue. They also learned arithmetic, reading and writing, and they were hit with a cane if they made mistakes. Girls, meanwhile, were taught by their mothers about the household, mending clothes and how to prepare and cook food.

At the beginning of the Republic, the majority of Romans were farmers and fought for their country when called upon. Jobs became more specialised as the Republic developed. People were paid in food, shelter and goods and, on occasion, in coins. In addition to farmers, there were engineers, architects, craftsmen, fishermen, artists, merchants, traders and slaves. However, the majority of Romans were poor and worked as unskilled labourers.

As the Republic grew, the use of slaves became more common. Many worked in homes and on farms, while others constructed bridges, roads and buildings. Slaves were kidnapped from villages and towns in newly conquered territories, and prisoners of war were sold in local slave markets. Wealthy Romans could have over 100 slaves working for them in their homes, the majority of whom cooked, cleaned, served and washed, but some who were educated also tutored. Rich women would have slaves (known as ornatrices) to help them dress and apply make-up. Those slaves doing essential work in the home were often treated with more kindness than those working elsewhere, although they still had no rights and could be killed by their masters. The only way they could be free was by buying their freedom or if their masters gifted it to them.

“Public entertainment was provided to keep citizens content and prevent uprisings”

LEISURE TIME

As for us all today, leisure time was important to the Romans. Following their evening meal, families would enjoy art, reading, sports, music and dancing. It was an opportunity for the elders to spend time teaching their children about their history. The Romans' leisure activities were varied, with a great deal of public entertainment provided to keep citizens content and prevent uprisings. In addition to gladiatorial combat and chariot races, there were public executions, beast hunts and theatrical performances to enjoy.

Gardening was a popular pastime, with the bonus of it providing fresh food for the family. Swimming, too, was favoured and widely practised in rivers, as well as the Roman baths, which were equipped with plunge pools. Ball games were considered great fun, and there are accounts of women participating too. Romans enjoyed a variety of sporting activities including handball, field hockey and catch games. For the Roman elite, fishing and hunting were popular. Boys would accompany their fathers to learn marksmanship and fishing and hunting skills. Equestrian skills were also beneficial, and riding was a preferred activity of young boys. Fitness was important too, and boxing and wrestling were enjoyed by many as they not only improved overall fitness but built stamina and strength. Layers of cloth were wrapped tightly around athletes' hands to create a style of boxing glove.

The Romans were creative in their games - one particularly popular game was knucklebones, where pig or sheep bones would be thrown into the air and contestants had to catch as many as they could on the backs of their hands.

One particular pastime quite literally left its mark, and its discovery many centuries later has helped historians better understand how ordinary Romans thought and felt. Graffiato, meaning 'scratched' - which we now know as graffiti - was adopted by all levels of society. It was etched on walls and columns and used to express slogans, hate, love and curses. Graffiato was also used as a way of providing information about events, times and locations - for example, who was standing in a political election, who had been breaking the law, which gladiator was the most popular, and even where best to find a prostitute!

FOOD

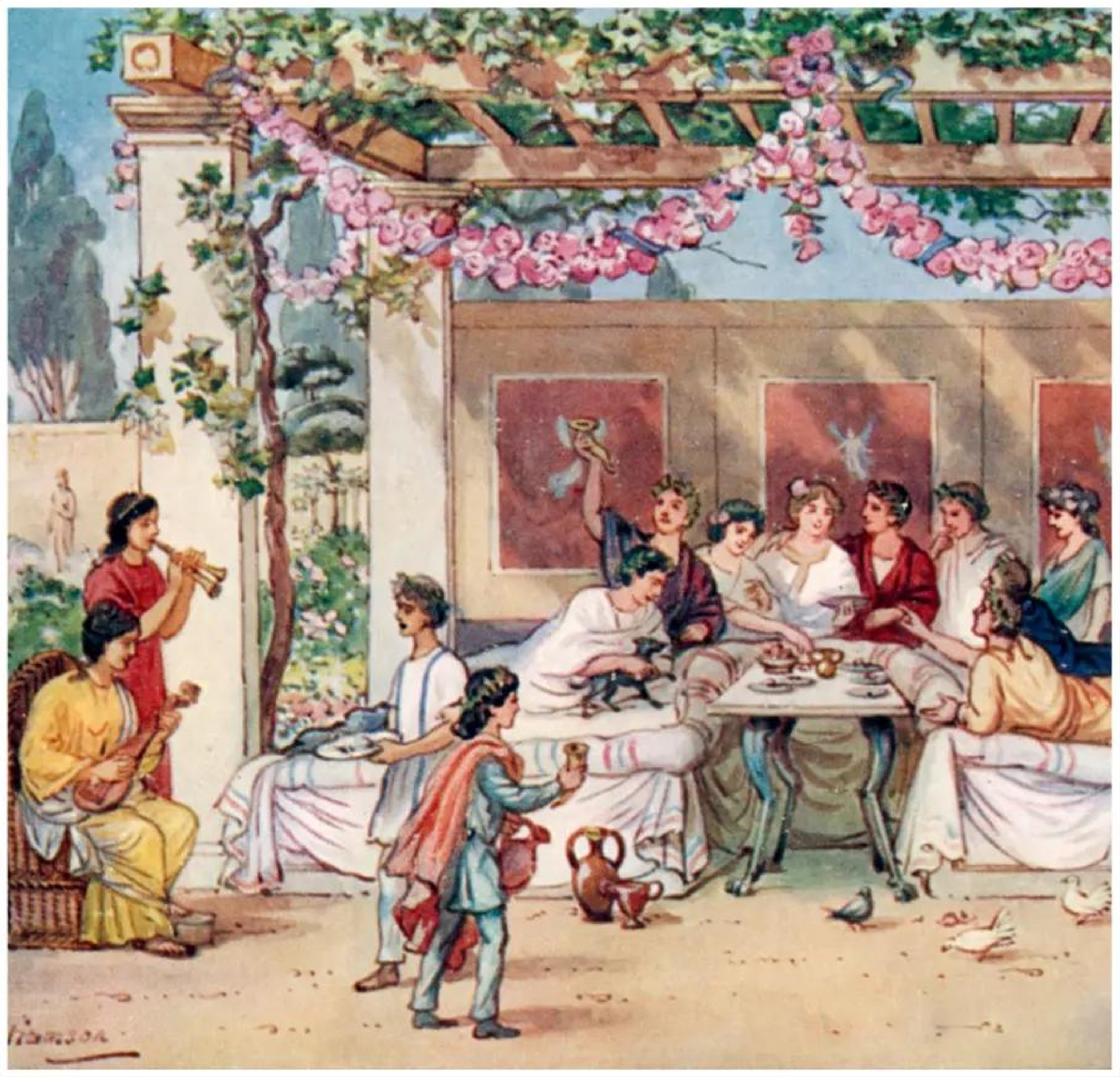
Roman fare differed greatly to what we might imagine - there was no spaghetti pomodoro, as tomatoes, corn and potatoes came from the Americas, and pasta was not a staple food until much later. Food was fairly austere in the early days of the Republic, but as its territories grew so in turn did the importance of food, and it soon became a way to display wealth.

As one would expect, slaves and poorer Romans lived on basic food, such as bread, porridge and stew, but the wealthy enjoyed more variety. Bread was an important staple in the Roman diet; those less fortunate received free bread from the state and lived on beans and lentils, eating very little meat or fish.

Slaves, the lower classes and soldiers drank posca, a low-quality, vinegar-like wine mixed with water, herbs and spices. Posca was despised by the wealthy, who drank quality wine diluted with water, which was often spiced or sweetened with honey. Drinking wine undiluted wasn't considered respectable.

Breakfast for most citizens was often bread or wheat biscuits with honey, and lunch would be a spread of bread, cheese (from sheep or goat's milk), eggs and salad. The biggest meal of the day was dinner, or cena. Regular citizens ate roast meat, but for those less fortunate it was often porridge or bread, water and honey. They were also given free food and entertainment by politicians trying to gain support.

At a dinner party for the wealthy, a meal could be as many as seven courses. Guests would bring with them a large napkin in which to transport leftovers home. This 'doggy bag' was encouraged by the host as it showed his meal had been well received. Seafood would have been served, such as oysters, mackerel and eels. Duck, geese, lamb, hare, chicken, pork and even peacock were also available, in addition to eggs, vegetables, salads and fresh breads. Desserts were cakes sweetened with honey, nuts, and fruit. They also enjoyed many unusual foods, including flamingo, ravens and fried stuffed dormouse!



RELIGION/WORSHIP

The religion of the early Romans was polytheistic, meaning they worshipped many gods and goddesses. The early forms of religion were animistic in nature, and the Romans believed that spirits inhabited everything around them, including people. They also believed they were being watched over and protected by the spirits of their ancestors. Rivers, buildings, trees and fields had their own spirits, as did Roman households. These were protective gods and spirits – for example, Vesta was the goddess of the hearth, the home and domestic life. Panes and Penates were the spirits of the pantry and kitchen. Before a meal, when blessings would be asked for, a portion of food would be thrown in the fire by way of an offering to them. Lares were the spirits of the family's ancestors, and needed to be honoured daily. Shrines (known as lararium) would be built and dedicated to these spirits. The head of the family would make regular sacrifices honouring the family spirit to ensure they were watched over. Those who neglected the gods would suffer.

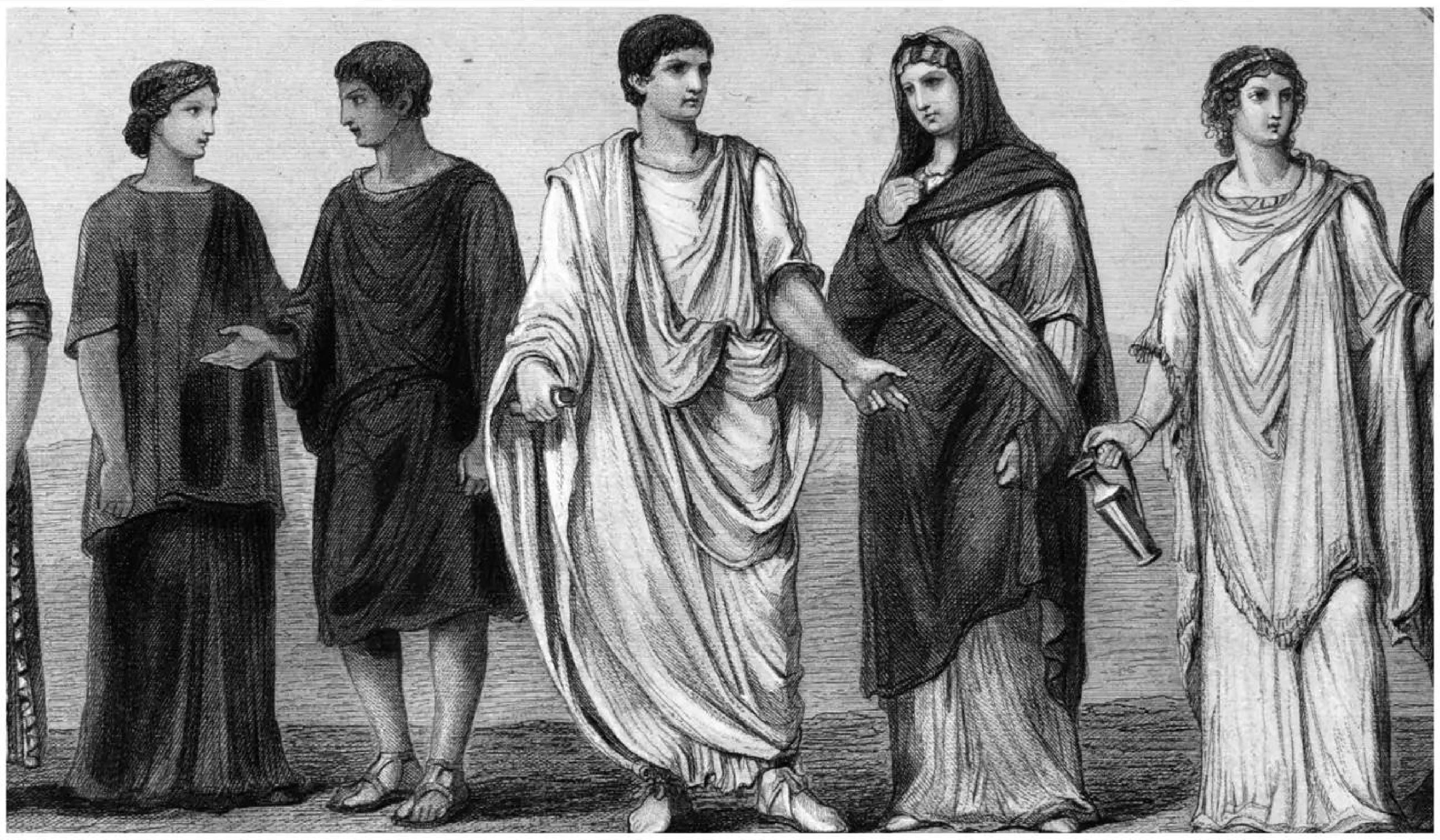
It was also believed that spirits would congregate at crossroads, therefore the Romans built small shrines wherever paths and roads met. There was even a Festival of the Crossroads – Compitalia – during which families would hang dolls and balls made from wool by their nearest road shrine. The dolls represented the family members and the balls their slaves. Sacrifices were also made.

The well-being of Rome depended on its state deities, so religious beliefs and practices were mandated, not that its citizens required much encouragement. The gods' opinions and will were discerned by priests and magistrates, who were trained in augury (interpreting omens from the behaviour of birds), haruspicy (the inspection of the entrails of sacrificed animals) and the interpretation of omens.

With the expansion of the Republic's territory the Romans adopted many of the gods of the lands and people they conquered. They were particularly fond of many of the Greek gods, giving them Latin names and adopting them for their own uses. Like the Greeks, the early Romans believed that the gods and goddesses were from Mount Olympus, and they were called upon for guidance and protection during prayer.

It was law that all Romans, wherever they were in the world, were to worship these gods. Over time, however, the religion of ancient Rome grew increasingly diverse. Each new culture would bring its own deities and form of worship. Patrons and deities were adopted by different cities, who performed their own rituals, and temples were built throughout the Republic's lands. Each temple was considered the home of its god, and worship would occur outside. Temples could also offer refuge to the needy. The sick would go to temples dedicated to the god of healing, where they would be treated with plant-based medicine.

CLOTHING



While we often picture Romans in togas, they weren't actually worn every day. They began as simple, practical garments, but when they became more cumbersome they were reserved for public events such as civic duties and rituals, and tunics were the preferred dress for daily wear. Originally togas were worn by both sexes, but after the 2nd century BCE women were required to wear a stola (a long pleated dress) and palla (cloak) instead.

The toga was a status symbol – its colour, length and how it was worn spoke volumes about its wearer. The arrangement of the folds could show a person's refinement, and a slave who could form pockets was desirable. Togas were very heavy and the wearer's left arm had to support its weight. Therefore, if the wearer was still neatly turned out after hours of wear, he was truly a man of leisure. Most telling, though, was the colour of the toga.

A regular citizen wore a plain toga, the toga virilis. It was actually cream in colour, not the white we often picture. Political candidates wore a bleached version – the toga candida (hence the word 'candidate') – as they were expected to be more honest. Mourners wore the toga pulla, which was dyed a dark colour. The toga praetexta, with its purple stripe, was highly coveted. It was a sign of great wealth, power and importance, since the dye (extracted from shellfish) was obscenely expensive. The toga picta was all-purple and embellished with gold and intricate embroidery and was worn by only the most prominent figures.

Women dressed in white until after marriage, when they were permitted to wear other colours. Most clothing was made from wool, but wealthier families could afford cotton, linen or sometimes even silk.

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A DAY IN THE LIFE OF A DOMESTIC SLAVE IN ANCIENT ROME

AN EMPIRE BUILT ON FORCED LABOUR

During the time of the Roman Empire, up to a third of the population of Rome consisted of slaves. These men, women and children had often been captured in battle and were then bought by wealthy Romans to work for them in exchange for basic food and lodging. But slavery wasn't a new phenomenon; slaves had been used throughout the Roman Republic for centuries prior to the emergence of the empire. Used for a range of duties including manual labour, cleaning, cooking and transport services, slaves were considered a symbol of wealth for Rome's elite. Living conditions for a slave were often brutal, and they lived relatively short lives as a result of this.

GET UP

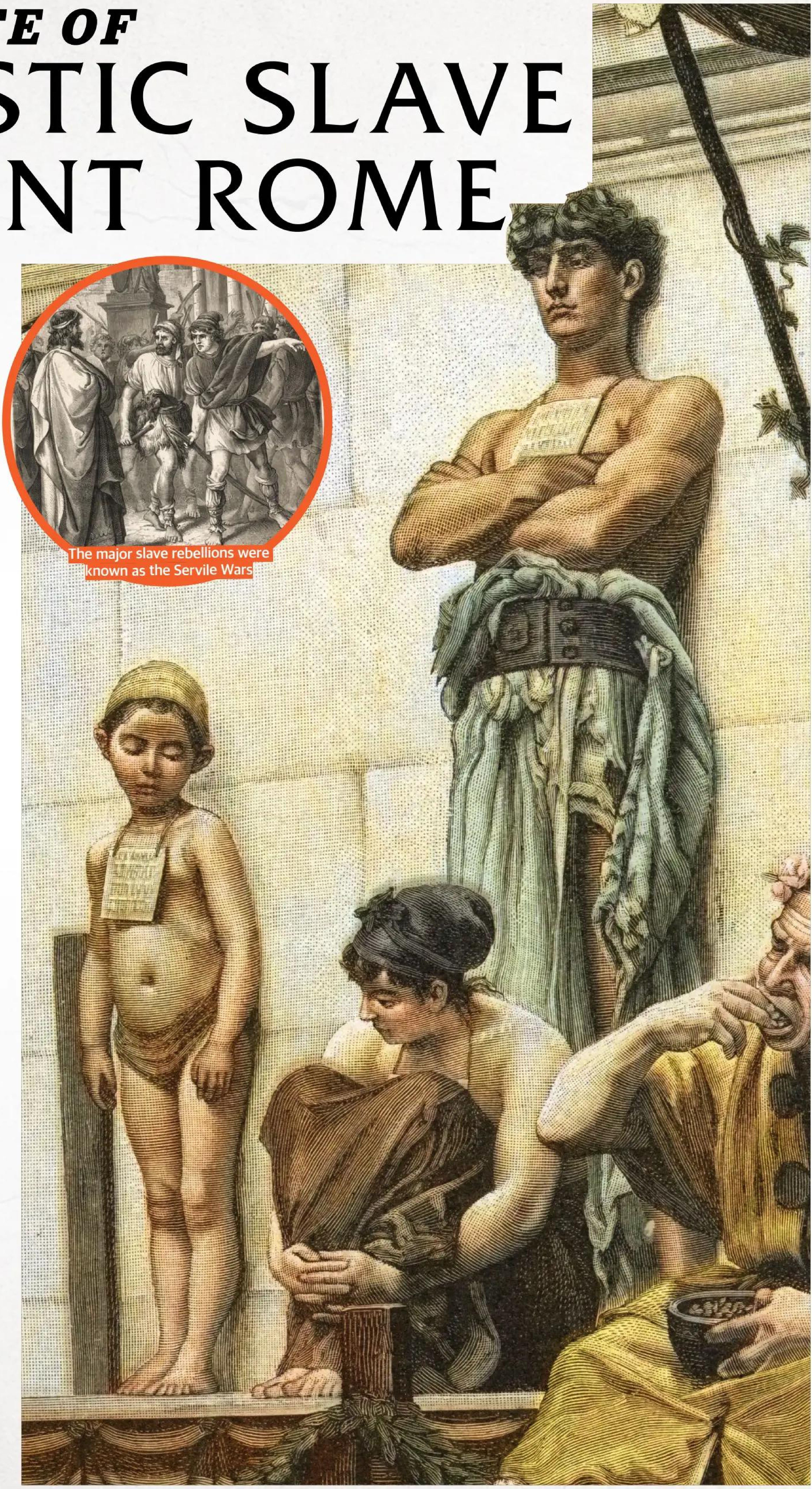
Slaves were expected to be up at dawn and dress in linen or wool tunics and wooden shoes issued by their master. Their outfits were similar to those of Roman citizens, but when the Senate once suggested the idea of a slave uniform, it was rejected for fear that the slaves may revolt if they could easily see just how large their numbers were.

DO THE CHORES

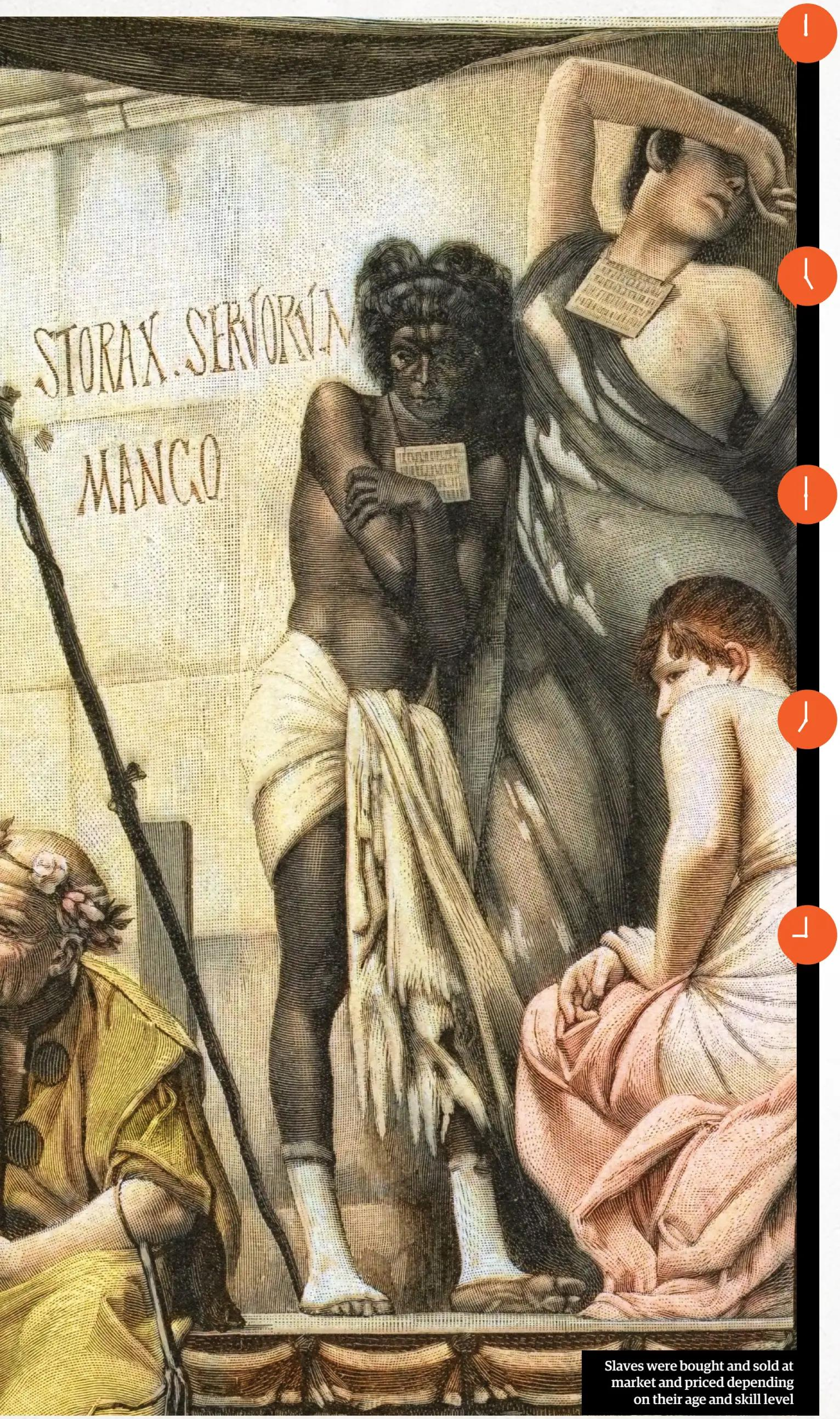
A slave's day began with lighting fires for the under-floor heating, fetching water and preparing the master's breakfast. Once the master was awake, they would wash and dress them and serve their morning meal, all while being seen and not heard. The slaves themselves would receive meagre rations of bread, fruit and cheap wine to set them up for the day.

START WORK

Household slaves would spend the majority of their days cooking, cleaning and running errands, such as taking the children to school, buying groceries and repairing clothes. Some were treated well in recognition of their hard work, but they still had no right to own anything or have a family. Skilled slaves could also work as teachers, accountants, doctors and musicians, sometimes for minimal pay.



The major slave rebellions were known as the Servile Wars



Slaves were bought and sold at market and priced depending on their age and skill level

REBEL

Tired of having no rights to freedom, the slaves of Rome staged three separate rebellions but were defeated every time. The most famous revolt was led by Spartacus between 73 and 71 BCE, and ended in his death and 6,000 of his followers being crucified. However, some slaves preferred to use more subtle methods of resistance, such as embezzling their master's money.

BE PUNISHED

If a slave was caught misbehaving or simply did something their master didn't approve of, they could be whipped, chained, tortured and even killed with no legal repercussions. The Roman equestrian Publius Vedius Pollio was well known for his particularly cruel method of punishing his slaves: feeding them alive to his pet lamprey eels.

PREPARE A FEAST

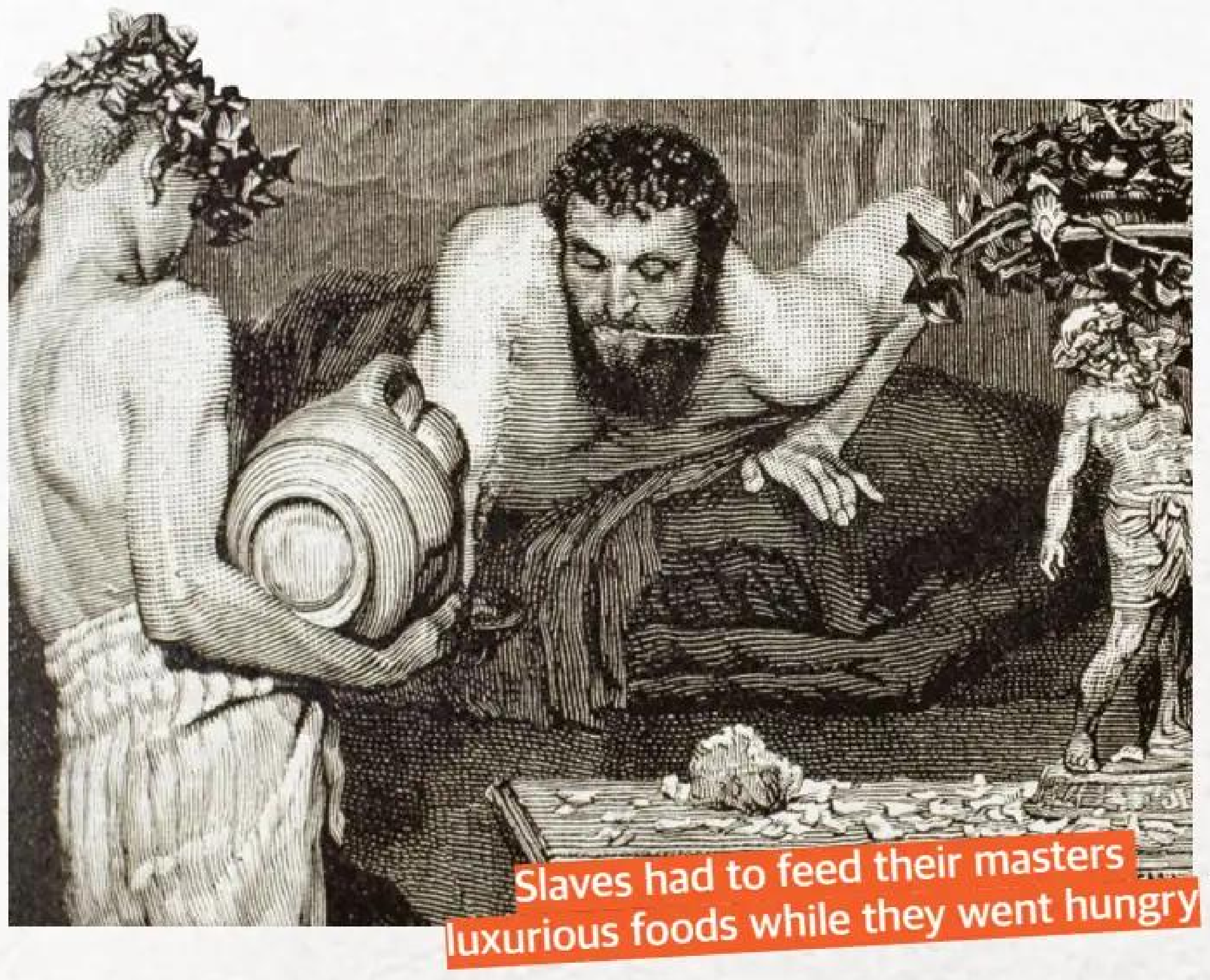
If their master was invited to a banquet, slaves would be tasked with carrying him there in a portable bed called a litter. Meanwhile, the slaves of the banquet's host would be busy preparing the feast. Once the guests had arrived, it would then be the slaves' job to serve them food, provide the entertainment and clean up afterwards.

SWAP ROLES

During the Roman festival of Saturnalia, an annual celebration of the deity Saturn, it was common for slaves and their masters to switch places. For the seven days of festivities beginning on 17 December, masters would serve their slaves lavish banquets, permit them to gamble and even swap clothes with them, all in the spirit of goodwill.

BUY FREEDOM

Slaves could only be set free by their owner in a process called manumission, or by buying their own freedom, enabling them to become Roman citizens but not hold public office. However, this was a rare occurrence, so many would resort to escaping, killing their masters or even killing themselves to avoid a life of abuse as a slave.



Slaves had to feed their masters luxurious foods while they went hungry

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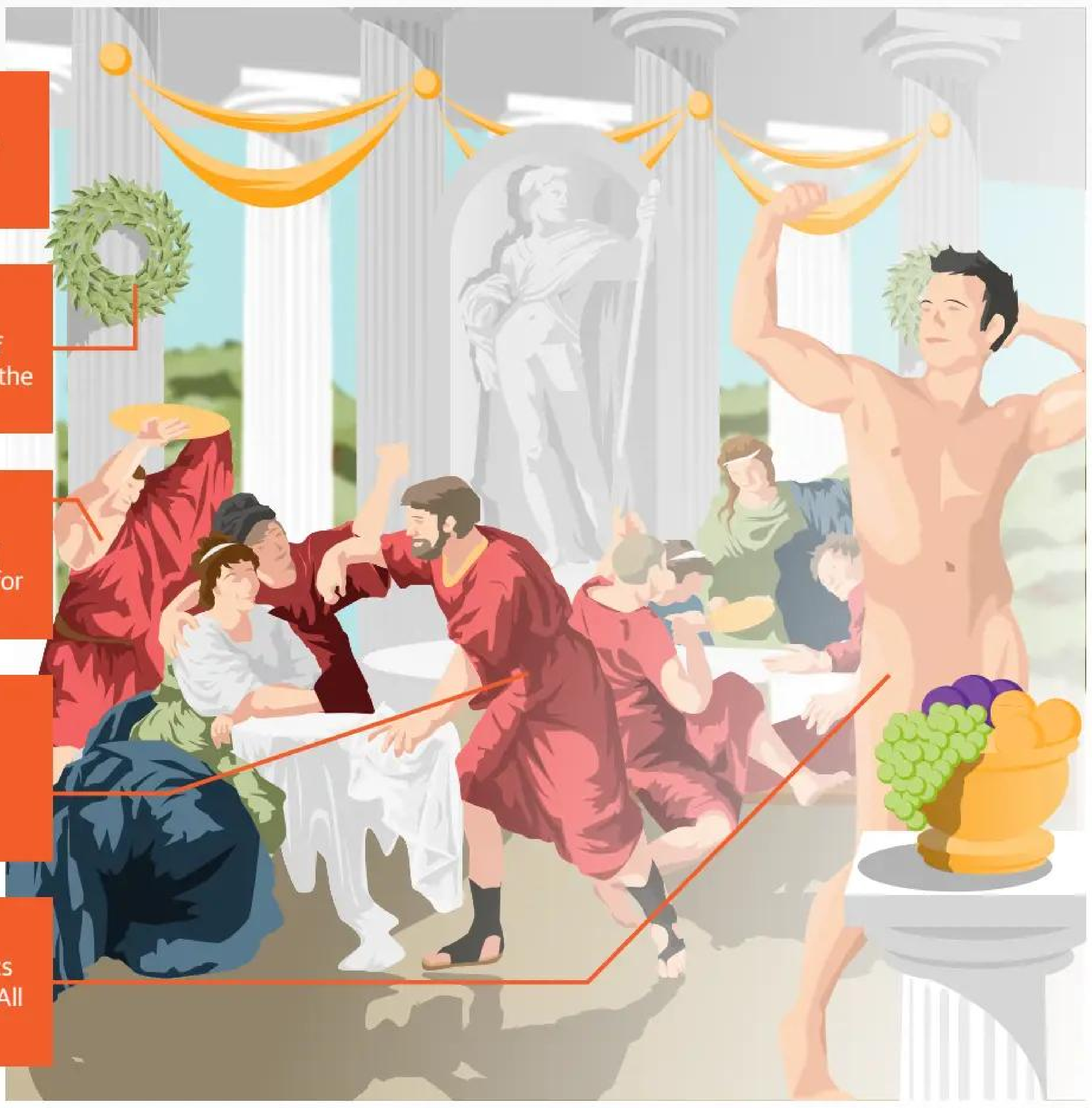
HOW TO CELEBRATE SATURNALIA

HAILED AS THE FORERUNNER TO CHRISTMAS, THE ROMANS LIKED TO PUT ON THIS SPECTACULAR PARTY IN MIDWINTER

ANCIENT ROME, 217 BCE – 448 CE

Named after Saturn, the Roman god of agriculture, Saturnalia originated as a farming festival at the end of the sowing season. As the celebration evolved, 17 December came to signify the beginning of a seven-day festival of Roman hedonism, culminating on the midwinter solstice that was 23 December. The pagan festival truly was a celebration of misrule, where social order was turned on its head. All executions were cancelled and no war was to be declared. Instead, a sacrifice was made to Saturn and enormous feasts were held in his honour. Homes were decorated, gifts exchanged, and everyone was encouraged to have a thoroughly good time.



'Io Saturnalia!'
The Saturnalia greeting, exchanged like 'Merry Christmas', was often heard as worshippers left the Temple of Saturn.

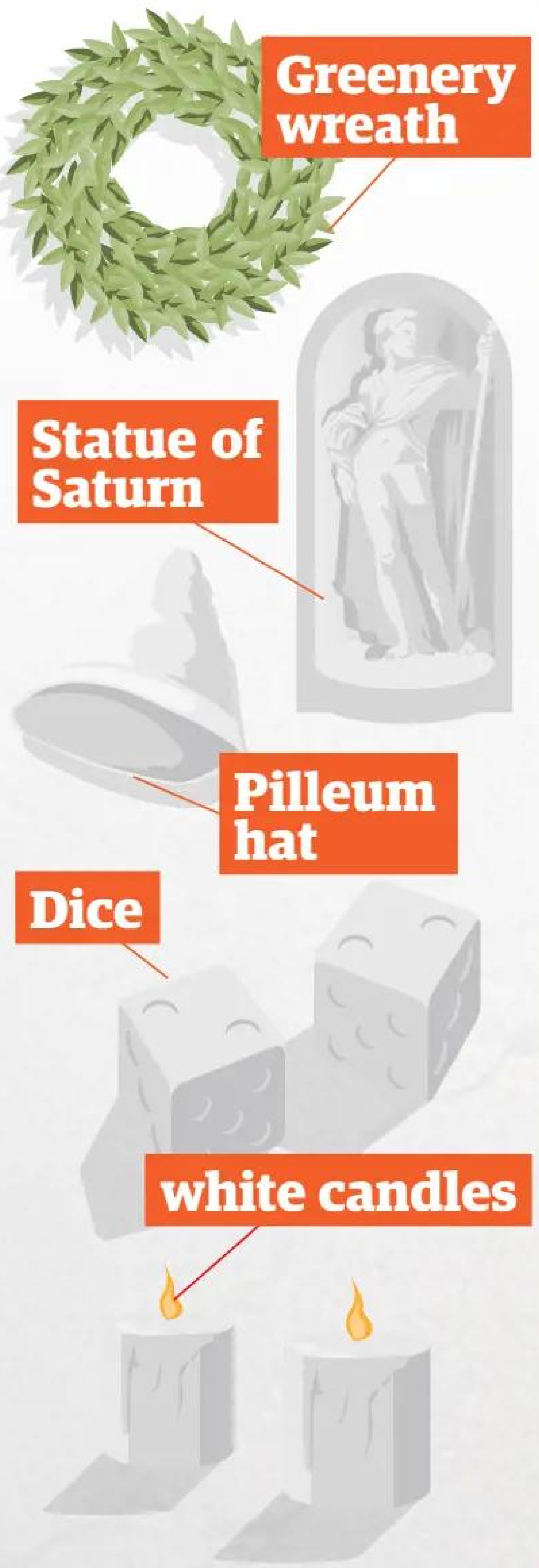
Deck the halls
Homes were decorated with wreaths of greenery – thought to symbolise life in the dark nights of mid-December.

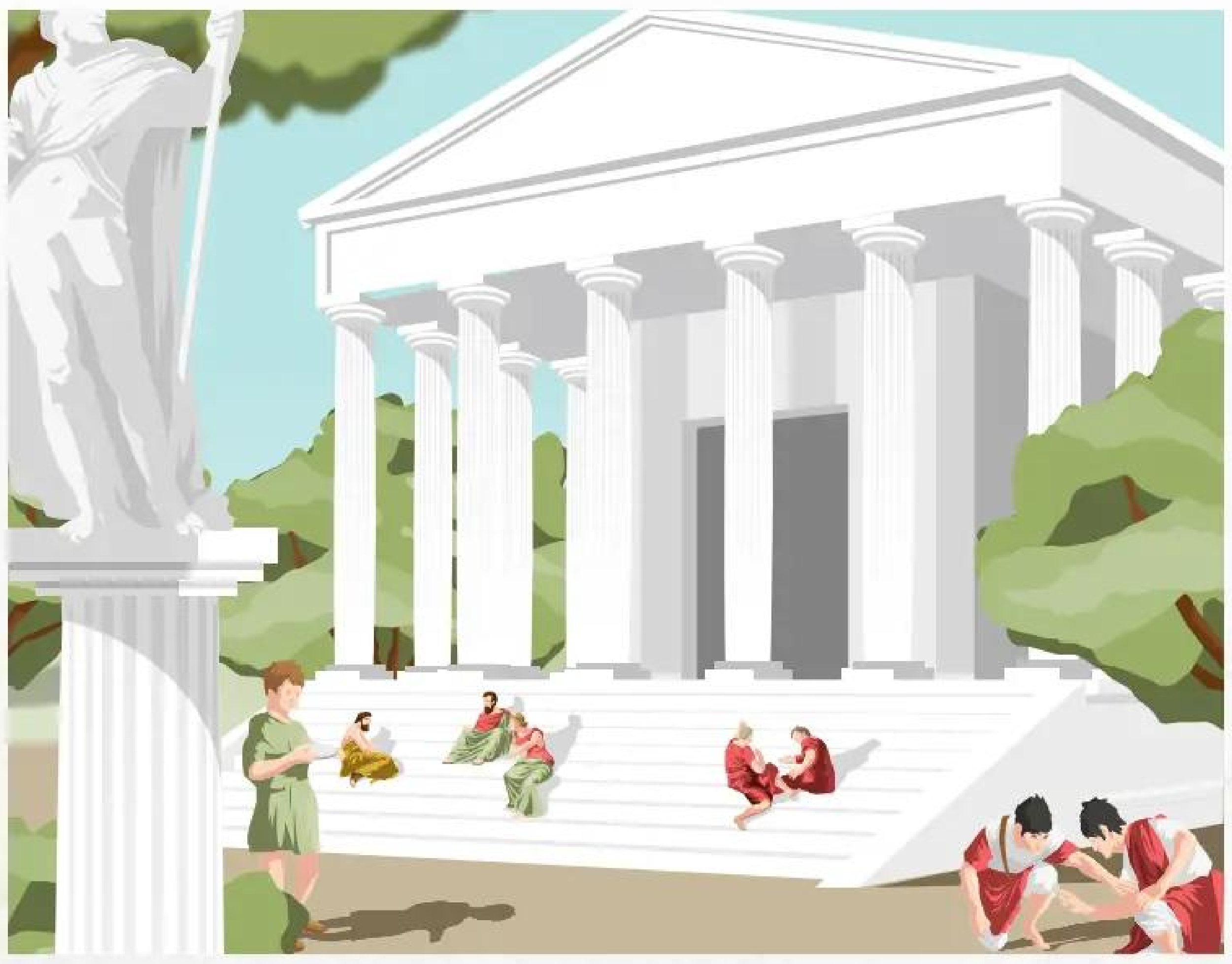
Legal gambling
During Saturnalia any form of gambling was totally legal. Bets could be put on for the whole of the seven-day festival.

Relaxed dress
Men could ditch the traditional conservative toga for a more relaxed, brightly coloured tunic, known as 'synthesis', meaning 'put together'.

Bare it all
Naked dancing and singing in the streets was encouraged, as during Saturnalia, "All things that are serious are barred."

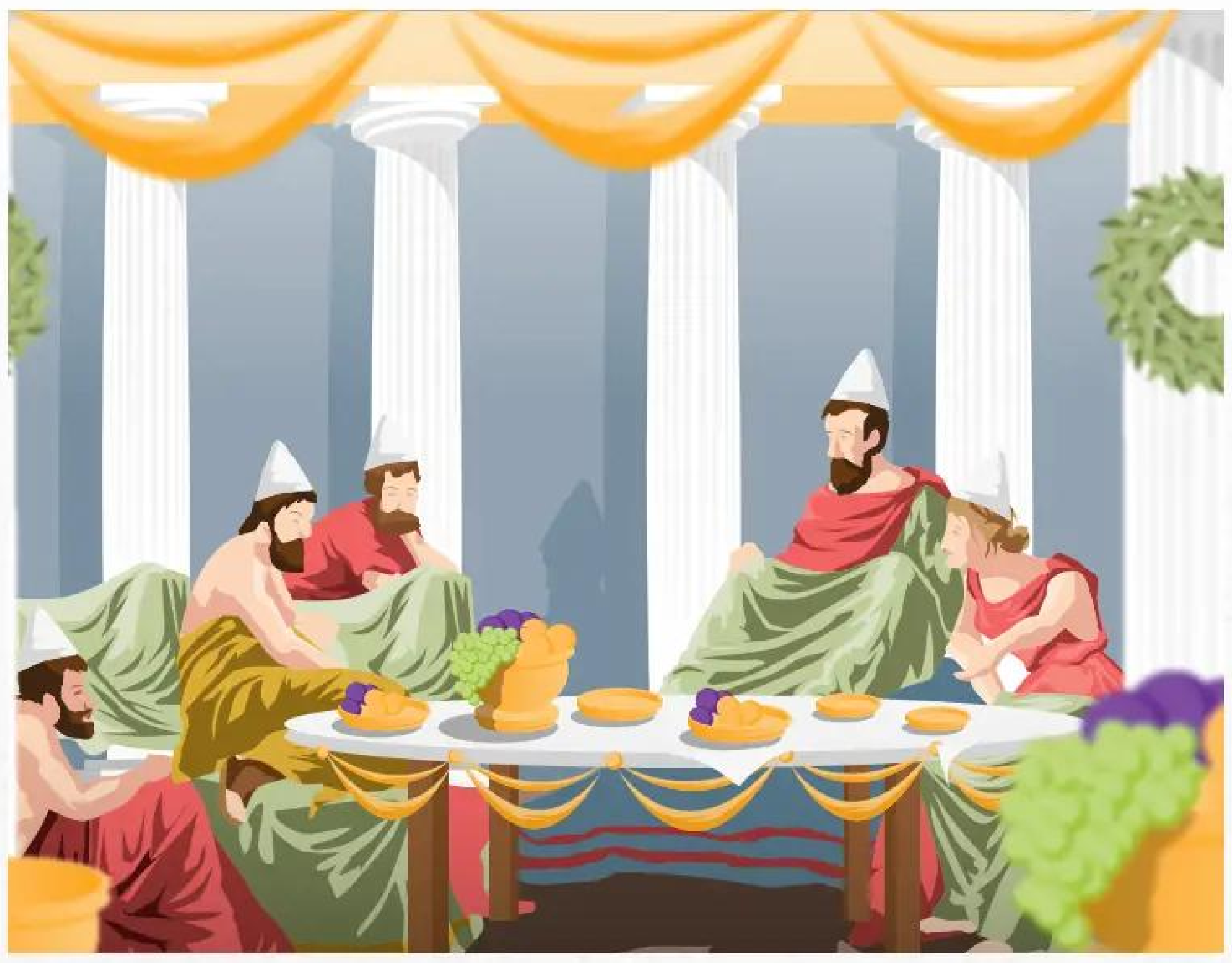
WHAT YOU'LL NEED...





01 Visit the Temple of Saturn

Crowds gather at the Temple of Saturn to witness the unbinding of the statue's feet. For the rest of the year, woollen bonds wrap Saturn's feet, but during Saturnalia they are cut, signifying the freedom of the festival. Sacrifices to the god are also made, and after this follows a public feast where revellers eat, drink and be merry.

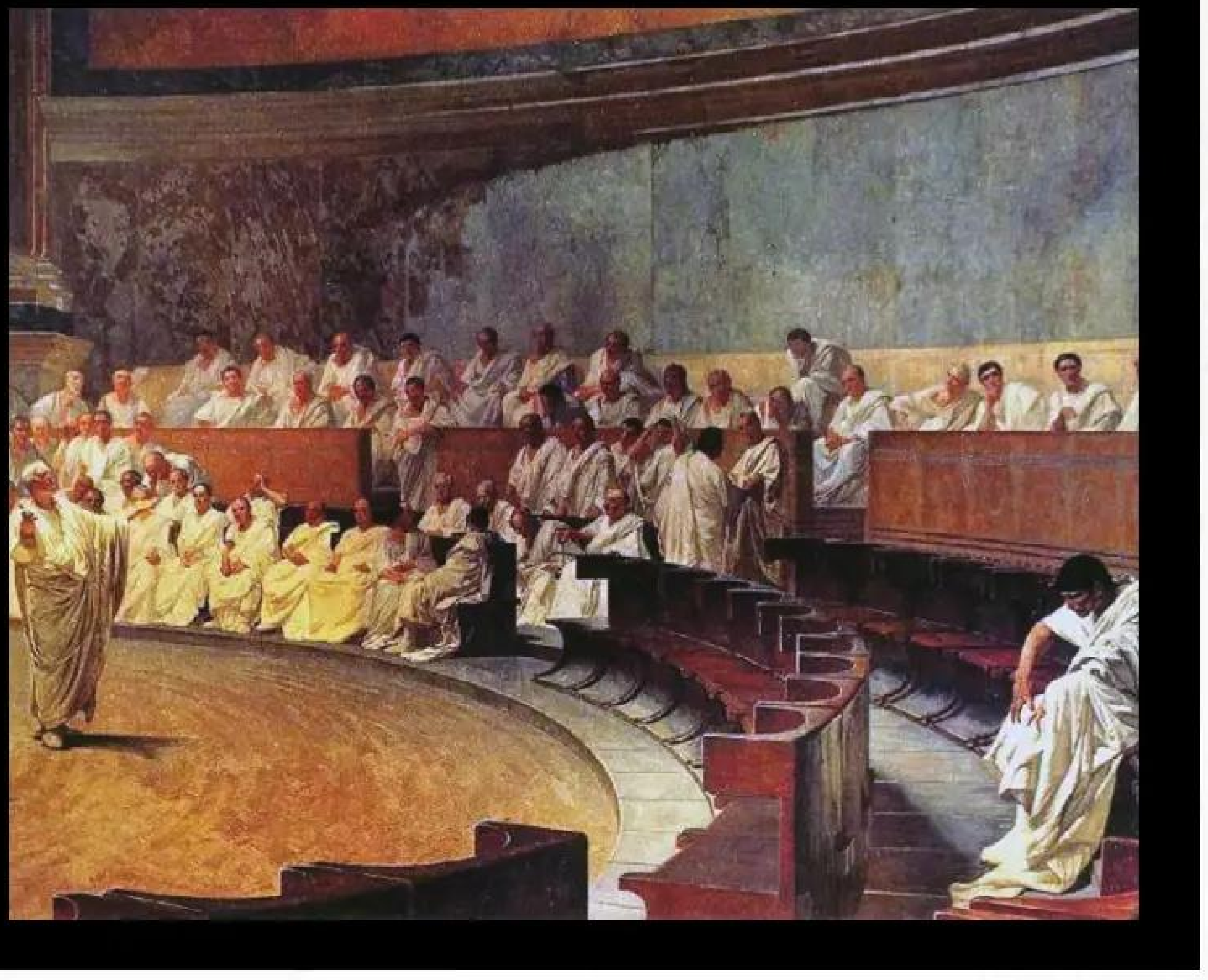


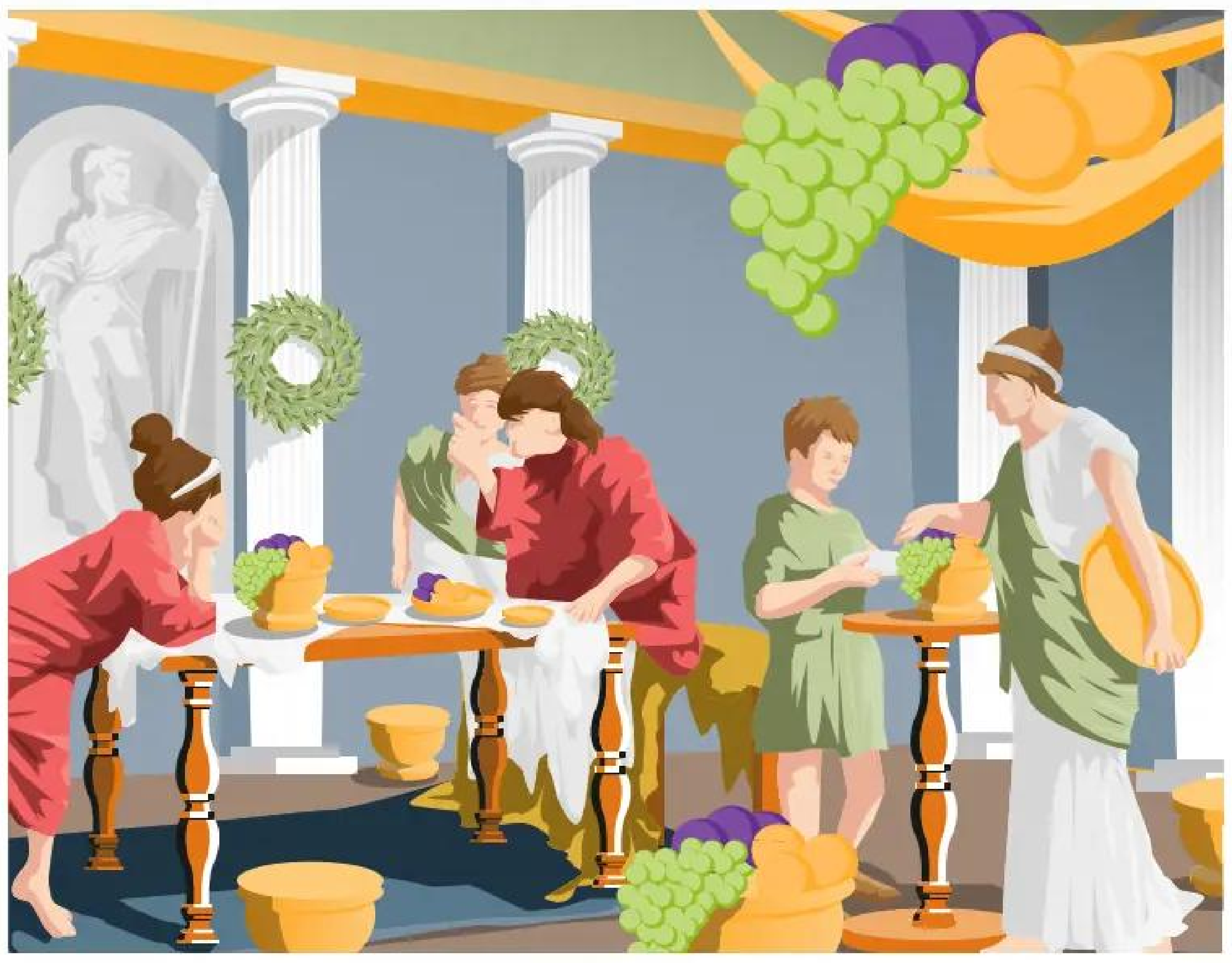
02 Free your slaves

Saturnalia is a celebration of freedom, and therefore all social hierarchy is forgotten for the duration. Present your slaves with the traditional felt hat of a freeman (called a 'pilleum') and make merry with them as equals for the seven days of celebrations. The roles are reversed and it is now your job to serve them food.

HOW NOT TO… CELEBRATE SATURNALIA

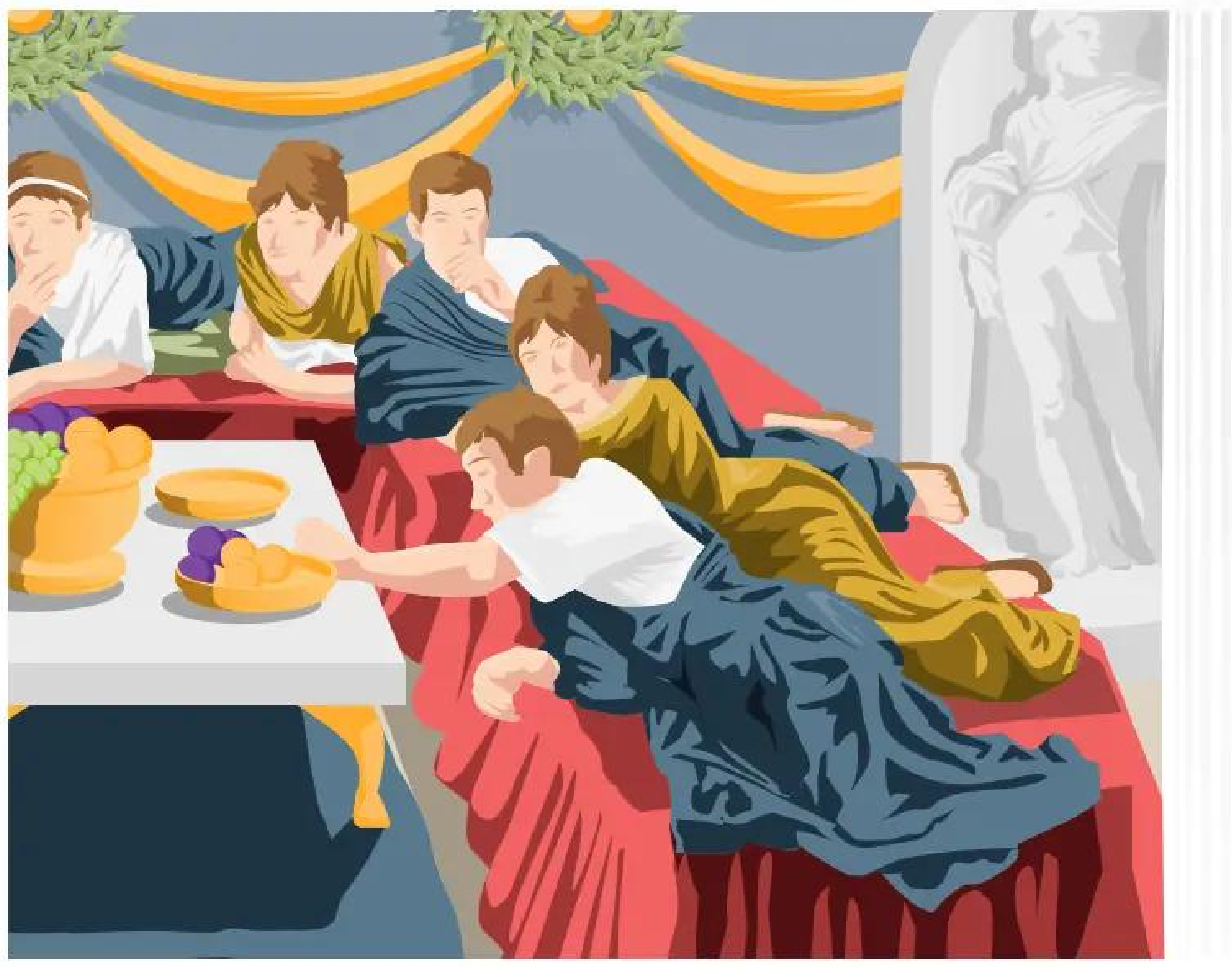
In December 63 BCE, while the rest of Rome was feasting, singing and drinking their way through the annual seven-day romp that was Saturnalia, a plot to overthrow Rome was under way. It had begun in October, when consul Marcus Tullius Cicero was roused from his bed by news that a plot against Rome and Caesar was imminent, led by aristocrat Lucius Sergius Catilina. Once Cicero was informed, he made a series of speeches denouncing Catilina. These inflammatory remarks sparked the resolution to assassinate Cicero. Under the cover of Saturnalia chaos, 12 fires were to be set and, in the confusion, Cicero would be murdered in his home. However, the rebels had been betrayed and this information reached Cicero before the Saturnalia parties began. The conspirators were caught and executed, and Catilina was killed in battle, thereby ending the Conspiracy of Catiline.





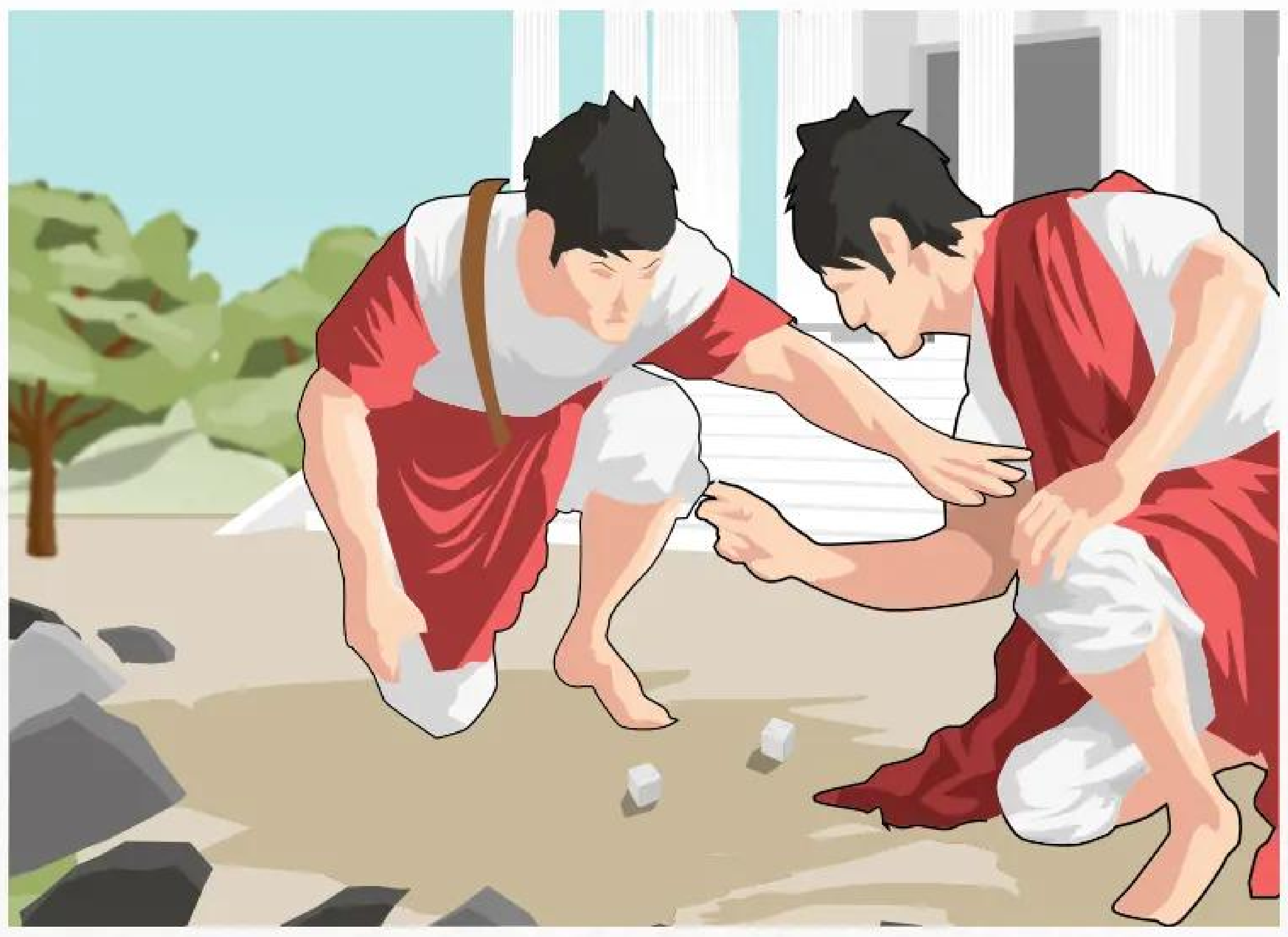
03 Elect a 'king of misrule'

Play a game of dice to select a 'king of misrule'. Whoever wins (even if it is a slave – remember, they are free men for Saturnalia) gets to be the king and set a series of silly tasks that the rest of the party must take part in. These tasks can include cork bobbing, singing, dancing and being thrown into cold water.



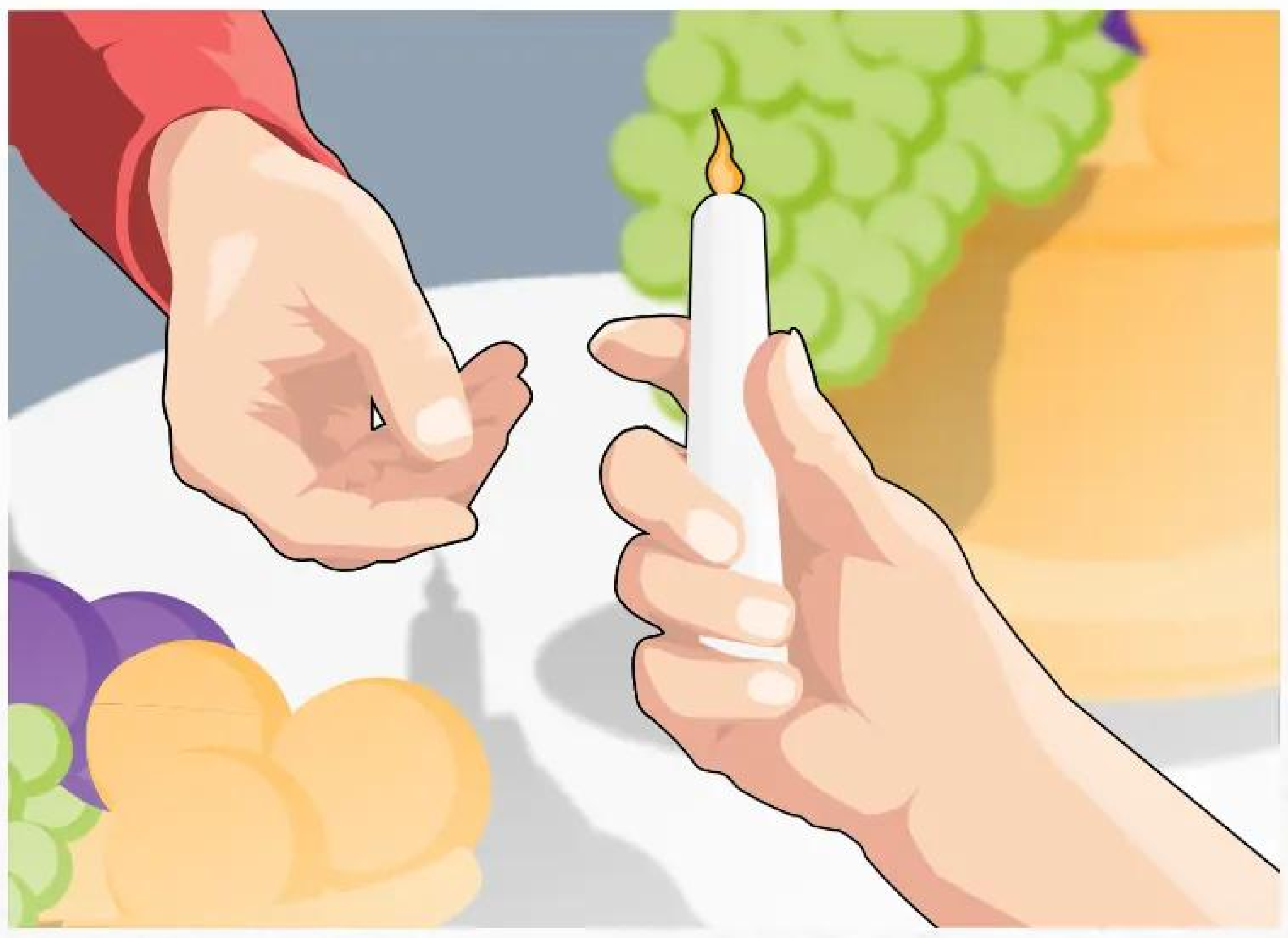
04 Prepare a feast

Have your servants prepare a marvellous feast to celebrate the festival, complete with a gilded centrepiece (although you must serve it to them). Ensure that Saturn dines with you by seating his effigy at the table. This is called 'lectisternium'. Or, if you're really lucky, accept an invitation to someone else's marvellous Saturnalia shindig.



05 Go forth and gamble

During the festival, all gambling laws are relaxed. Therefore, you can partake in games at your leisure and openly in public, along with the many other frivolities to be enjoyed like naked and drunken singing, dancing and clapping. Children are also allowed to join in the gambling, using nuts as currency to bet with.



06 Exchange gifts

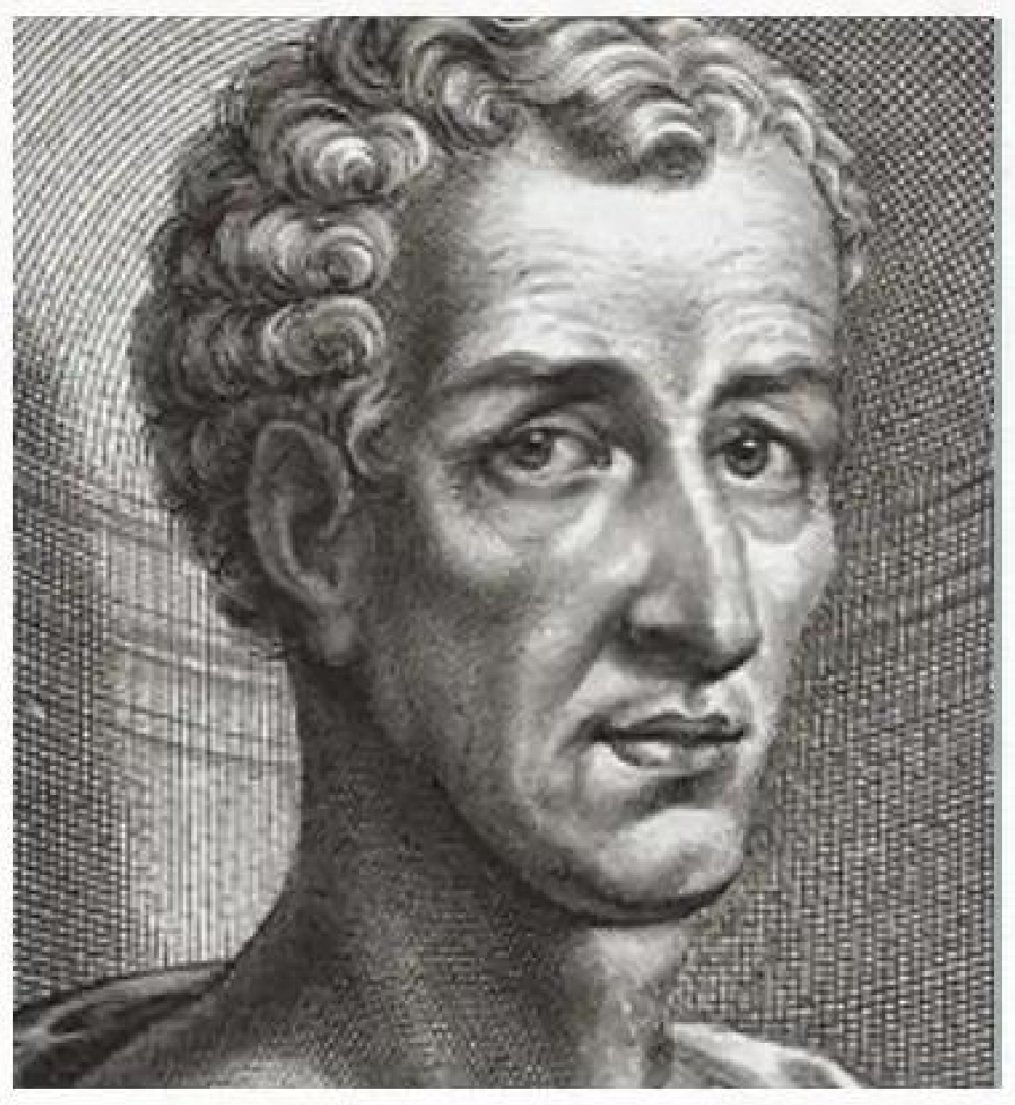
The last day of the festival is known as 'Sigillaria' and is for the exchanging of small gifts and trinkets. You can buy these from various vendors and they are usually little figurines of people and faces made from pottery or wax. You can also give small white candles, called 'cerei', to loved ones and look forward to receiving your own gifts.

4 FAMOUS… SATURNALIA COMMENTATORS

Lucian of Samosata

125-180 CE Greece

In Lucian's poem *Saturnalia*, the god Saturn exclaims, "During my week the serious is barred: no business allowed."



Pliny the Younger

61 CE – c.113, Italy

A Saturnalia 'humbug', Pliny escaped festivities. "I neither interrupt their amusement nor they my studies," he wrote.

Gaius Valerius Catullus

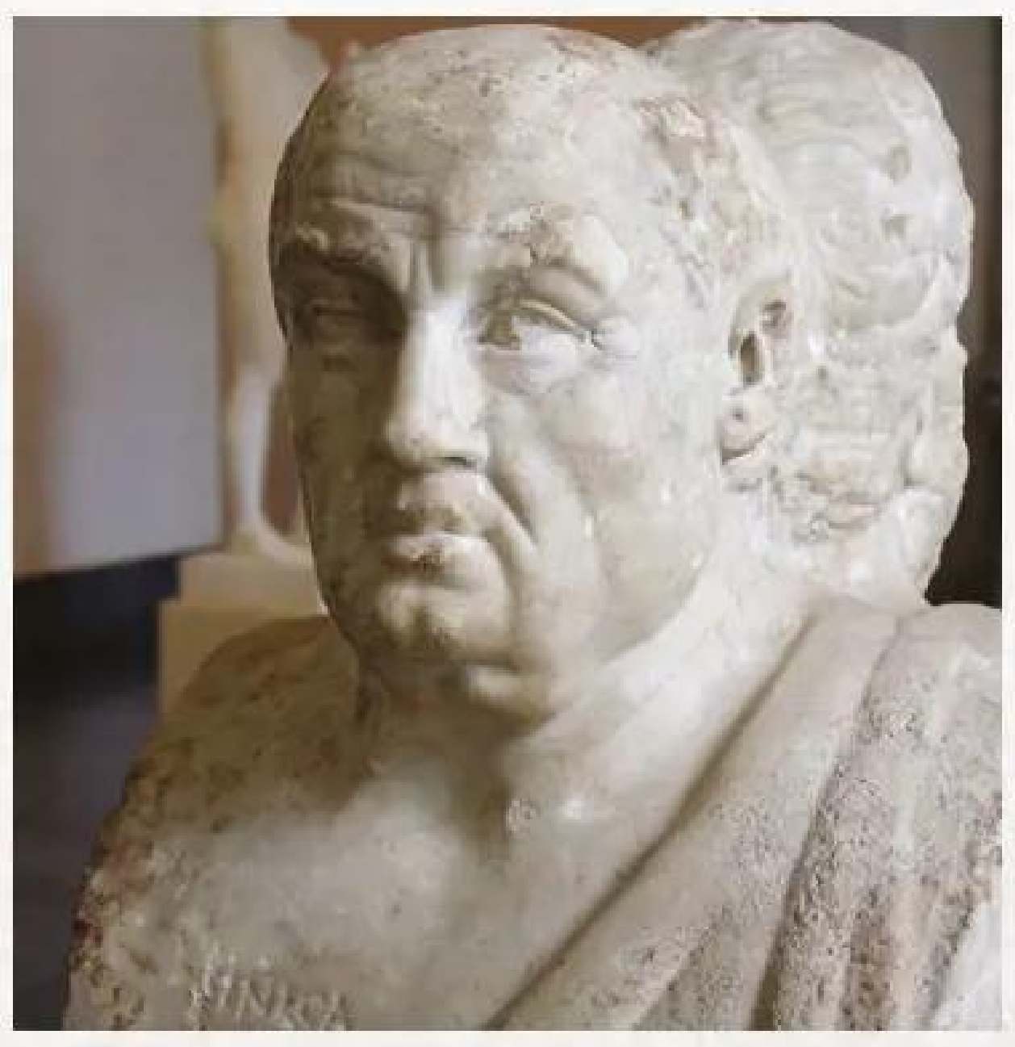
c.84-54 BCE, Italy

Poet Catullus was an enjoyer of the Saturnalia festivities, calling it in one of his works, "the best of days".

Lucius Annaeus Seneca

4 BCE – 62 CE, Italy

Also not approving of the revelry, Seneca described it as a "mob out of control 'in pleasantries'".



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INSIDE A ROMAN VILLA

HOME AND HEARTH IN ANCIENT ROME

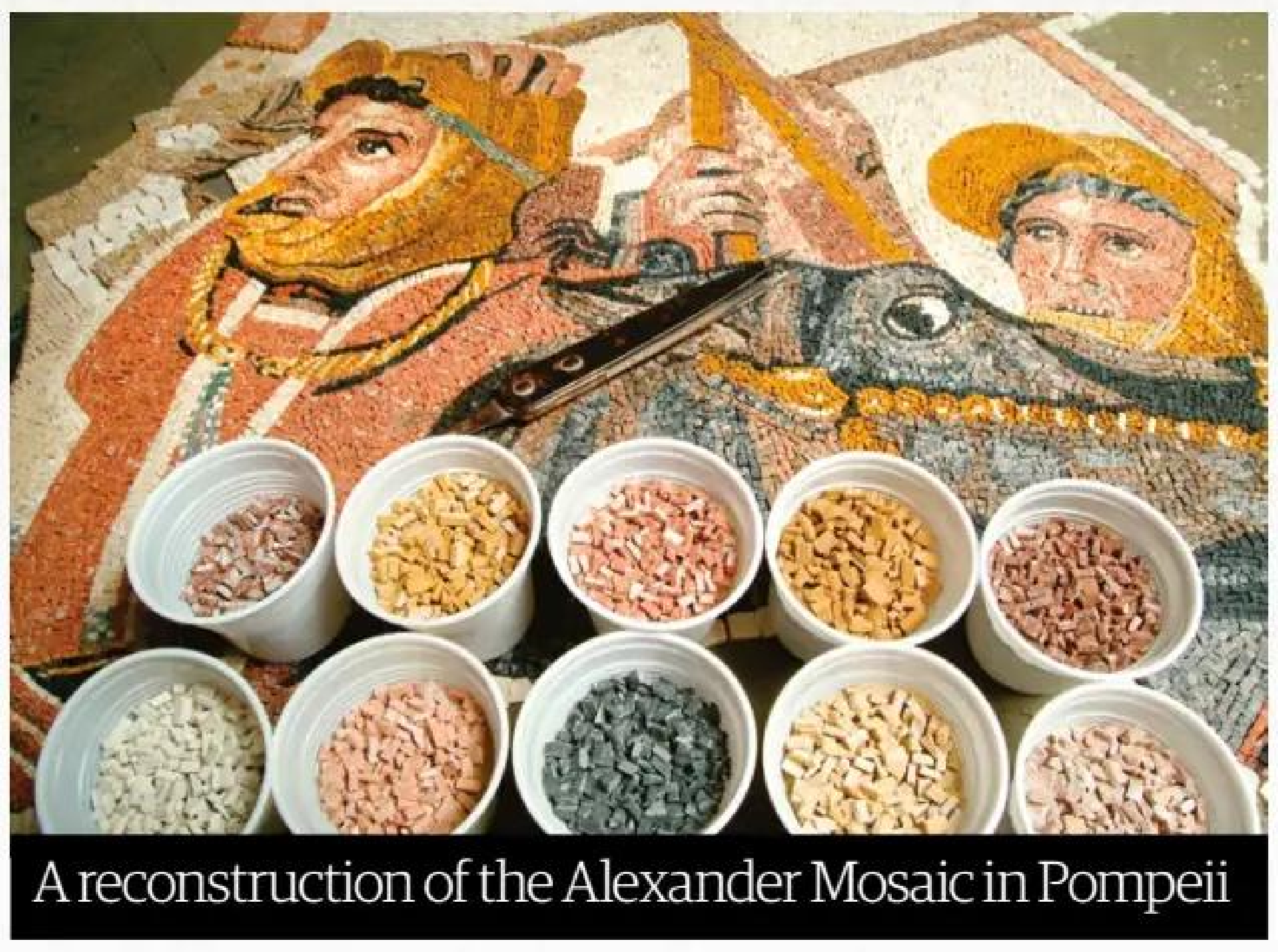
Roman villas were magnificent structures built using stone, wood and brick. The walls were made from opus caementicium (Roman cement) that were later faced with stone. The villas' tiled roofs could be both sloping and flat, while the floors were made of concrete. Throughout Roman history the villa adopted many architectural features that changed over time. Even so, the villas were always designed around an open courtyard and pool. During the summer it was important that light and air were accessible, while at night, the inner recesses were lit by oil lamps. The villa was divided into several suites; these included rooms for family and guests and an accommodation block for staff and slaves. Around the central villa there were also animal sheds and granaries.

The Roman villa was not simply a house but a symbol of its owner's power and position within society. Therefore, each upper-class Roman sought to impress and intimidate his associates with the building of fine houses constructed within luxurious settings. Within the city walls there was little space, and the Roman villa tended to be small and compact. For this reason the upper classes often took country residences; these houses were used during the hot summer months and were designed as a dwelling for the family, their slaves and estate workers.

The Romans were also interested in agricultural profiteering, so these country villas had landholdings – known as latifundia – and through them the Roman elite became largely self-supporting, exploiting grain, olive groves and vineyards. They were proud of their self-sufficiency and were able to cultivate fruit and vegetables, as well as keeping fish farms. The Romans also enjoyed ocean-side villas, which provided healthy sea air and brief periods of relaxation before returning to the stress and congestion of city life.

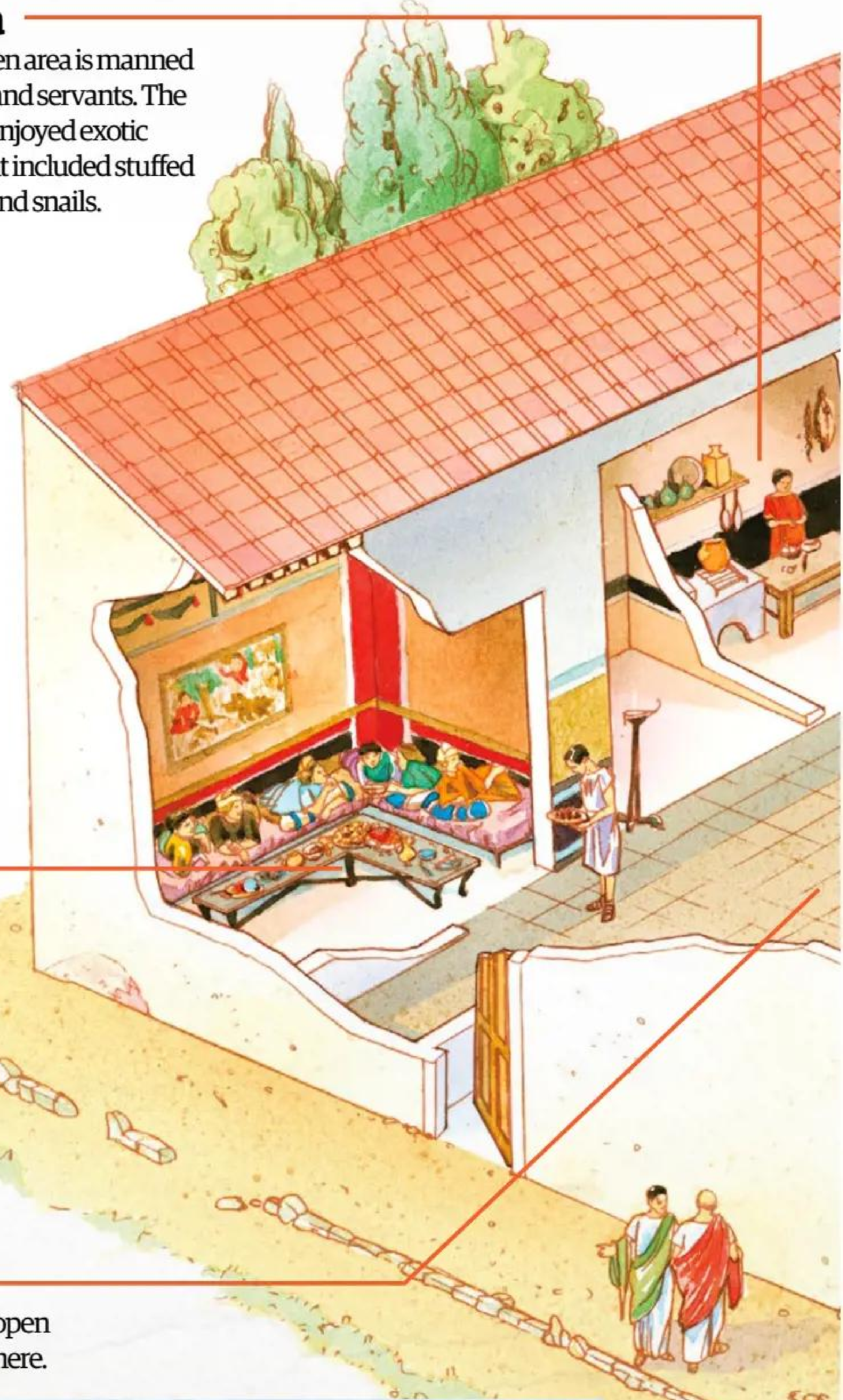
Villas were very much multifunctional residences. As well as being designed to house offices and meeting rooms, they were also used to entertain important guests. They boasted reception areas, dining rooms, baths and libraries. Like notable English stately homes, they became dynastic symbols of their era, passed down from one generation to the next.

> "The Roman villa was not simply a house but a symbol of its owner's power"



A reconstruction of the Alexander Mosaic in Pompeii

THE VILLA DIVIDED



Culina
The kitchen area is manned by slaves and servants. The Romans enjoyed exotic dishes that included stuffed dormice and snails.

Oeci
The Romans had perfected the art of entertaining. This room is reserved for wining and dining high-powered guests.

Open court
In front of the house there is an open courtyard. Visitors are received here.

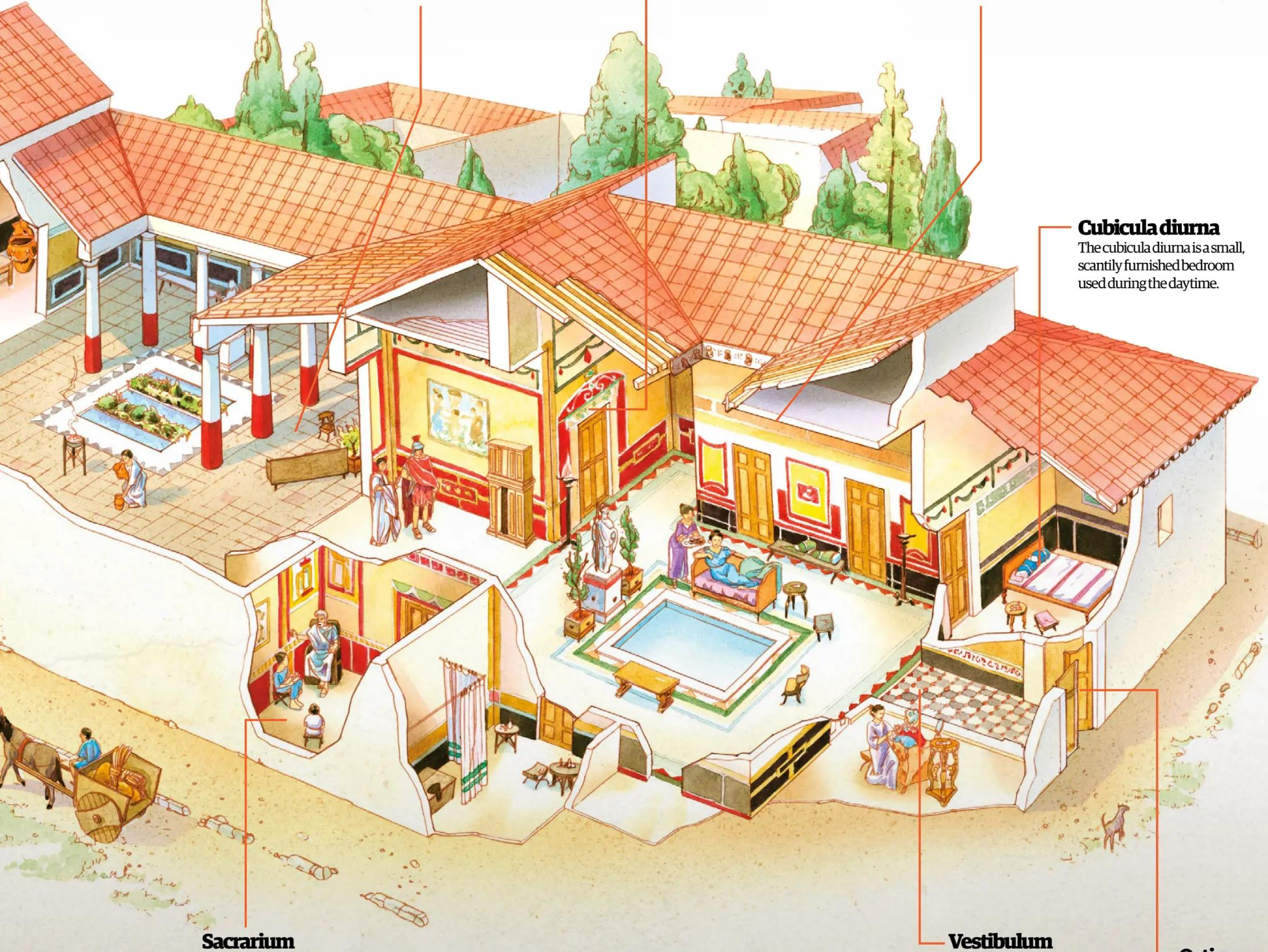
This villa in Tivoli, Italy, was used as a retreat by Emperor Hadrian

The ruins of a Roman villa in Carthage, Tunisia

MAKING MOSAICS

Mosaic-making is an ancient art form that was used in eastern traditions long before the birth of the Roman civilisation. However, the Romans perfected the practice using natural materials such as tiles, pebbles and glass. These would be cut into fragments, known as tesserae. They would be placed by a master craftsman on a floor of smooth plaster to create interesting and colourful imagery. The Romans could create vast floors of mosaic that could measure up to ten metres long, often opting for magnificent scenes of wildlife, hunting and gladiatorial contests. From time to time, they also used amusing and even practical images - one villa was designed with a floor of mosaic food; if any morsel were dropped from the table it would go unnoticed.

Restoring Roman mosaics is extremely skilled and time-consuming work



Peristylium
An open courtyard built at the back of the tablinum. The house is designed around a shaded courtyard, which provides relief from the heat.

Tablinum
The main office used by the master of the house. He keeps documents, money and valuables here.

Atrium
A large, square room, it is designed with an open space in the ceiling. The room often contains the busts of family ancestors.

Cubicula diurna
The cubicula diurna is a small, scantily furnished bedroom used during the daytime.

Sacrarium
This room contains a shrine. It is here that the family worship their household gods.

Vestibulum
From here there is a decorated pavement that stretches from the door to the street.

Ostium
The door is bolted at night and guarded by a doorman.

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ROMAN AQUEDUCTS

THE AQUEDUCT WAS A MAJOR COMPONENT IN THE ROMAN WATER SUPPLY. FROM DESIGN TO CONSTRUCTION, HOW DID THESE STRUCTURES TRANSPORT WATER ACROSS SUCH GREAT DISTANCES?

The Romans placed great importance on sanitation. Over time they established an efficient and complex system that sustained latrines, sewers and drainage systems. The Romans also built public lavatories where people would socialise, sitting on long benches interspersed with holes. The cities were equipped with fountains that supplied public drinking water. The Romans were also familiar with conservation and recycled public bath water by flushing it through their latrines. The water was supplied through a network of aqueducts, which acted as arteries throughout Rome; the city was equipped with 11 aqueducts constructed over a period of about 500 years. Aqueducts were also built in other Roman provinces, where they supplied estates, mines and mills.

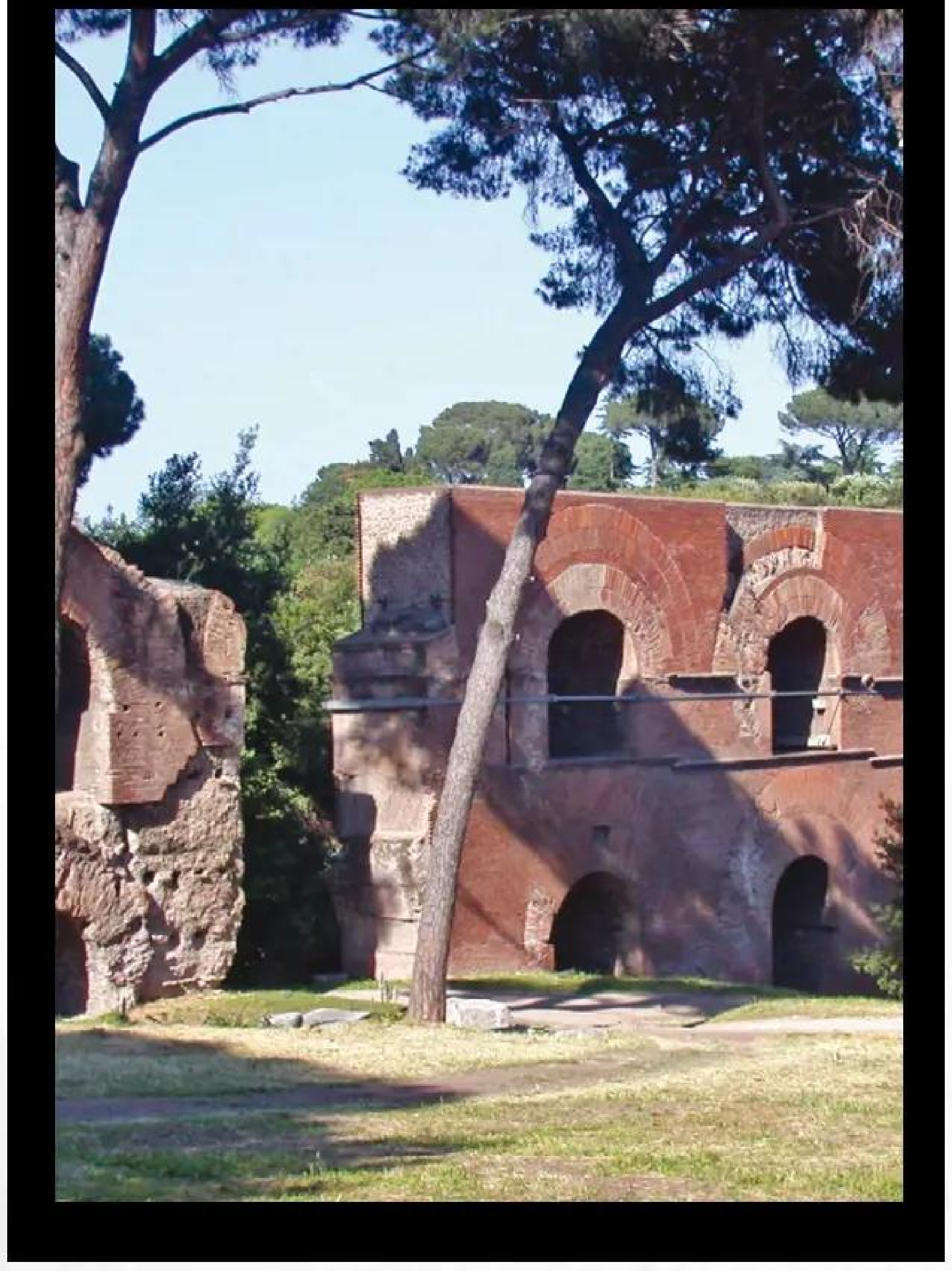
The management of Roman aqueducts was recorded by a man called Frontinus, who mapped and surveyed these ancient water systems. In the city of Rome, the combined length of the aqueducts is estimated at around 800 kilometres. As in the case of many aqueducts, only a small proportion – 47 kilometres – could actually be seen above ground. Most Roman aqueducts ran underground, helping to keep the water remain free from disease.

In addition to masonry aqueducts, the Romans built an extensive series of leats: these water channels, excavated in the ground, were designed with a lining of clay. This amazing system allowed the steady growth of the city-state and helped to maintain both a military and civilian population.

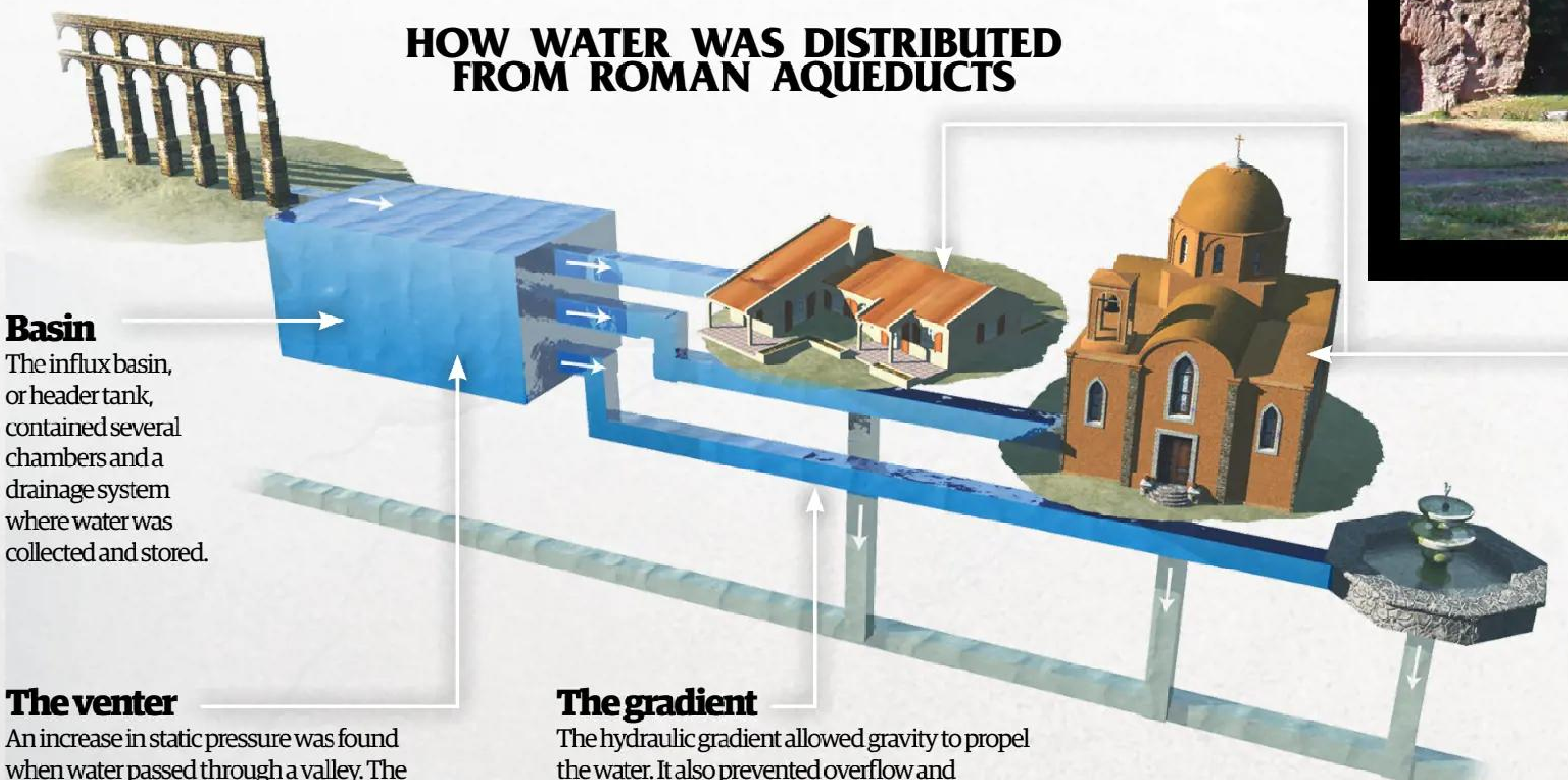
DESIGN OF AN AQUEDUCT

The first challenge that faced the Romans was the surveying of the land and the planning of the aqueduct. A site was chosen because of the availability of spring water. Most often, the Romans selected mountainous or high terrain and employed many different tools to build the aqueducts. The most important of these was the groma, a series of stones suspended from strings that was used to measure right angles. While the Romans used a water level known as a 'chorobate', they also measured vertical angles with a dioptra.

Once built, these aqueducts were impressive structures that were designed to defy time. The water flow depended on gravity and was propelled by a gradient that prevented overflow. This volume of water subsequently passed through high and low ground. Here, the flow was aided by pressurised pipelines known as 'inverted siphons' – these siphons were used to pump the water uphill. Before being piped to towns and cities, the water was stored in a holding tank.



HOW WATER WAS DISTRIBUTED FROM ROMAN AQUEDUCTS



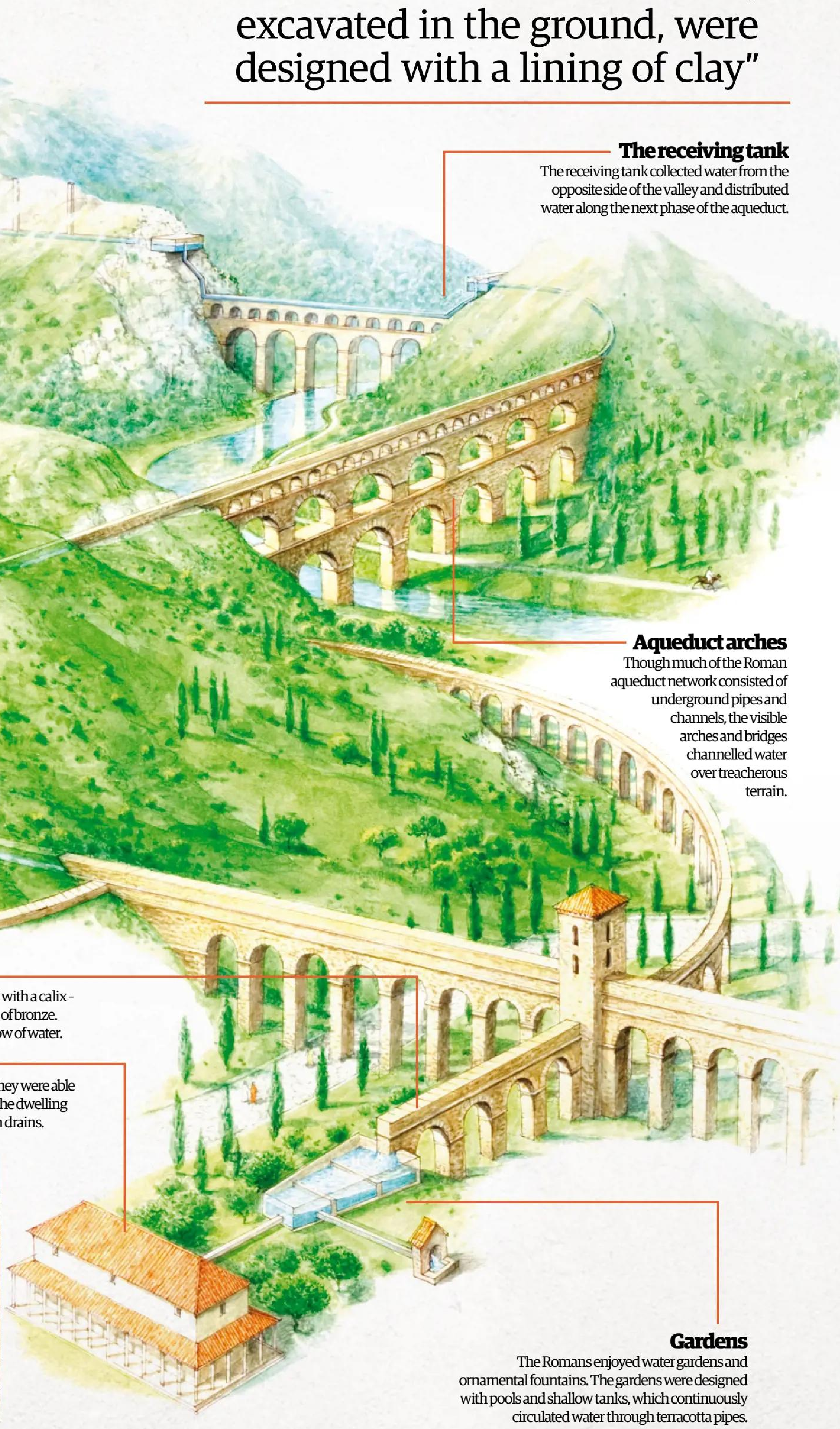
Basin
The influx basin, or header tank, contained several chambers and a drainage system where water was collected and stored.

The venter
An increase in static pressure was found when water passed through a valley. The venter bridge reduced pressure on the siphon.

The gradient
The hydraulic gradient allowed gravity to propel the water. It also prevented overflow and discouraged water from congealing in the pipes.

Public baths
The public baths required a large amount of water and an elaborate plumbing system. This included the use of water jets that were fixed to the walls.

“Romans built an extensive series of leats: these water channels, excavated in the ground, were designed with a lining of clay”



Holding basin
The holding basin retained a large volume of water. From here, the water branched off and was piped through individual dwellings or institutions.

The receiving tank
The receiving tank collected water from the opposite side of the valley and distributed water along the next phase of the aqueduct.

Long-distance water supply
Water was carried over long distances, winding round unpassable obstacles.

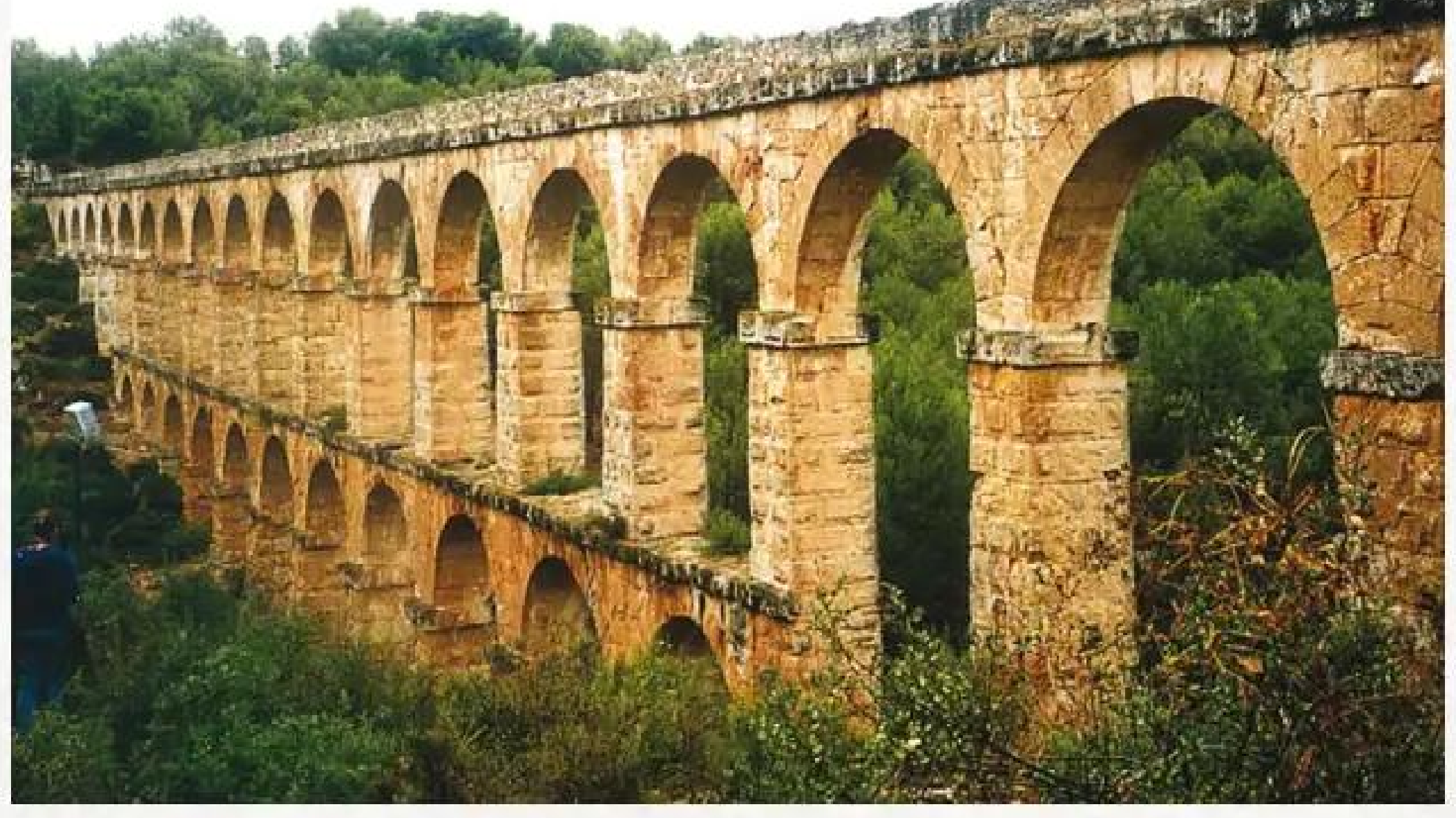
Aqueduct arches
Though much of the Roman aqueduct network consisted of underground pipes and channels, the visible arches and bridges channelled water over treacherous terrain.

Pipes
Lead pipes were fitted with a calix - a tube or nozzle made of bronze. It controlled the outflow of water.

House
Pipes extended into private villas. They were able to deliver large volumes of water to the dwelling - excess water was expelled through drains.

Gardens
The Romans enjoyed water gardens and ornamental fountains. The gardens were designed with pools and shallow tanks, which continuously circulated water through terracotta pipes.

Aqueducts were carefully planned before being built



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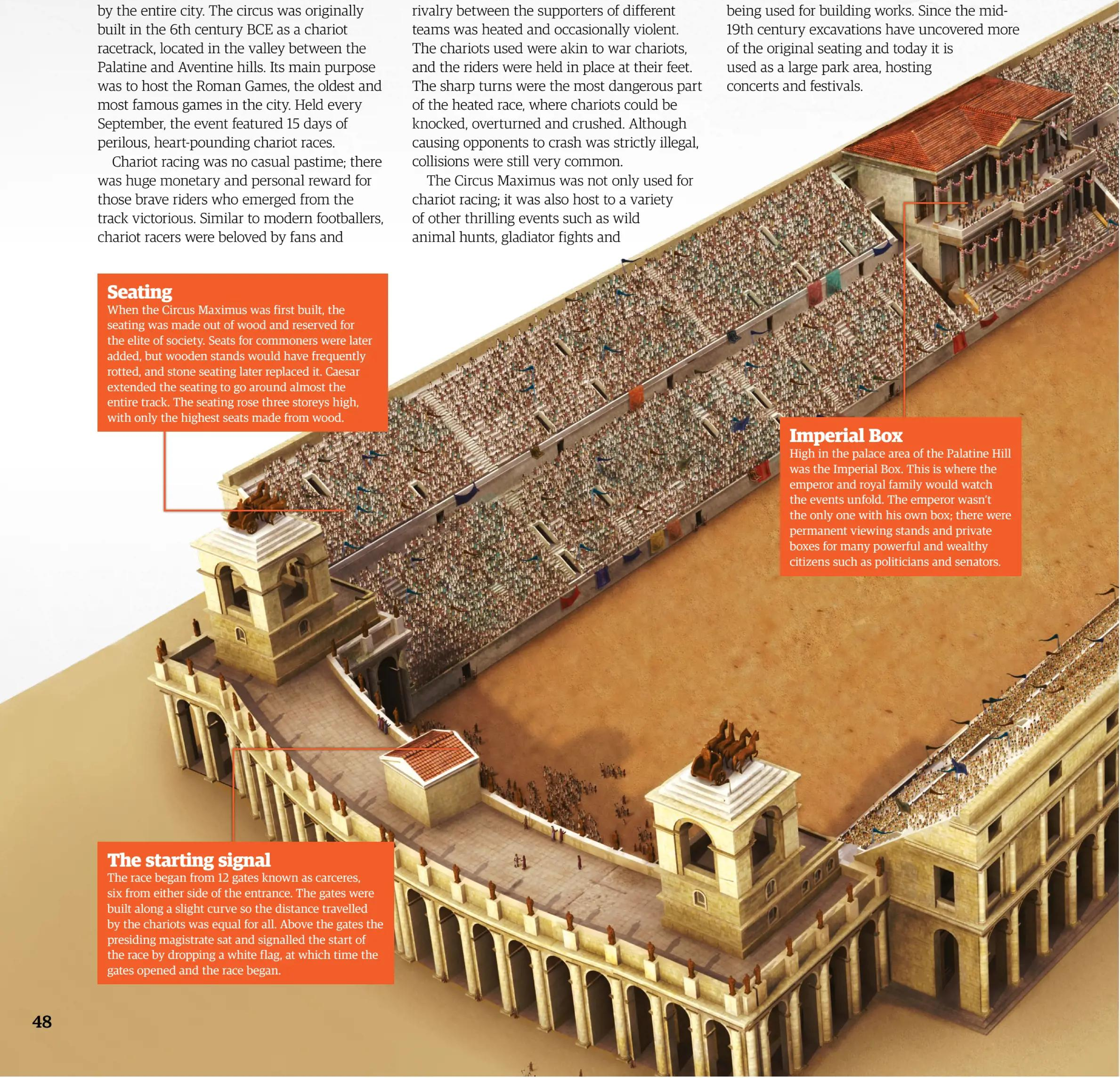
CIRCUS MAXIMUS

CHARIOT RACING 6TH CENTURY BCE – 6TH CENTURY CE

The Circus Maximus was the ancient Roman equivalent of a modern-day concert hall. This huge sports venue was host to a plethora of exciting, dangerous and exhilarating activities enjoyed by the entire city. The circus was originally built in the 6th century BCE as a chariot racetrack, located in the valley between the Palatine and Aventine hills. Its main purpose was to host the Roman Games, the oldest and most famous games in the city. Held every September, the event featured 15 days of perilous, heart-pounding chariot races.

Chariot racing was no casual pastime; there was huge monetary and personal reward for those brave riders who emerged from the track victorious. Similar to modern footballers, chariot racers were beloved by fans and celebrated for their valiant victories. However, winning was no easy task, and all the men who competed risked life and limb for fame and fortune. The different chariot teams were colour coded green, red, blue and white, and rivalry between the supporters of different teams was heated and occasionally violent. The chariots used were akin to war chariots, and the riders were held in place at their feet. The sharp turns were the most dangerous part of the heated race, where chariots could be knocked, overturned and crushed. Although causing opponents to crash was strictly illegal, collisions were still very common.

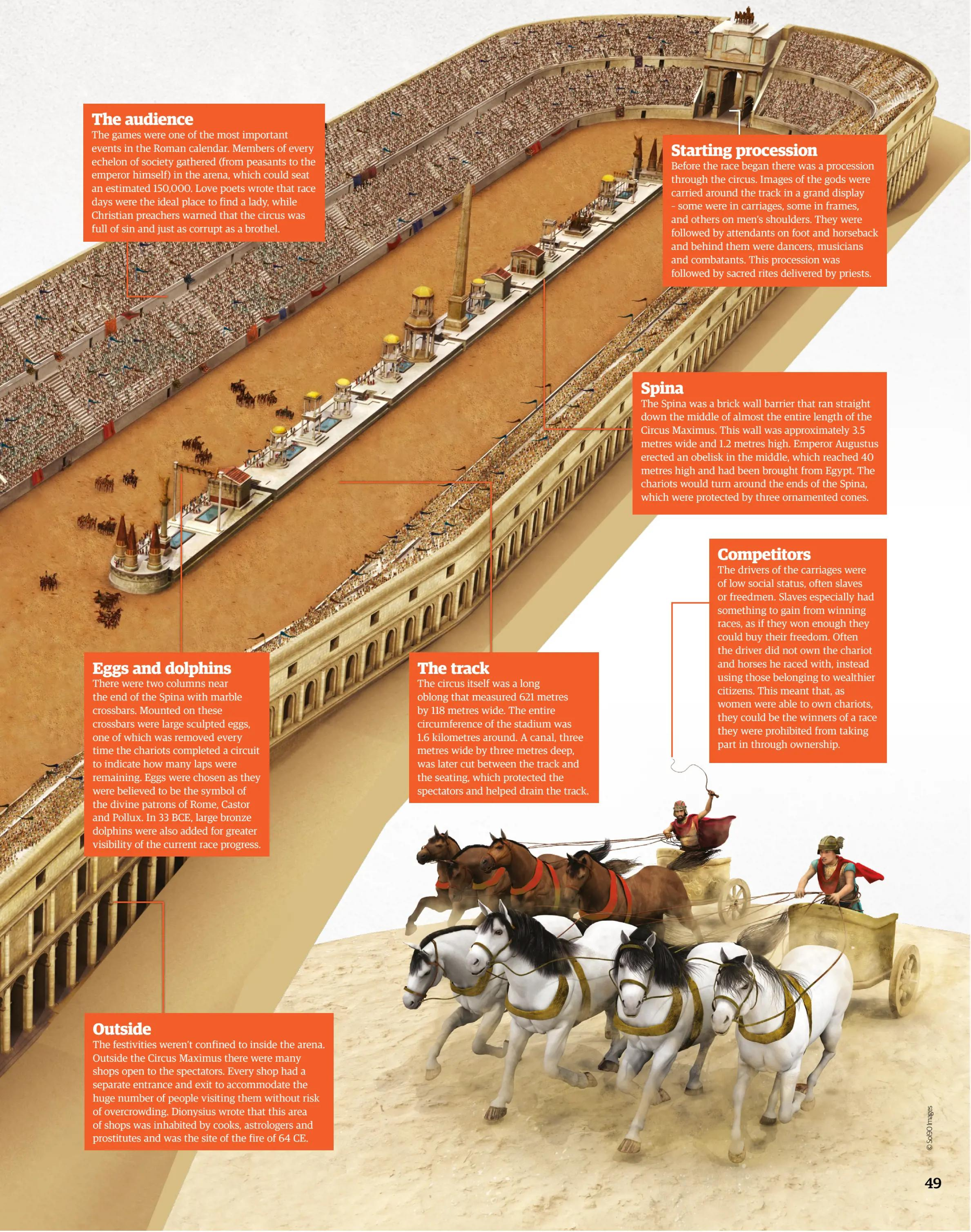
The Circus Maximus was not only used for chariot racing; it was also host to a variety of other thrilling events such as wild animal hunts, gladiator fights and public executions. It also was the venue for less exciting business such as religious ceremonies, public feasts and plays. The site continued to be used for chariot racing until the 6th century, when it was left to decay, many of its materials being used for building works. Since the mid-19th century excavations have uncovered more of the original seating and today it is used as a large park area, hosting concerts and festivals.



Seating
When the Circus Maximus was first built, the seating was made out of wood and reserved for the elite of society. Seats for commoners were later added, but wooden stands would have frequently rotted, and stone seating later replaced it. Caesar extended the seating to go around almost the entire track. The seating rose three storeys high, with only the highest seats made from wood.

Imperial Box
High in the palace area of the Palatine Hill was the Imperial Box. This is where the emperor and royal family would watch the events unfold. The emperor wasn't the only one with his own box; there were permanent viewing stands and private boxes for many powerful and wealthy citizens such as politicians and senators.

The starting signal
The race began from 12 gates known as carceres, six from either side of the entrance. The gates were built along a slight curve so the distance travelled by the chariots was equal for all. Above the gates the presiding magistrate sat and signalled the start of the race by dropping a white flag, at which time the gates opened and the race began.



The audience

The games were one of the most important events in the Roman calendar. Members of every echelon of society gathered (from peasants to the emperor himself) in the arena, which could seat an estimated 150,000. Love poets wrote that race days were the ideal place to find a lady, while Christian preachers warned that the circus was full of sin and just as corrupt as a brothel.

Starting procession

Before the race began there was a procession through the circus. Images of the gods were carried around the track in a grand display – some were in carriages, some in frames, and others on men's shoulders. They were followed by attendants on foot and horseback and behind them were dancers, musicians and combatants. This procession was followed by sacred rites delivered by priests.

Spina

The Spina was a brick wall barrier that ran straight down the middle of almost the entire length of the Circus Maximus. This wall was approximately 3.5 metres wide and 1.2 metres high. Emperor Augustus erected an obelisk in the middle, which reached 40 metres high and had been brought from Egypt. The chariots would turn around the ends of the Spina, which were protected by three ornamented cones.

Competitors

The drivers of the carriages were of low social status, often slaves or freedmen. Slaves especially had something to gain from winning races, as if they won enough they could buy their freedom. Often the driver did not own the chariot and horses he raced with, instead using those belonging to wealthier citizens. This meant that, as women were able to own chariots, they could be the winners of a race they were prohibited from taking part in through ownership.

Eggs and dolphins

There were two columns near the end of the Spina with marble crossbars. Mounted on these crossbars were large sculpted eggs, one of which was removed every time the chariots completed a circuit to indicate how many laps were remaining. Eggs were chosen as they were believed to be the symbol of the divine patrons of Rome, Castor and Pollux. In 33 BCE, large bronze dolphins were also added for greater visibility of the current race progress.

The track

The circus itself was a long oblong that measured 621 metres by 118 metres wide. The entire circumference of the stadium was 1.6 kilometres around. A canal, three metres wide by three metres deep, was later cut between the track and the seating, which protected the spectators and helped drain the track.

Outside

The festivities weren't confined to inside the arena. Outside the Circus Maximus there were many shops open to the spectators. Every shop had a separate entrance and exit to accommodate the huge number of people visiting them without risk of overcrowding. Dionysius wrote that this area of shops was inhabited by cooks, astrologers and prostitutes and was the site of the fire of 64 CE.

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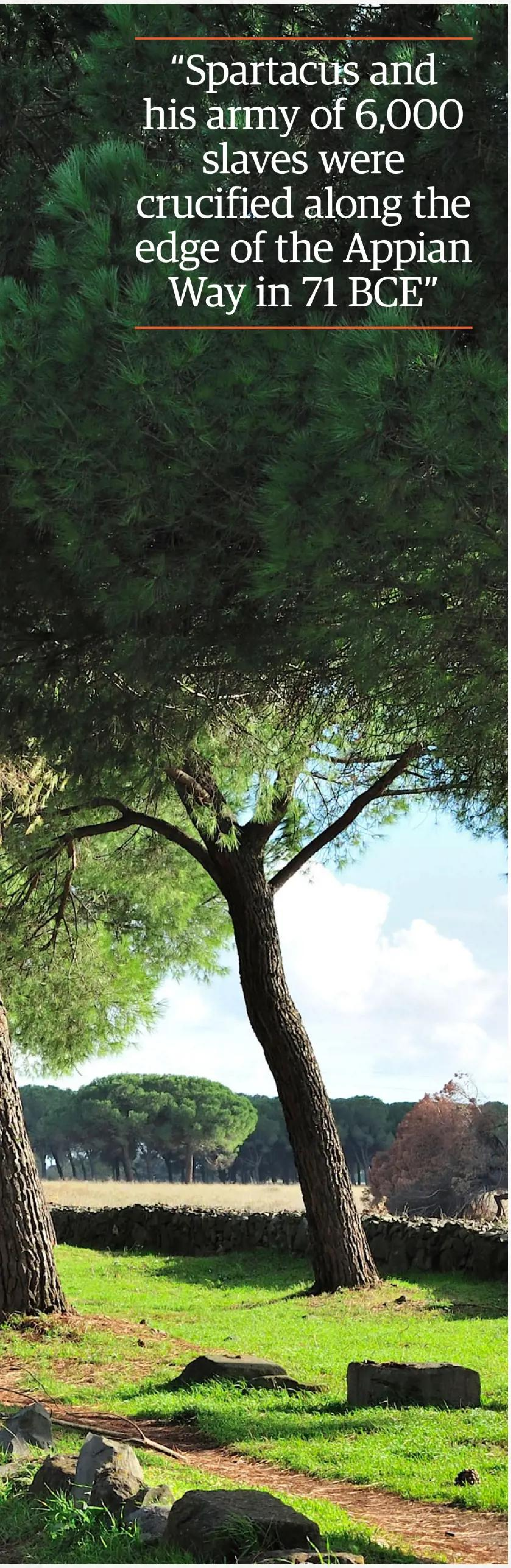

“Spartacus and his army of 6,000 slaves were crucified along the edge of the Appian Way in 71 BCE”

THE APPIAN WAY

UNCOVER THE STORY BEHIND EUROPE’S FIRST SUPERHIGHWAY

Written by Katharine Marsh

All roads lead to Rome, but the most famous is the Appian Way. Known in Latin as Via Appia, it stretches more than 563 kilometres from ancient Brundisium (modern-day Brindisi) in Italy’s ‘heel’ to the heart of the Roman world, the forum in Rome.

The road’s name comes from the man who began its construction: Appius Claudius Caecus, a censor. Elected to the role in 312 BCE, he was eager to please the people and drew up plans for the road as well as the Aqua Appia, the first Roman aqueduct. ‘Via Appia’ wasn’t the road’s only name, though. The poet Statius called it ‘longarum regina viarum’, or ‘queen of long-distance roads’. Work started in 312 BCE, but it only reached as far as ancient Capua in Campania – it wouldn’t reach its full length until 244 BCE.

The Via Appia’s primary users were the military – that’s the reason why it was built: to speed up the movement of troops during the Samnite War. The route was plotted to reduce the chance of Samnite attacks and the long, straight stretches meant that troops could travel up to 40 kilometres a day. The road had the desired effect – the Romans won the war.

While it was born from necessity, the road saw its fair share of history. Consuls, emperors and generals walked its cobblestones. Spartacus and his army of 6,000 slaves were crucified along its edge in 71 BCE, and many Roman Christians suffered the same fate. It was also where St Peter allegedly decided to halt his escape from Rome and face his martyrdom.

But why was the Appian Way so important? Part of the reason lies in the fact that it was the first road of its kind. Stretching miles and miles down the Italian coast and then across the peninsula to the other side, it’s been dubbed by some as Europe’s first superhighway. It meant quicker travelling times for merchants, soldiers and ordinary citizens. At one end was a port where boats arrived from Egypt, Greece and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. At the other was the epicentre of Roman life and culture. Trade flourished. Wheat, gold, silver and iron made their way from Brundisium through southern Italy and into the capital.

The Appian Way was also a feat of Roman engineering. It was the first Roman road to be built using lime mortar, which held together heavy stone blocks. Over the top of this were laid polygonal lava blocks, which created the perfect road surface. In fact, that’s why parts of the road are still in such good condition today. On average, the road was six metres (20 feet) wide – perfect to allow two carts to pass side by side – and its ever-so-slightly convex surface allowed drainage to ensure unhindered travel in all seasons.

The construction effort certainly wasn’t small. Over the hundreds of kilometres, marshes were drained, mountain passes were designed and bridges were built. Labour was carried out by freedmen and Roman citizens – Appius Claudius didn’t want members of the political elite involved – and they were given spades, picks, mattocks and hammers.

Appius Claudius wanted to build a road that would last forever, and so far, that’s exactly what he’s achieved. It has remained important throughout the centuries, and the Appian Way can still be visited today. Many travellers to Rome visit the area close to the city that is now part of the Parco Regionale dell’Appia Antica (Appian Way Regional Park). You can walk in the footsteps of Julius Caesar and Roman emperors and see what remains of the ancient buildings, statues and mausoleums that line the route. The tomb of Seneca, Emperor Nero’s tutor, lies on the road just outside Rome, and the Temple of Hercules can still be seen today. You can even visit the Quo Vadis church, where it is said St Peter spoke to a vision of Jesus and turned back to Rome. Catacombs lie underneath the road and stretch for many miles. Some date back to antiquity while others were created in the Medieval era.

As it’s still in use more than 2,000 years after its construction, the Appian Way is one of the many monuments that stand as a testament to Roman ingenuity. While its importance has decreased in the past few centuries, in ancient Rome it was a lifeline and a connection to the rest of the Mediterranean. Once the queen of roads, it still sees high traffic from people all over the world, ensuring that Appius Claudius Caecus’ legacy lives on.

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PUNIC WARS

54 A clash of superpowers

It's the year 264 BCE, and all is calm in the Western Mediterranean. A cataclysmic war between the region's two superpowers seems unthinkable. It shouldn't…

56 The Battle of Ecnomus

One of the largest naval battles ever fought, Ecnomus pitted Rome's nimble but inexperienced fleet against one of antiquity's most formidable armadas

60 Hannibal: Enemy of Rome

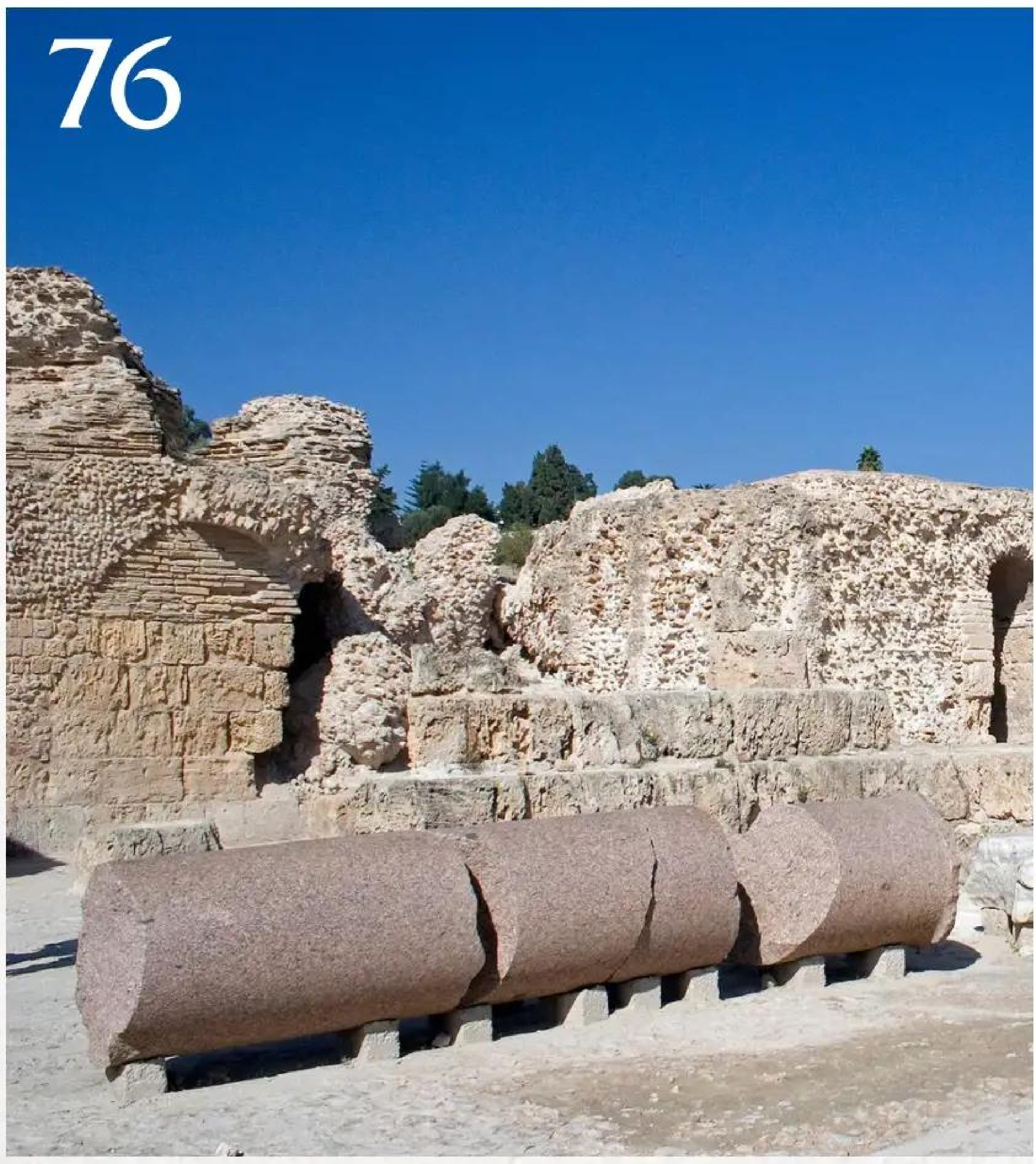
Born to hate Rome, Hannibal would dedicate his life to destroying her

70 The Battle of Zama

In 202 BCE, following over a decade of bloodshed, Hannibal finally met his match on the plains of Zama

76 The destruction of Carthage

The savage denouement of the final Punic War condemned Carthage to total annihilation



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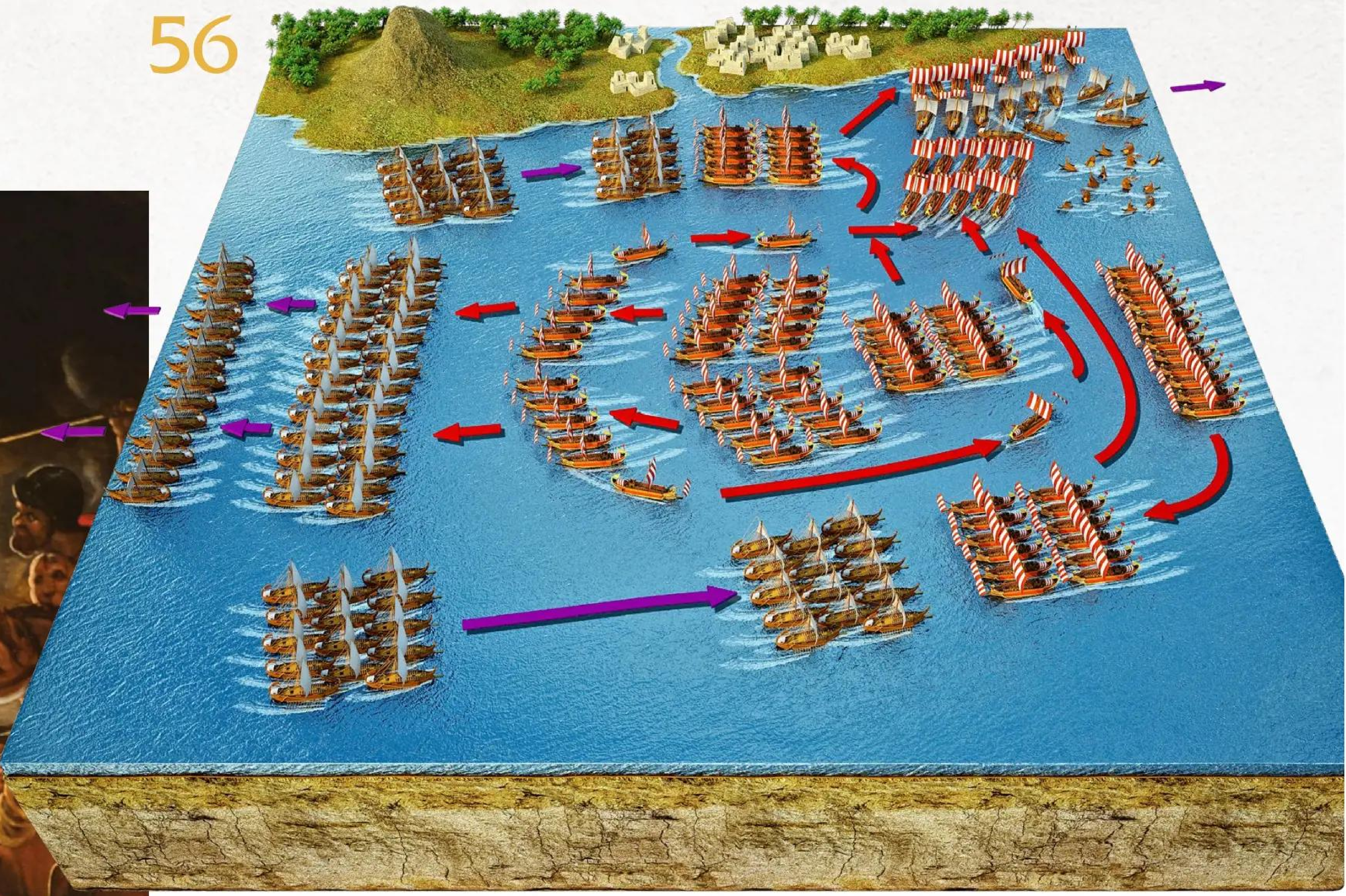

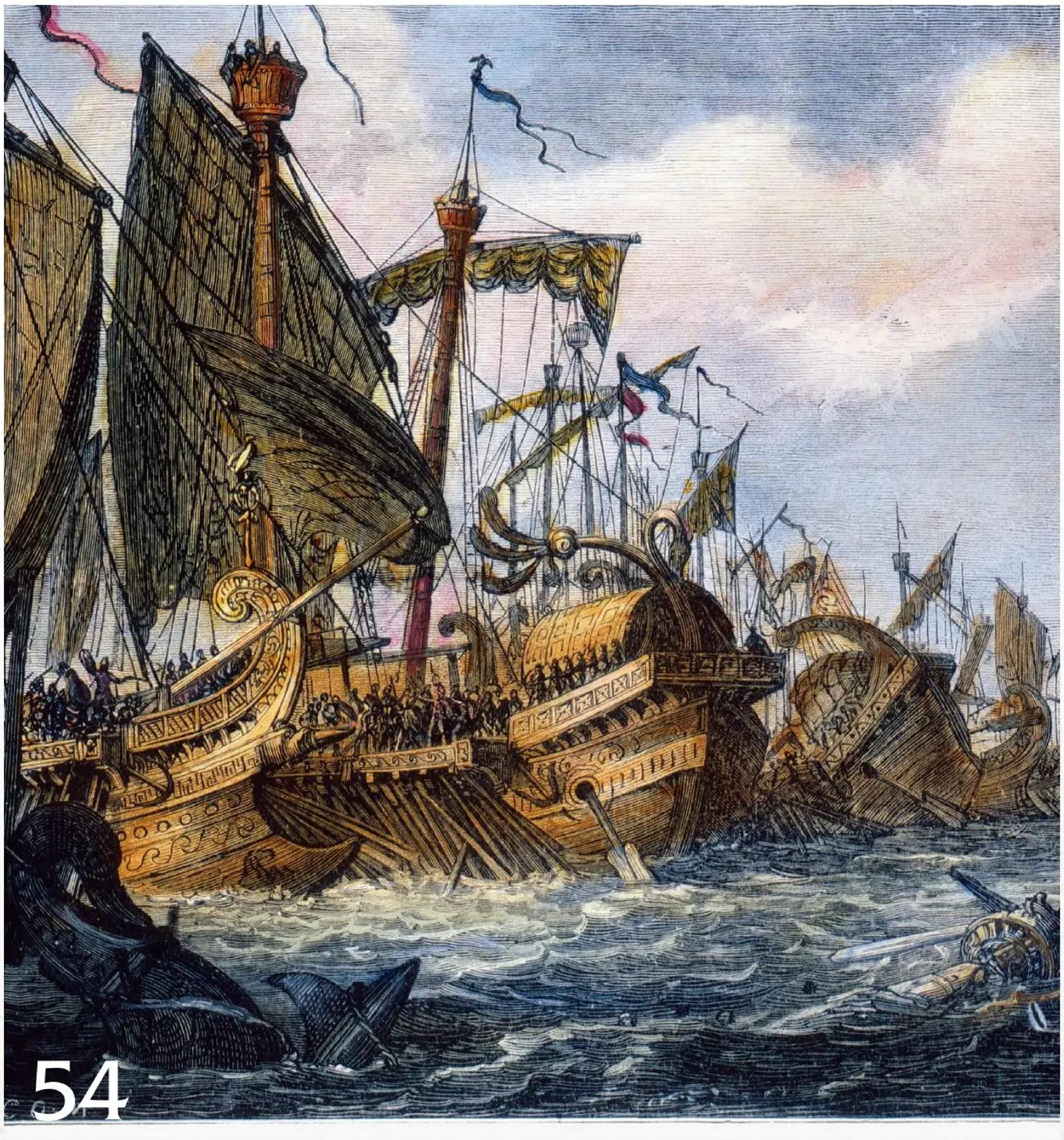

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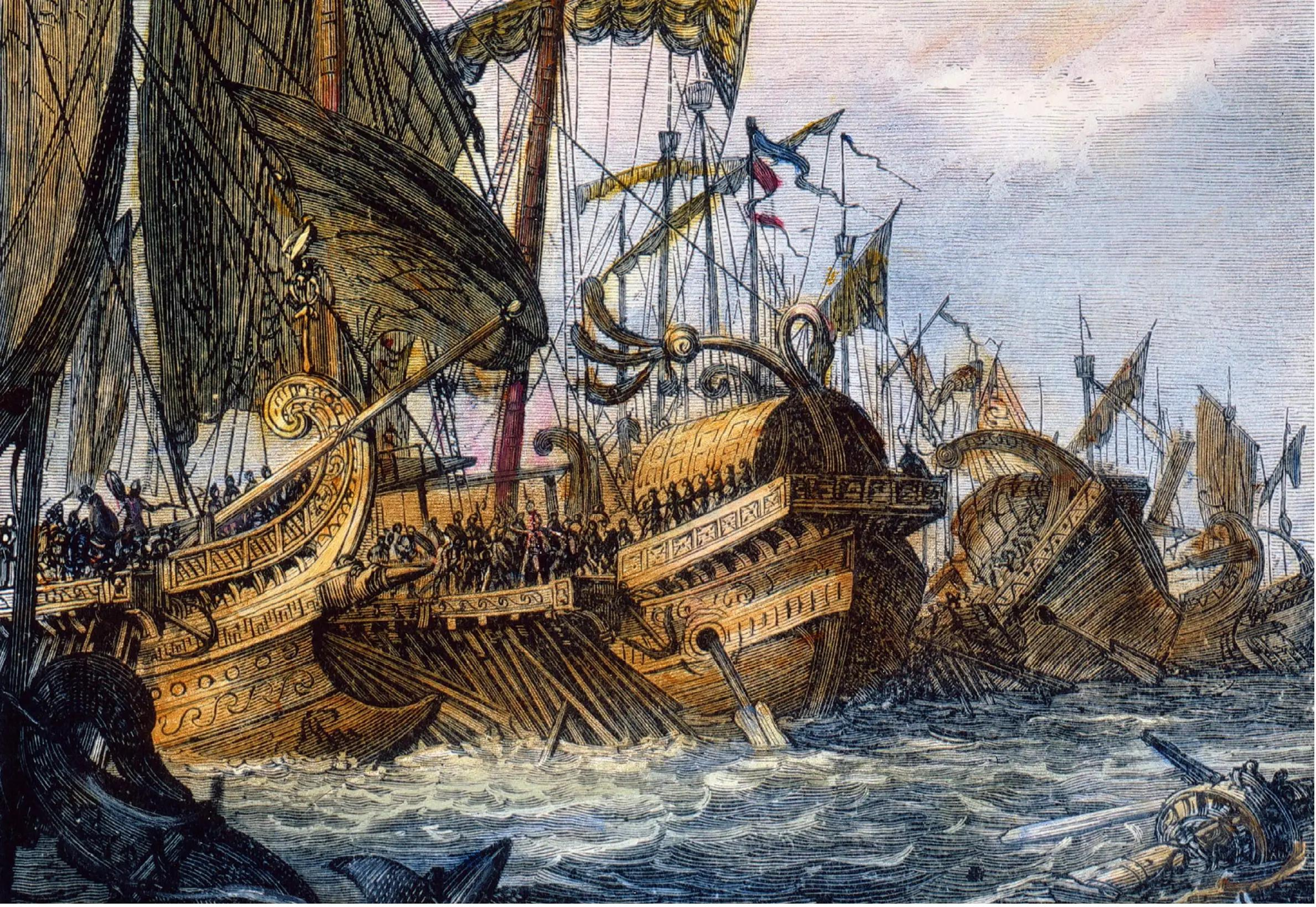


A CLASH OF SUPERPOWERS

IN 264 BCE, THE TWO DOMINANT POWERS IN THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN BEGAN A STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY THAT WOULD SOW THE SEEDS FOR OVER A CENTURY OF BLOODSHED

Written by Charles Ginger

As with most conflicts, nobody saw the eruption of war between Rome and Carthage in the middle of the 3rd century BCE coming. Rulers of the Italian Peninsula and much of North Africa respectively, the mighty cities had for many years enjoyed cordial relations, with Rome's strength centred around its growing land armies and Carthage the undisputed naval power. Trade had flourished for years between both sides, governed by three separate treaties, as Rome had swallowed its neighbours and Carthage had spread its influence across southern Sicily. The peace seemed assured. And then a minnow set two leviathans on a collision course.

In 289 BCE, Agathocles, self-proclaimed King of Sicily, died, leaving behind a host of mercenaries (whom he had hired to aid him in his conquests on the island) known as the Mamertines (worshippers of Mamers, the Italian god of war). Having ruthlessly slaughtered the people of the northeastern city of Messana, these marauding raiders attacked nearby settlements and plundered passing vessels, enhancing their private wealth significantly (to the point where they minted their own coins). With Rome engaged in a costly war against King Pyrrhus of Epirus, it wasn't until the year 270 that the ruler of Syracuse (located in the south of Sicily), Hiero, decided to put an end to the depravities of the Mamertines once and for all.

Having mustered an army, Hiero marched out to meet the enemy as they neared Syracuse. Cleverly permitting the unruly and fickle among his men to be put to the sword, Hiero tricked the Mamertines into thinking they had secured an easy victory. In reality, Hiero only pulled back long enough to sharpen his army through rigorous training. A crushing victory on the banks of the River Longanus in

269 sent the Mamertines reeling, their leaders imprisoned and their stronghold now at risk. In 265 Hiero returned to lay siege to Messana.

Fearing annihilation, the Mamertines shamelessly appealed to both Carthage and Rome for help. While the Senate in Rome debated the correct course of action (all too aware how hypocritical the city would look if it now supported a band of killers who'd dared to seize control of a city and massacre its citizens), Carthage willingly sent troops to garrison Messana. Blinded by the prospect of gold and glory, the most influential members of Rome's government eventually managed to convince the people to back intervention. Yet while plunder and victory in the field was always a Roman priority, the prospect of Carthage tightening her grip on Sicily (and thereby having ready access to Italy) was an even more pressing concern.

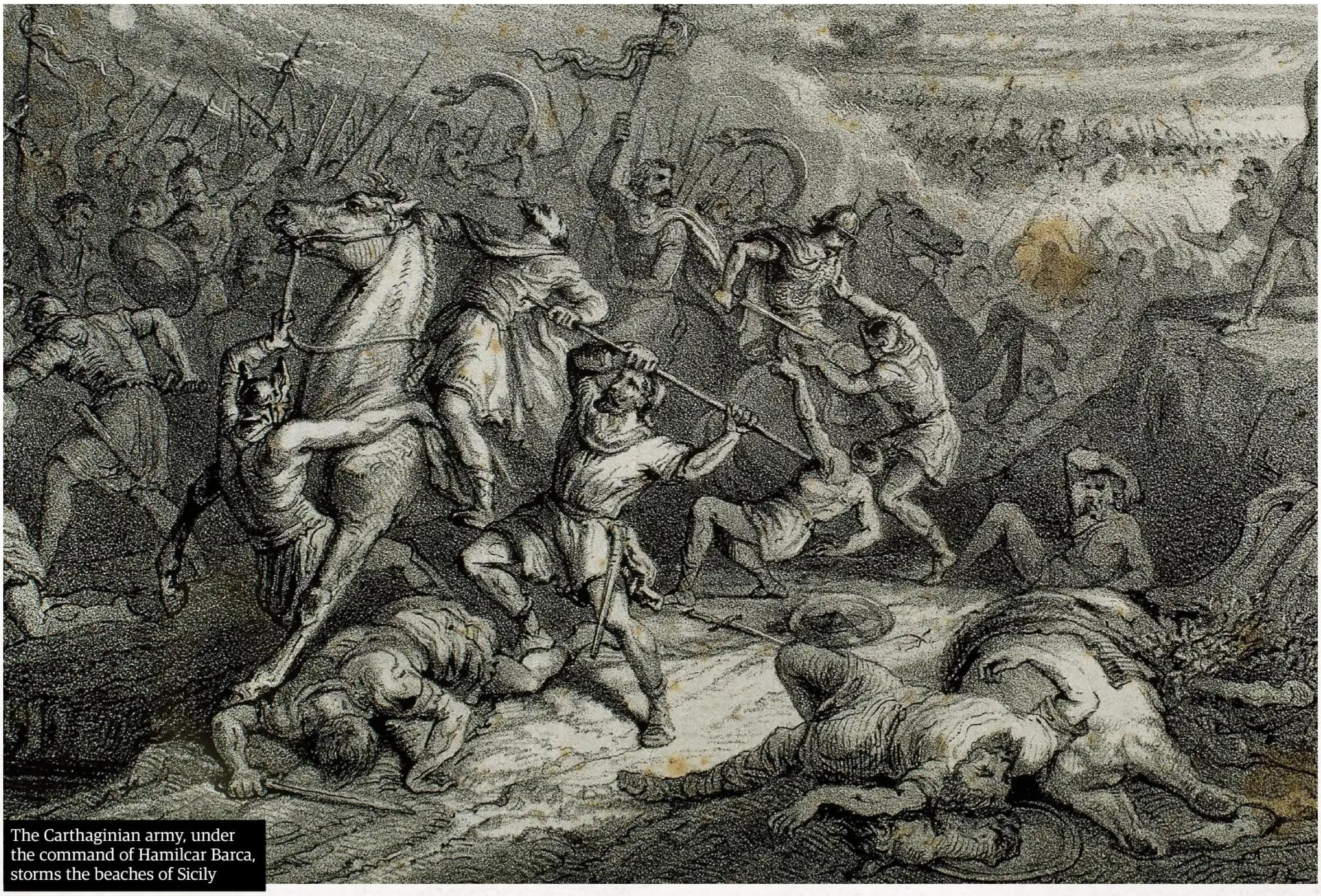
Apparently more impressed by Rome's assurances, the Mamertines sent the Carthaginian troops stationed in Messana packing (their unfortunate commander was nailed to a cross for his inability to maintain their position). With a Roman army marching down the coast towards Rhegium (whereby it was to board ships and cross the Strait of Messina to Sicily), the Carthaginians readied a fleet to impede their crossing.

> "The unfortunate Carthaginian commander was nailed to a cross for his inability to maintain their position"

The Roman army was led by Appius Claudius, a member of Rome's ruling patrician class. Initially frustrated in his efforts, eventually Appius managed to get his men across the Strait to Sicily, where he immediately sought to negotiate with Hiero and the Carthaginians, imploring them to accept Rome's duty to help the Mamertines, a transparent appeal that the other parties saw straight through. Determined to take Messana, Hiero now sided with the Carthaginians, who themselves were unbending in their ambition to increase their influence in Sicily.

With the talks collapsing, Appius acted decisively, attacking Hiero's encampment outside Messana before turning his ire on the Carthaginians, who he routed. Pressing on, he approached Syracuse, laying waste to its surrounding territory. He was then replaced in 263 upon the expiration of his term in office by two consuls, Marcus Valerius Maximus and Manius Otacilius Crassus, who arrived with a force of around 40,000 men. Many Sicilian settlements, seeing the writing on the wall, defected to Rome, as did Hiero. But the Carthaginians were not so easily tamed. They had paid a heavy blood price over the preceding decades in order to maintain a foothold in Sicily. They were not about to cede hard-won territory to anyone, especially an increasingly powerful Rome. Armed as she was with a fleet far superior to that of her new enemy, Carthage had every right to be confident of a swift victory. However, the coming struggles would be anything but brief.

What had begun as a regional dispute between two small settlements had now pulled the heavyweights of the Western Mediterranean into a downward spiral towards the first of three wars that would result in the deaths of thousands, the utter destruction of one side and the meteoric rise to power of another. Over a century of carnage loomed. The Punic Wars had begun.



The Carthaginian army, under the command of Hamilcar Barca, storms the beaches of Sicily

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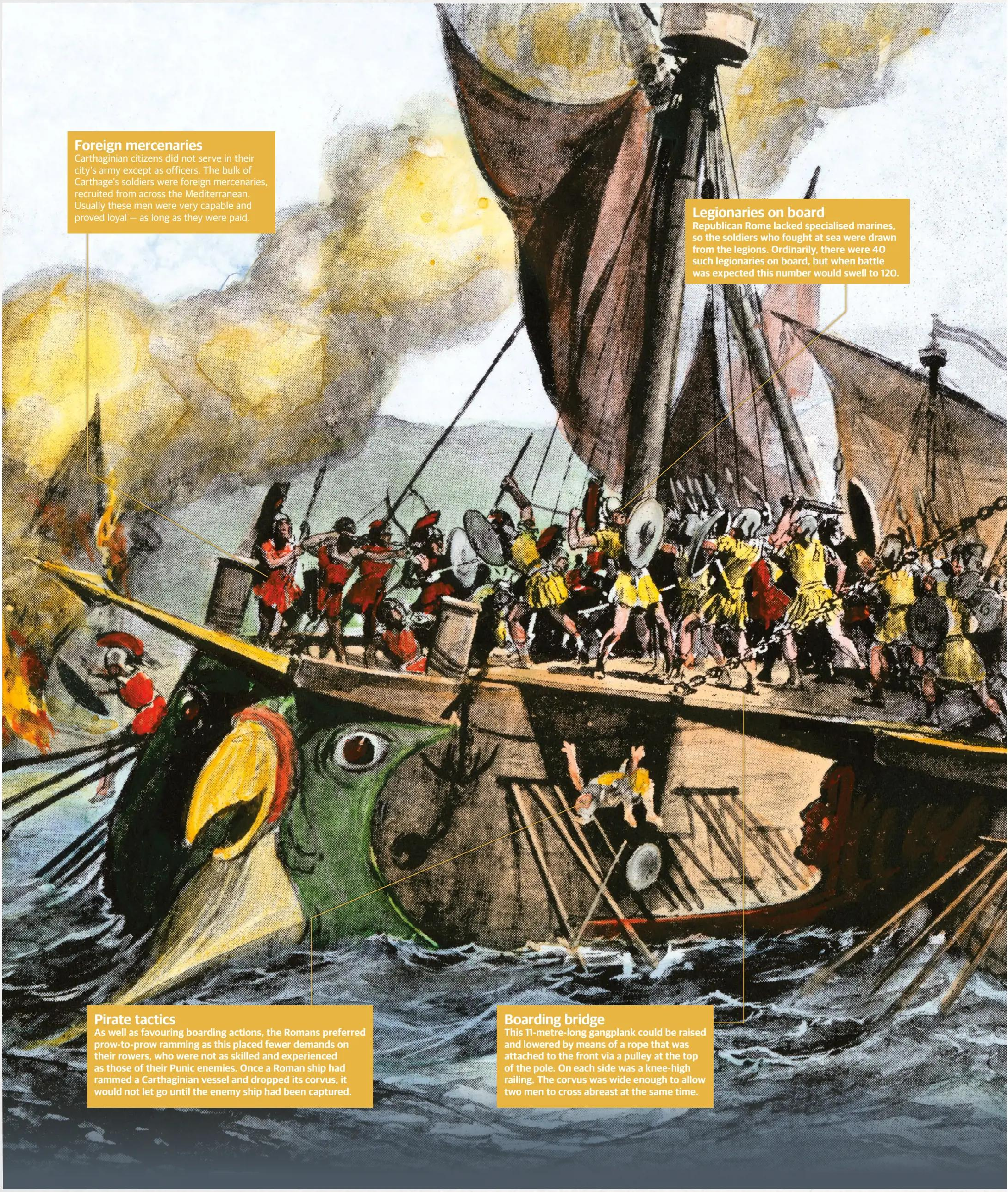
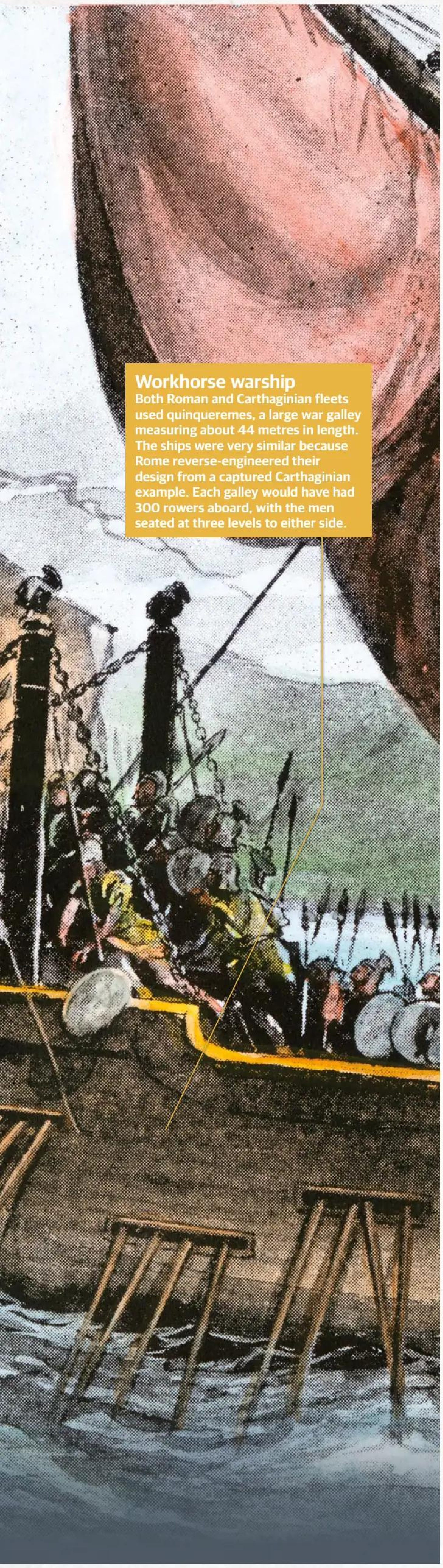


Foreign mercenaries
Carthaginian citizens did not serve in their city's army except as officers. The bulk of Carthage's soldiers were foreign mercenaries, recruited from across the Mediterranean. Usually these men were very capable and proved loyal — as long as they were paid.

Legionaries on board
Republican Rome lacked specialised marines, so the soldiers who fought at sea were drawn from the legions. Ordinarily, there were 40 such legionaries on board, but when battle was expected this number would swell to 120.

Pirate tactics
As well as favouring boarding actions, the Romans preferred prow-to-prow ramming as this placed fewer demands on their rowers, who were not as skilled and experienced as those of their Punic enemies. Once a Roman ship had rammed a Carthaginian vessel and dropped its corvus, it would not let go until the enemy ship had been captured.

Boarding bridge
This 11-metre-long gangplank could be raised and lowered by means of a rope that was attached to the front via a pulley at the top of the pole. On each side was a knee-high railing. The corvus was wide enough to allow two men to cross abreast at the same time.



Workhorse warship
Both Roman and Carthaginian fleets used quinqueremes, a large war galley measuring about 44 metres in length. The ships were very similar because Rome reverse-engineered their design from a captured Carthaginian example. Each galley would have had 300 rowers aboard, with the men seated at three levels to either side.

BATTLE OF ECNOMUS

CAPE ECNOMUS, SICILY 256 BCE

Written by Marc DeSantis

In 275 BCE, the Roman Republic was the master of mainland Italy. But just across the Strait of Messina lay Sicily, a fertile island heavily settled by the Greeks. It was also home to a substantial number of Carthaginians. With an aptitude for trade and a vast commercial empire across the western Mediterranean, when the Romans looked out over the Strait, they saw the looming threat from the Carthaginians, or Punics.

Meanwhile, the Mamertines, a group of Italian mercenaries, had seized power in the Sicilian city of Messana (modern-day Messina) in the 280s. They soon fell foul of King Hiero of Syracuse, who crushed them in battle in 264 BCE. They made appeals to Rome and Carthage for help and Carthage acted first, installing a small garrison in the citadel. Rome, fearing that Sicily would become the base for future Carthaginian attacks on Italy, also sent an army to the island. The Carthaginians were quickly ejected.

> "In terms of the number of men involved, Ecnomus may be the largest naval battle the world has ever seen"

In this, the First Punic War, Hiero sided with the Romans, who quickly captured many Sicilian cities. At sea it was another matter entirely. The Carthaginian navy was bigger and better than Rome's and it would often appear offshore, scaring Sicilian cities into an alliance with them.

There was nothing Rome could do to stop this – until they realised they needed their own powerful navy. Using a captured Carthaginian quinquereme as a model, the industrious Romans constructed 100 copies, along with 20 smaller triremes, in just 60 days in 260 BCE.

The Romans knew that they were still no match for the Carthaginians in rowing. To better their odds, they installed an 11-metre boarding bridge, known as a corvus, on each ship's bow. Under the gangplank was a large, downward-pointing spike that embedded itself in the deck of enemy galleys. Once the ship was held fast, legionaries would rush across and capture it, turning a sea battle into a land one. Knowing that they were better in hand-to-hand combat, they packed their ships with 120 legionaries each so that they would have the edge.

In the Battle of Mylae, the first major naval battle the Romans ever fought, they clobbered a Carthaginian fleet that had challenged them with their new contraption. From then on, Rome kept winning, but the land war dragged on. To break the stalemate, the Romans decided to strike Carthage itself and built a fleet of 330 ships in 256 BCE.

The Carthaginians responded by preparing 350 vessels. They intercepted the Romans off Cape Ecnomus on the southern coast of Sicily. Each quinquereme had some 300 rowers aboard. The Roman fleet boasted 138,600 rowers and legionaries all told, and the Carthaginians had 150,000 on their galleys. In terms of the number of men involved, Ecnomus may be the largest naval battle the world has ever seen.

The Roman fleet defeated Carthage's and an invasion army landed in Africa, but the Romans fumbled their chance, so the conflict would grind on for another 16 years until the last Carthaginian fleet was destroyed.

From then on, Rome ruled the waves. But their triumph would not guarantee lasting peace. Many in Carthage were deeply embittered by the harsh Roman peace terms. In time their unhappiness would manifest itself in the daring invasion of Italy by Carthage's most famous son, Hannibal Barca, who would smash several of Rome's armies during the Second Punic War.

ROMANS

TROOPS 138,600
SHIPS 330

ROMAN CO-CONSULS

LEADERS

Command of the Roman fleet at Ecnomus was shared between the two annually elected co-consuls of 256 BCE, Marcus Atilius Regulus (pictured) and Lucius Manlius Vulso.

Strengths Vulso was a courageous and shrewd commander.

Weakness Marcus Atilius Regulus was not especially wise.

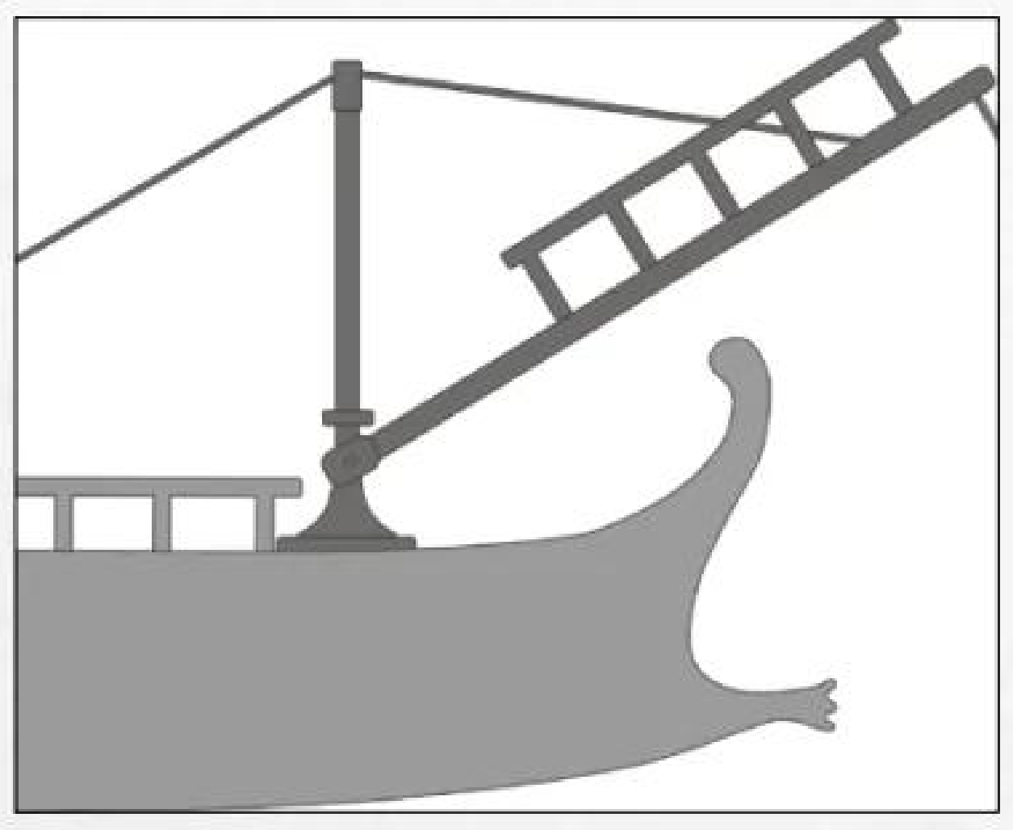
ROMAN MARINES

KEY UNIT

Rome's marines came straight from the legions and were employed aboard ship in large numbers.

Strengths Tough, aggressive and deadly close up.

Weakness They were principally trained for land warfare.



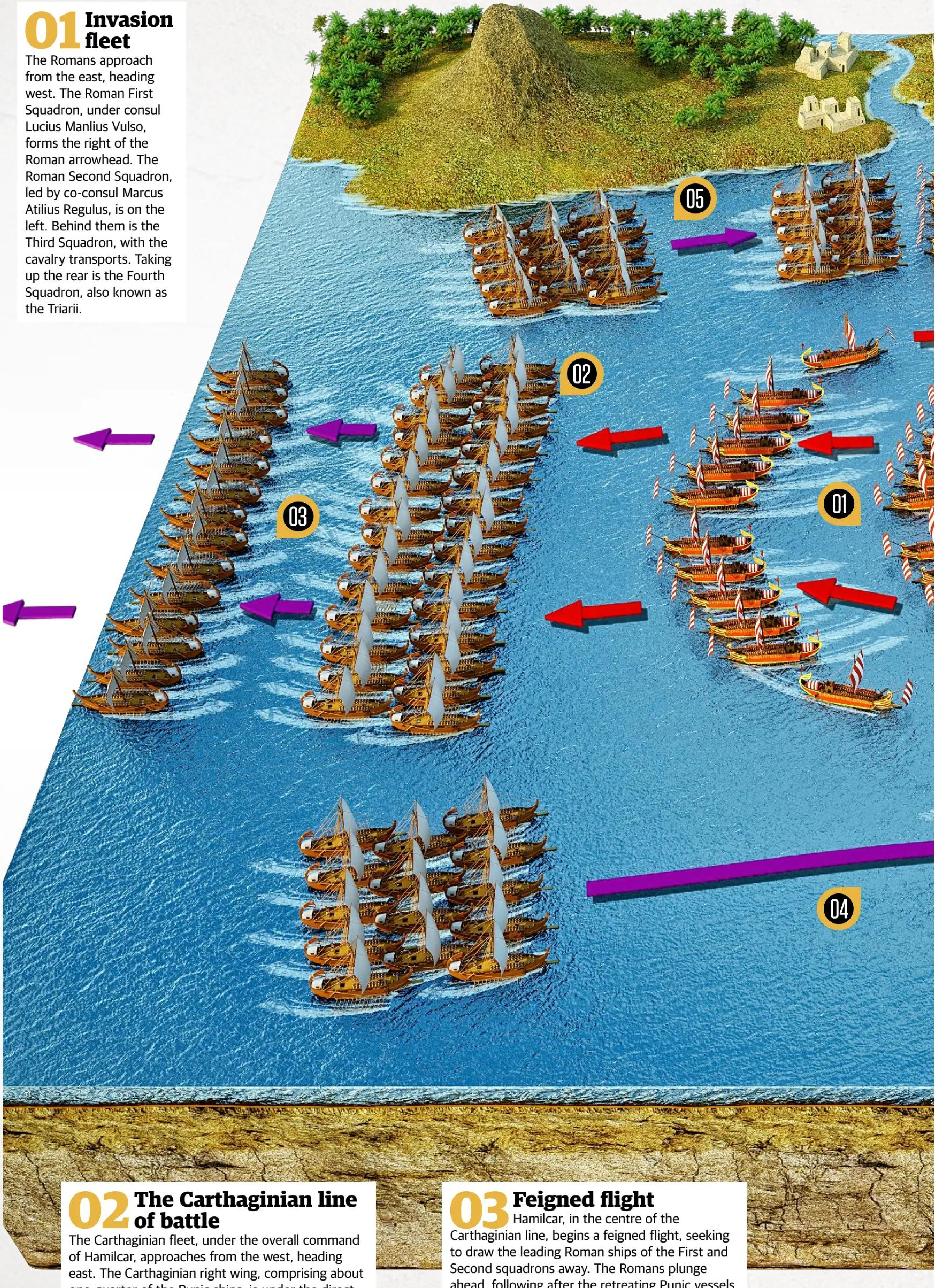
CORVUS

KEY WEAPON

This hooked boarding bridge proved to be an outstanding success and allowed the inexperienced Romans to overcome the superior seamanship of the Carthaginians.

Strengths Played to the Romans' preference for close combat.

Weakness Only works if enemy targets are within range.



01 Invasion fleet

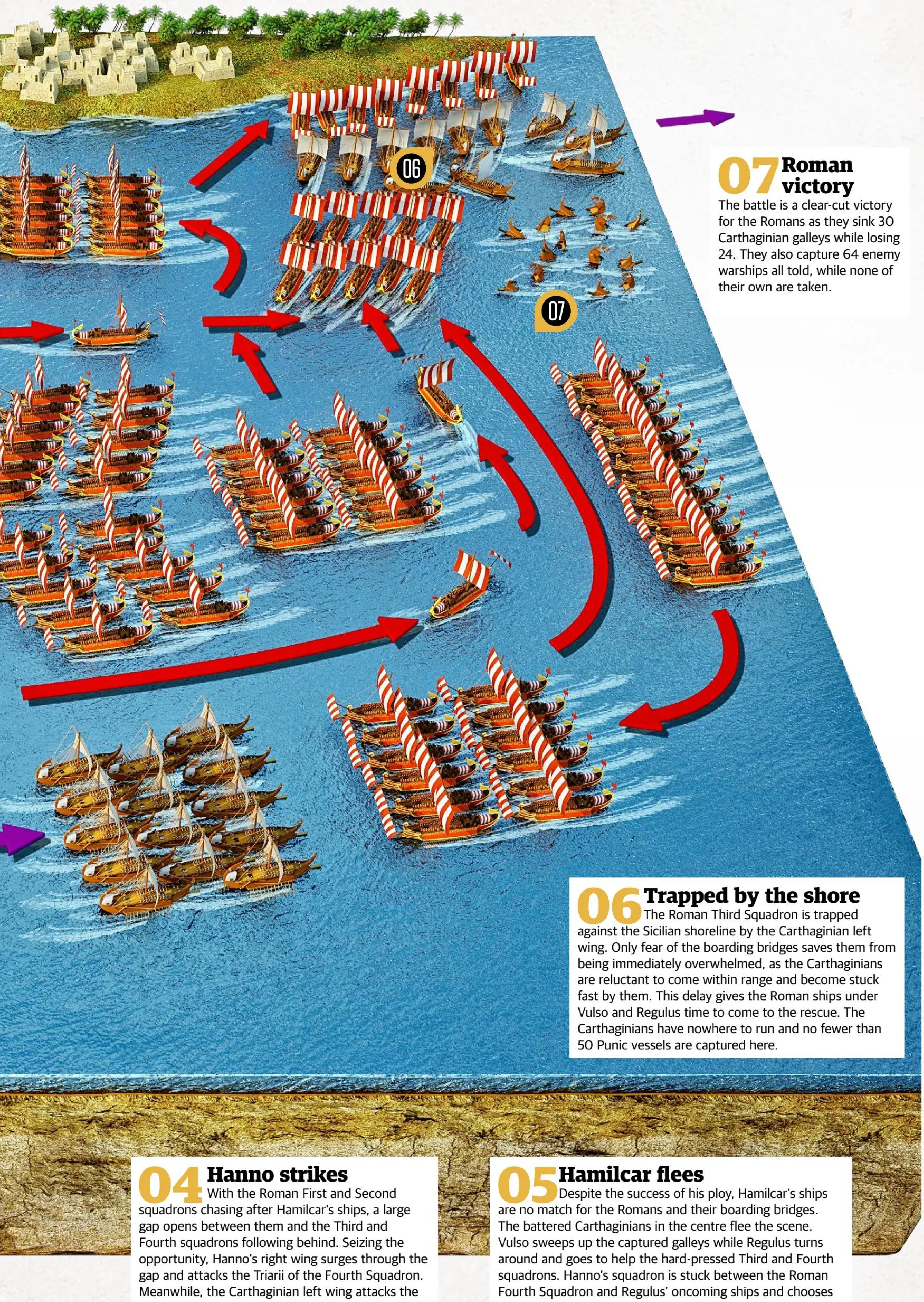
The Romans approach from the east, heading west. The Roman First Squadron, under consul Lucius Manlius Vulso, forms the right of the Roman arrowhead. The Roman Second Squadron, led by co-consul Marcus Atilius Regulus, is on the left. Behind them is the Third Squadron, with the cavalry transports. Taking up the rear is the Fourth Squadron, also known as the Triarii.

02 The Carthaginian line of battle

The Carthaginian fleet, under the overall command of Hamilcar, approaches from the west, heading east. The Carthaginian right wing, comprising about one-quarter of the Punic ships, is under the direct command of Hanno and is positioned slightly ahead and at an angle to the rest of the fleet.

03 Feigned flight

Hamilcar, in the centre of the Carthaginian line, begins a feigned flight, seeking to draw the leading Roman ships of the First and Second squadrons away. The Romans plunge ahead, following after the retreating Punic vessels. Once the Romans have done so, Hamilcar orders his ships to turn about and counter-attack.



04 Hanno strikes

With the Roman First and Second squadrons chasing after Hamilcar's ships, a large gap opens between them and the Third and Fourth squadrons following behind. Seizing the opportunity, Hanno's right wing surges through the gap and attacks the Triarii of the Fourth Squadron. Meanwhile, the Carthaginian left wing attacks the Roman Third Squadron and its horse transports.

05 Hamilcar flees

Despite the success of his ploy, Hamilcar's ships are no match for the Romans and their boarding bridges. The battered Carthaginians in the centre flee the scene. Vulso sweeps up the captured galleys while Regulus turns around and goes to help the hard-pressed Third and Fourth squadrons. Hanno's squadron is stuck between the Roman Fourth Squadron and Regulus' oncoming ships and chooses also to flee by rowing out to sea.

06 Trapped by the shore

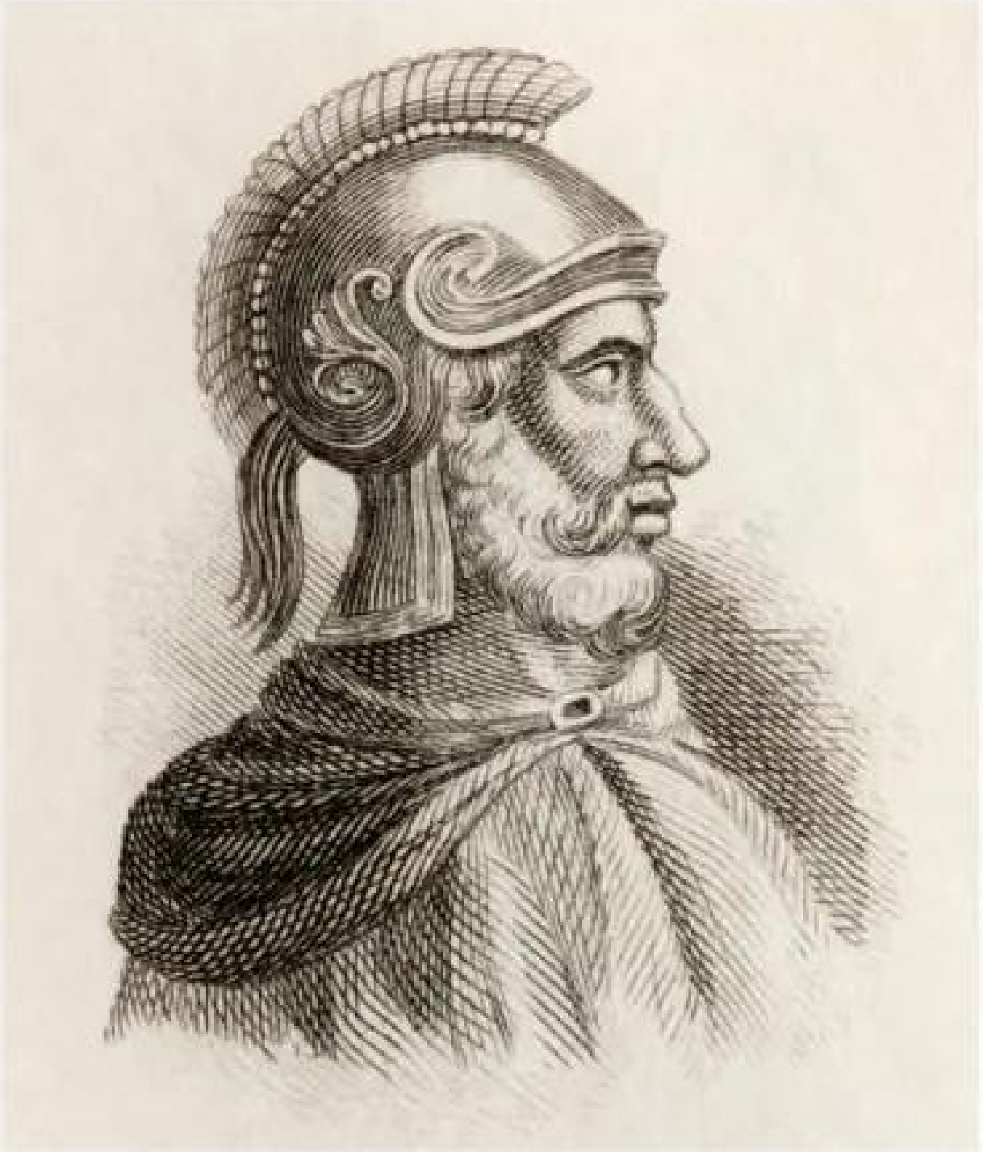
The Roman Third Squadron is trapped against the Sicilian shoreline by the Carthaginian left wing. Only fear of the boarding bridges saves them from being immediately overwhelmed, as the Carthaginians are reluctant to come within range and become stuck fast by them. This delay gives the Roman ships under Vulso and Regulus time to come to the rescue. The Carthaginians have nowhere to run and no fewer than 50 Punic vessels are captured here.

07 Roman victory

The battle is a clear-cut victory for the Romans as they sink 30 Carthaginian galleys while losing 24. They also capture 64 enemy warships all told, while none of their own are taken.

THE CARTHAGINIANS

TROOPS 150,000
SHIPS 350



HAMILCAR
LEADER

Hamilcar's plan to lure the Roman fleet away from the rear divisions was a good one, even though it ended up failing.

Strengths Bold and cunning with strong grasp of tactics.

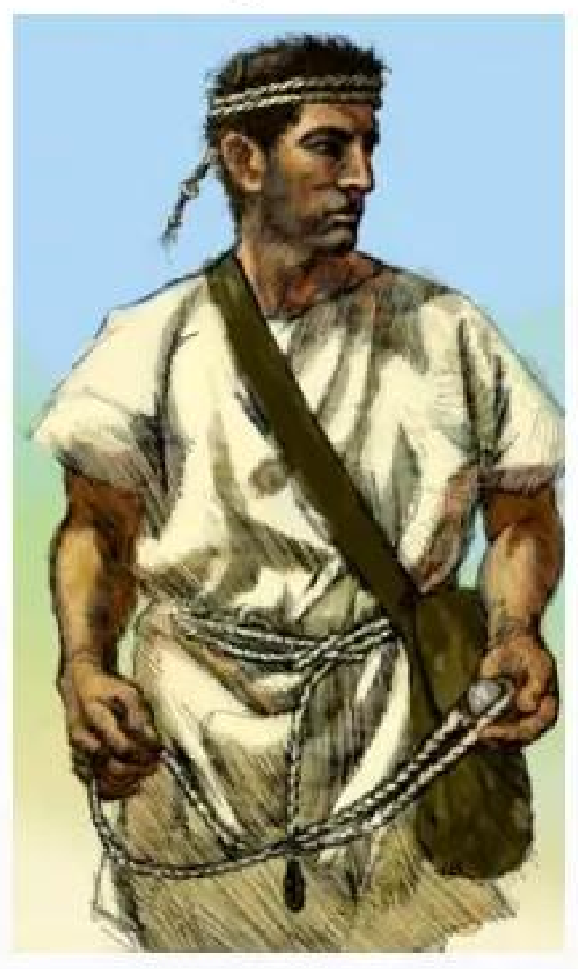
Weakness Was unprepared for Rome's new corvus gangplank.

CARTHAGINIAN MERCENARIES
KEY UNIT

Wealthy Carthage relied on hired soldiers to fight its battles. These men were drawn mainly from Africa, Spain and Gaul.

Strengths Professional and talented soldiers.

Weakness They weren't as highly motivated as the Romans.



CARTHAGINIAN QUINQUEREME
KEY WEAPON

The Carthaginian war galley was a sleek and well-constructed craft, similar to that used by the Romans but of better quality.

Strengths Fast and agile. Carthaginian rowers were better than their Roman counterparts.

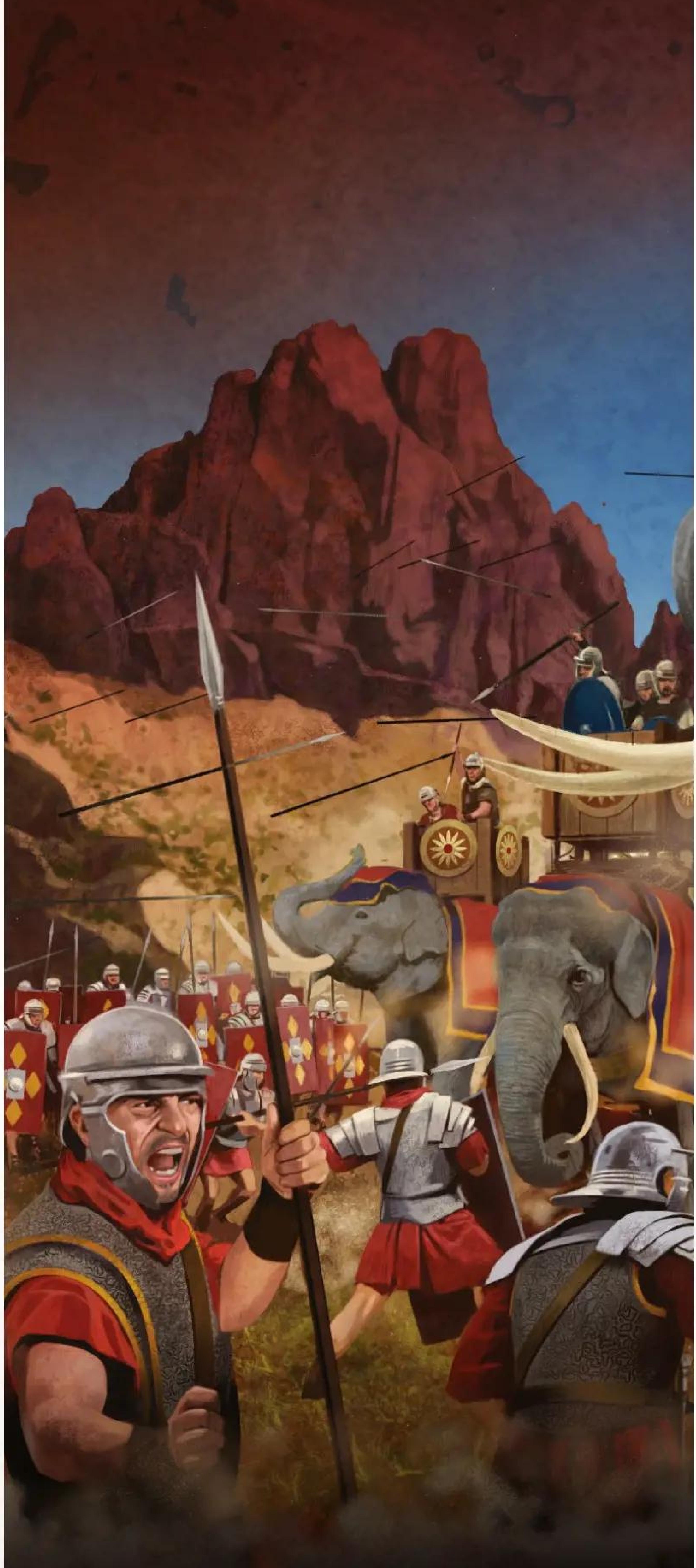
Weakness Had trouble in defending against Roman boarding attacks.

© Nicholas Forder

HANNIBAL BARCA
ENEMY OF ROME

SWORN TO SPEND HIS LIFE AT WAR WITH CARTHAGE'S GREATEST ENEMY, ONE MAN ALMOST BROUGHT ROME TO HER KNEES

Written by Marc DeSantis



Two armies waited at Zama, in October 202 BCE, ready to do battle. On the one side were the Romans, on the other the Carthaginians. At stake was the very survival of Carthage. The commander of the Carthaginians, Hannibal Barca, had been hurriedly recalled from Italy to defend his home city from Roman attack. The young Publius Cornelius Scipio, in command of the Romans, rode out to meet him in the no-man's land between the armies. Would the Romans be interested in negotiating, Hannibal asked? Why risk a battle when peace could be had without a fight? Scipio refused outright. Carthage had already cynically used a previous truce to summon Hannibal back to Africa, he said, and then resumed the war once he arrived to command its army. Scipio accused Hannibal of now trying to profit from Carthage's own treachery.

The fates of the titanic powers of Rome and Carthage could only be decided by a great trial of arms. The generals returned to their men and prepared them for the battle to come. Hannibal would fight one last time on behalf of his people. Though he had rampaged through Italy for 16 years and had won several spectacular victories there, he had been unable to defeat Rome.

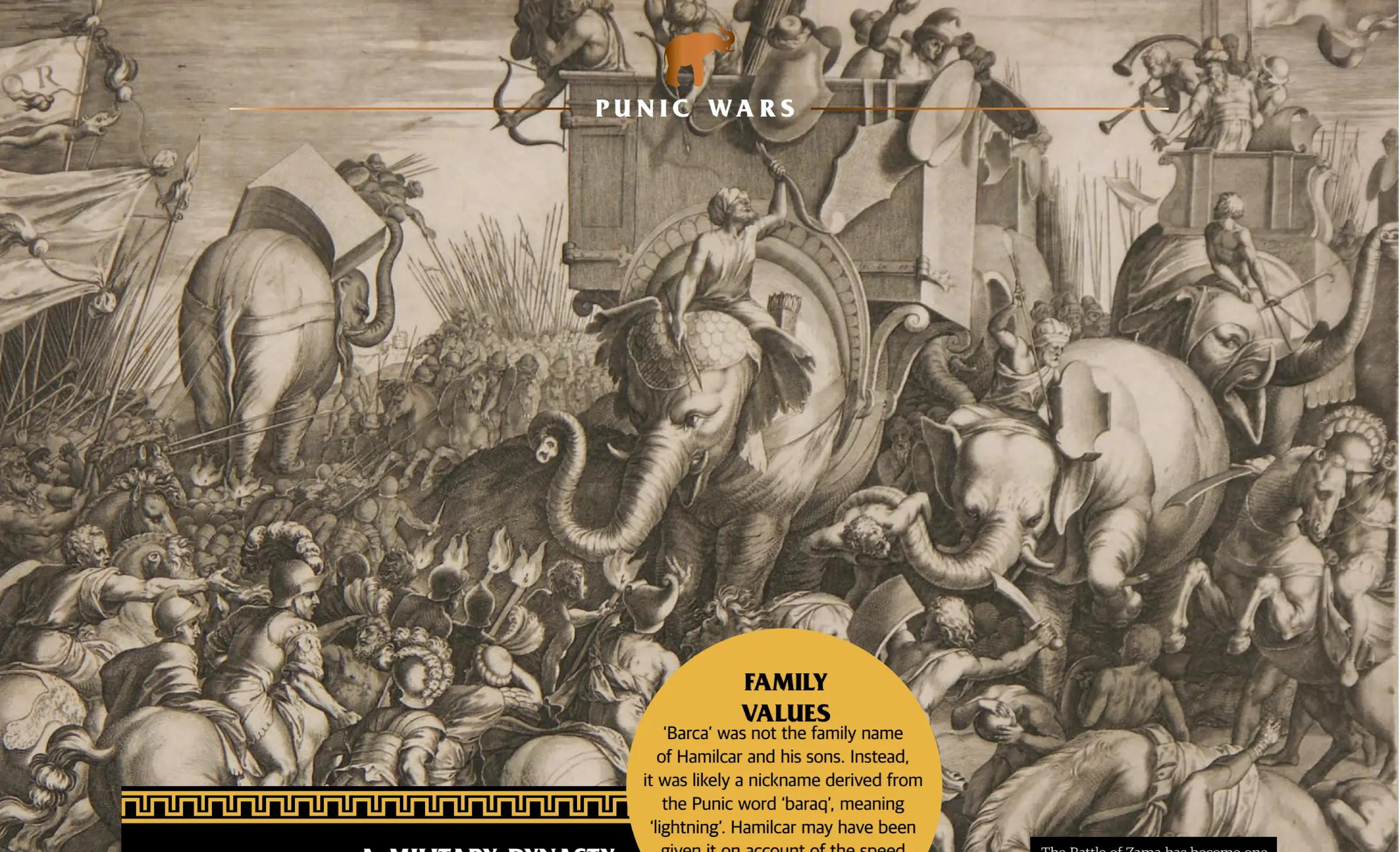
Hannibal's road to Zama began even before his birth in 247 BCE, during the First Punic War with Rome. The battle for supremacy lasted more than 20 years, before Carthage finally succumbed to Roman persistence and naval might. Crushed at the battle of the Aegates Islands, Carthage was forced to accept humiliating peace terms from the triumphant Romans. The empire was stripped of its holdings in Sicily, which had been built up over centuries of colonisation, and forced to pay a huge indemnity to Rome.

Making matters worse was the subsequent arrogant behaviour of the Romans. In 238 BCE, they seized Sardinia under the pretext that Carthage was plotting another strike on the Romans. At the time, however, Carthage was distracted by a brutal war with its former mercenaries and could do nothing to prevent it. The theft of the island may have gone unchallenged, but it instilled a fervent desire for revenge in many Carthaginians.

Foremost among these was Hamilcar Barca, Carthage's leading general in the latter years of the First Punic War. Hamilcar had fought the Romans to a standstill in Sicily, operating out of his base of Mount Eryx, where he conducted daring hit-and-run raids on the Romans around him. The decision of Carthage's government to make peace on Roman terms was a shock, and he never reconciled himself to defeat.

Hamilcar intended to restore Carthage's position in an eventual second war with Rome. First, however, he needed to rebuild the Carthaginian army, which had been battered by the wars with Rome and then the mercenaries. His plan was to go to Spain, where he would expand Carthage's holdings and recruit tough Spanish tribesmen to fight.

> "Hamilcar had fought the Romans to a standstill in Sicily, where he conducted daring hit-and-run raids"



The Battle of Zama has become one of the most famous in history. This anachronistic depiction was created in the 16th century

FAMILY VALUES

'Barca' was not the family name of Hamilcar and his sons. Instead, it was likely a nickname derived from the Punic word 'baraq', meaning 'lightning'. Hamilcar may have been given it on account of the speed with which he conducted his military operations.

A MILITARY DYNASTY

Hamilcar Barca

Hannibal's father Hamilcar was Carthage's finest general of the First Punic War, skilfully leading attacks on Roman forces there, but he was embittered by eventual defeat. After putting down a massive revolt of mercenaries in 238 BCE, he began to increase Carthage's holdings in Spain but was killed before he could begin his war of vengeance against Rome.

Hannibal Barca

Hannibal took hold of the Carthaginian dominion in Spain and led a highly trained army of mercenaries out of Spain, across Gaul into Italy. Though he won spectacular victories over several Roman armies, he lacked the power to defeat Rome completely. He tried to prevent the final defeat of Carthage at Zama but was defeated by Scipio.

Hasdrubal Barca

Younger brother to Hannibal, Hasdrubal Barca was one of Carthage's primary generals in Spain. He was defeated by Scipio at Baecula in 208 BCE but still managed to march with his army to Hannibal's aid in Italy. He was slain at the Battle of the Metaurus in 207 BCE.

Mago Barca

The youngest of Hamilcar's sons, Mago commanded a Carthaginian army in Spain and was defeated by Scipio at Ilipa in 206 BCE. He evacuated Spain shortly after and established a second front against Rome in northern Italy. He was recalled to Carthage in 203 BCE to stop Scipio but died en route while still at sea.

Carthage's armies had long been composed exclusively of mercenaries from around the Mediterranean world. Only the officers were natives of Carthage; the rest were foreigners. From Africa, Spain, Gaul and the Balearic Isles they came, lured by the generous pay of the Carthaginians. Among the best fighters were the superb light cavalry of Numidia in North Africa. The Romans would be at a serious disadvantage in battle until they found a way to recruit Numidians of their own.

Wealth was something Carthage normally possessed in abundance. Known to the Romans as 'Punics' because their ancestors had originally come from Phoenicia, the Carthaginians had the same talent for commerce. After the war with Rome, however, money was in short supply and Carthage was burdened by the weighty indemnity. In search of much-needed silver and territory, Hamilcar led an expedition to the Iberian Peninsula in 237 BCE. He was confident they would be successful, having taken part in a sacred ritual before departing: a human had been sacrificed to the gods. Hamilcar had brought his nine-year-old son, Hannibal, to the altar, made him place his hand on the blood of the victim and swear his unending hatred of the Romans. The young boy is said to have recited the oath: "I swear so soon as age will permit I will use fire and steel to arrest the destiny of Rome." It was a promise the young Hannibal would keep.

Together, father and son sailed for Iberia, and their forces were ruthless in their suppression of the Spanish. Hamilcar killed many and recruited others to his cause. He also increased the productivity of Spanish mines, sending silver by the shipful to Carthage. With this money, Hamilcar easily paid the mercenaries of his swelling army. Yet Hamilcar was never to lead this army of vengeance against Rome. In 228 BCE, he was betrayed by Spanish allies and died trying to escape them. Control of Carthage's army in Spain eventually fell to Hannibal, who had been raised among the soldiers of his father and held their unwavering loyalty. He increased Carthage's dominion in the peninsula but then ran into trouble when he struck at Saguntum, a city friendly with Rome. Though he quickly captured it, his aggression caused Rome to declare war on Carthage in 218 BCE.

Hannibal lost little time in putting into motion his plan for the invasion of Italy. He believed that Rome could be defeated by stripping the Republic of its Italian allies, many of which had been brought under Roman dominion by force only recently. Since the Romans had won control of the sea in the First Punic War, Hannibal would have to take the long overland route across Gaul to strike in Italy. He marched out of Spain at the head of an army of 50,000 infantry, 9,000 cavalry and a small corps of elephants. The trek through southern Gaul was arduous, and along the way he encountered hostile Gallic tribes who bled his army. He crossed the mighty Rhône River and then marched through the Alps, the traditional frontier of Italy.

Traversing the Alps cost Hannibal's army dearly. By the time he reached the lowlands on the other side, he had just 12,000 African troops, 8,000 Spaniards, 6,000 cavalry and just a handful of elephants left. Hannibal had lost over half of his forces simply reaching Italy; what could he possibly achieve against the far more numerous Romans? What followed proved that Hannibal Barca was one of the greatest military minds of all time.

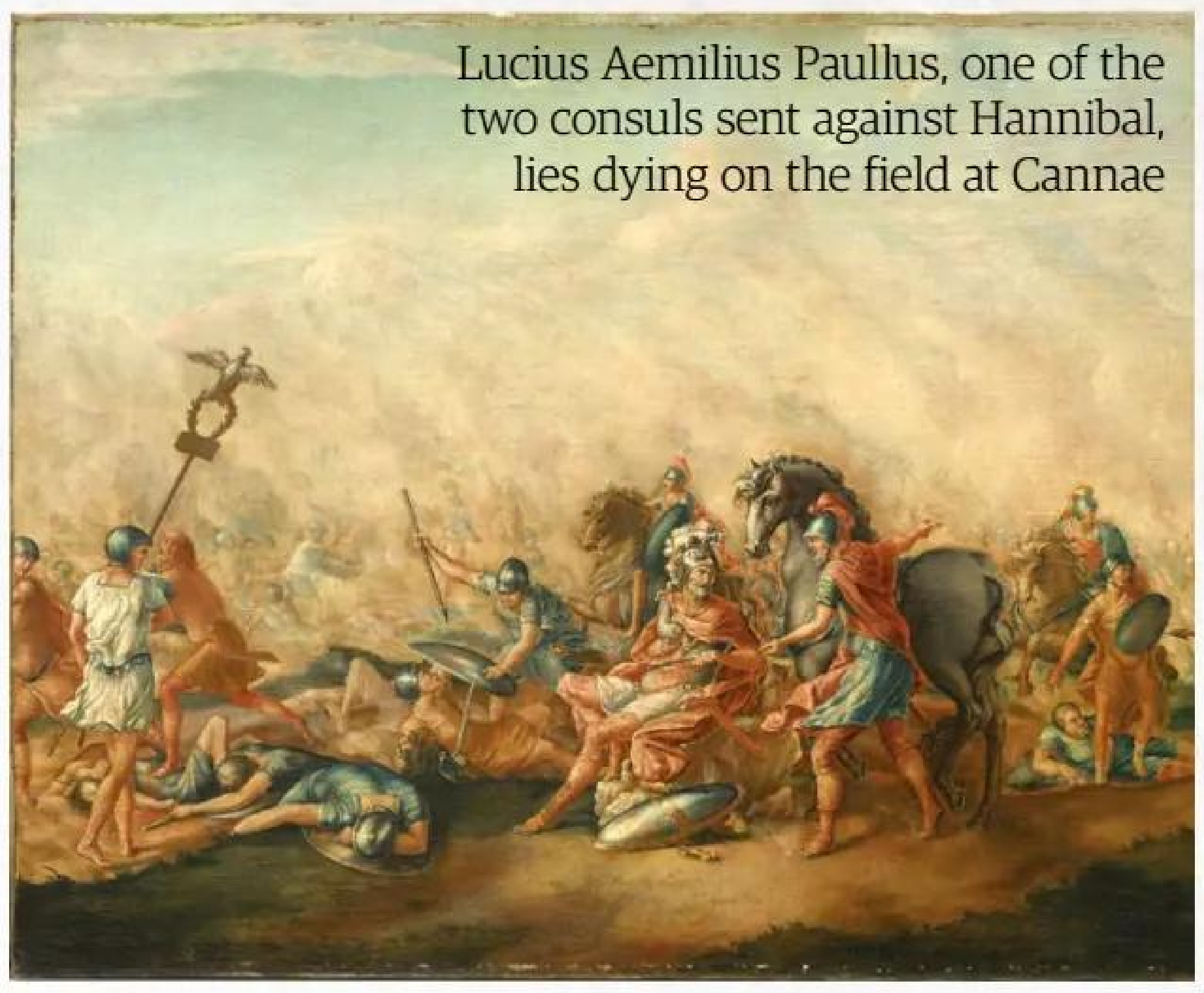
At the Battle of the Trebia in 218 BCE, he pretended to flee before the overeager Romans, who rashly pursued him. Unknown to them, Hannibal had cleverly deployed some 1,000 cavalry and 1,000 infantry under the command of his youngest brother, Mago Barca, in a concealed position behind some marsh reeds. When the Romans passed by the Carthaginians ambushed them. The Romans were taken completely by surprise and their army of some 40,000 was crushed, with just 10,000 escaping the trap alive.

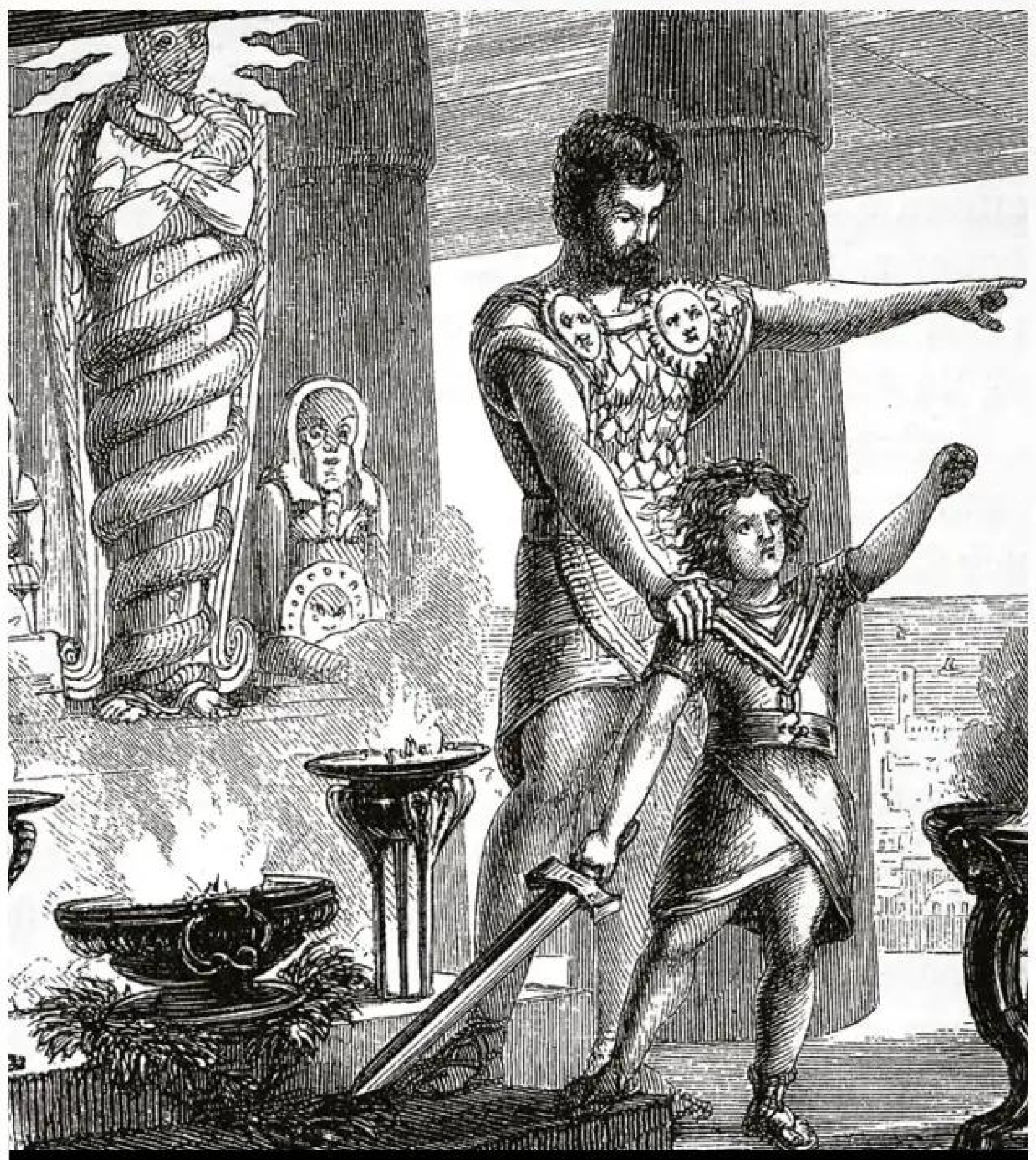
Worse was to come. In 217 BCE, Hannibal met a Roman army head-on at Lake Trasimene. The battle was, "...savage at every point," wrote the Roman historian Livy. Valour was not enough to turn the tide against the better-led Carthaginian army. The Roman general Gaius Flaminius was slain, along with 15,000 of his men, though the Carthaginians lost some 2,500 of their own troops, too.

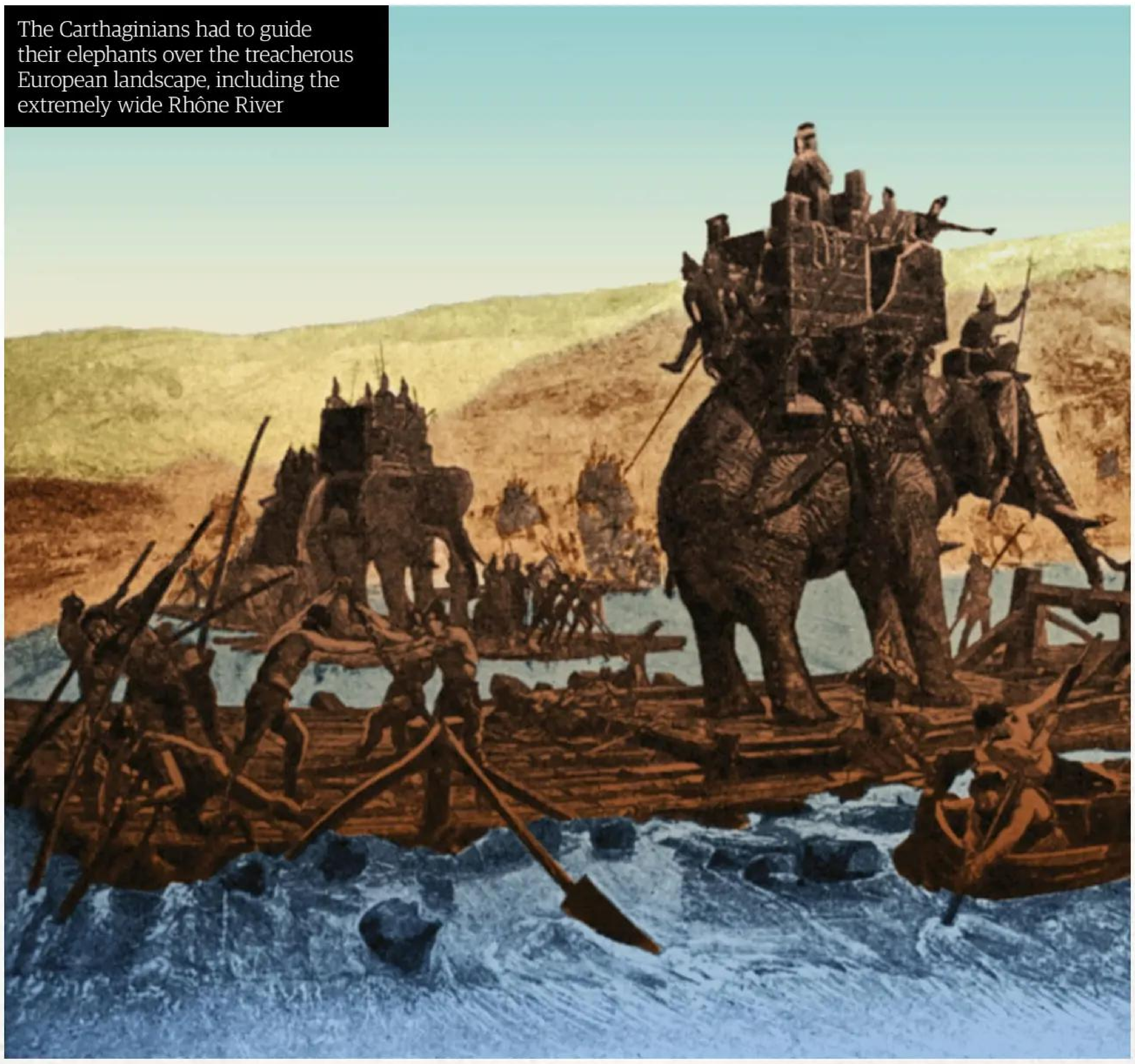
"Hannibal marched out of Spain at the head of an army of 50,000"

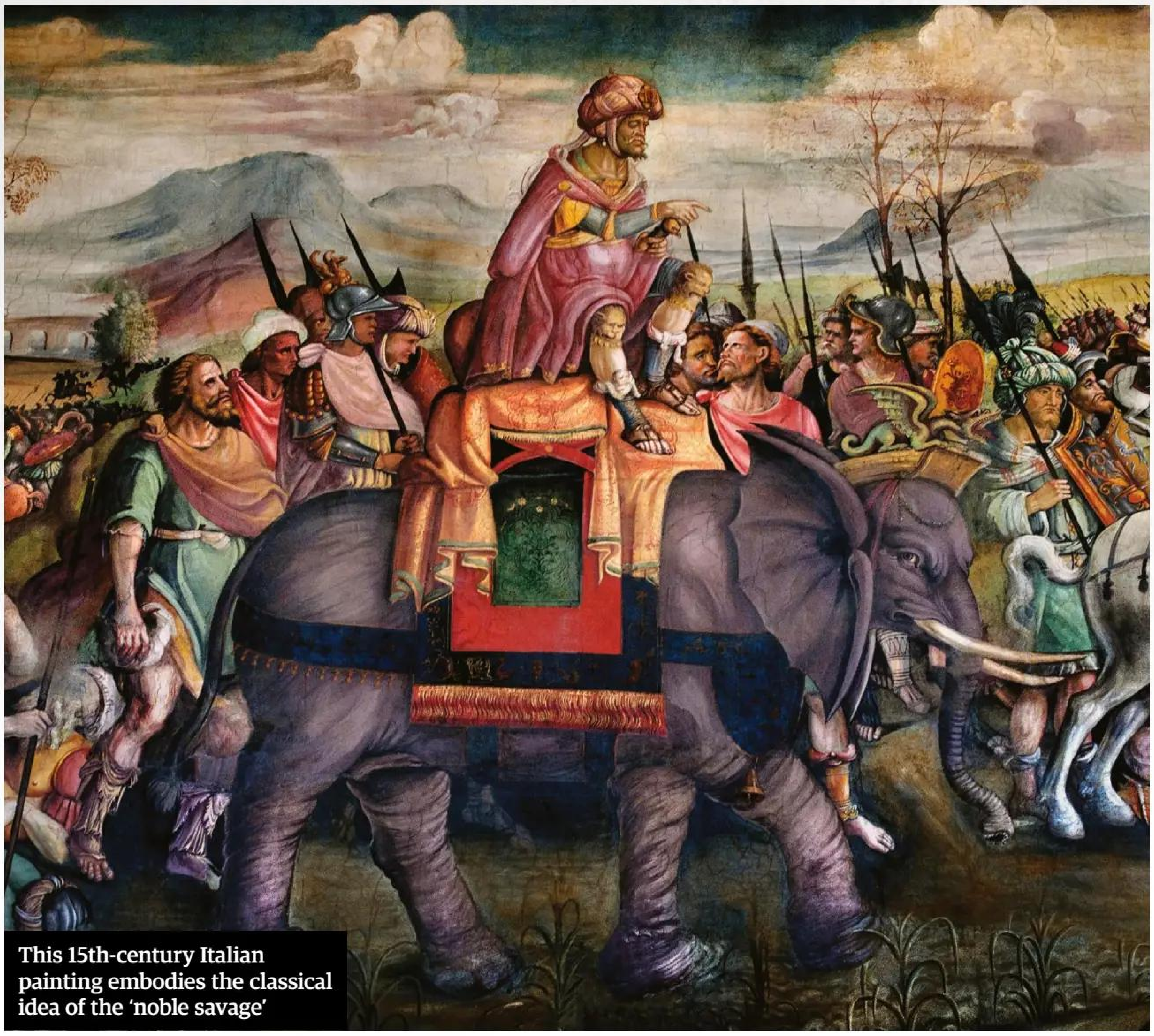
In a bid to win the support of the local people, Hannibal began to free his non-Roman Italian prisoners of war. Stunned and severely beaten, the Romans began to understand that Hannibal was no ordinary general. They appointed Quintus Fabius Maximus as dictator, a post that carried with it vast powers to be used only in a time of emergency.

Hannibal continued to cause havoc throughout Italy as he marched south. Fabius dogged him at every turn, always refusing outright to engage with the nigh-invincible Hannibal. Instead, Fabius picked off straggling Carthaginians or fought small skirmishes to restore Roman confidence. This strategy brought modest but real results. It also caused dissatisfaction among more aggressive Romans who wanted to take on Hannibal once again. They called Fabius 'cunctator' (meaning 'delayer') for his unwillingness to face the


Lucius Aemilius Paullus, one of the two consuls sent against Hannibal, lies dying on the field at Cannae


Hannibal accompanied his father, Hamilcar, on campaign from the age of nine


The Carthaginians had to guide their elephants over the treacherous European landscape, including the extremely wide Rhône River



This 15th-century Italian painting embodies the classical idea of the 'noble savage'

enemy in battle, and despite restoring Roman fortunes, Fabius' six-month dictatorship was not extended.

In the following year, a Roman army of unprecedented size - some 80,000 men - met Hannibal in a pitched battle at Cannae in southern Italy. The Romans charged ahead, pushing their way deep into the Carthaginian centre, which seemed to give way. However, this was all part of Hannibal's cunning plan, and as the Romans pressed forward the wings of his army closed in. Trapped, the Romans became so closely packed that they could not even swing their swords and were relentlessly cut down. "Some were discovered lying there alive," Livy wrote, "with thighs and tendons slashed, baring their necks and throats and bidding their conquerors drain the remnant of their blood." About 50,000 Romans died on that fateful day.

> "The Romans could not eject Hannibal from Italy"

In the aftermath of Cannae, Maharbal, Hannibal's talented cavalry commander, urged him to strike at Rome, promising that they would be having dinner there in just four days if he did so. But Hannibal did not march immediately on Rome. The Carthaginian army was exhausted and he had lost thousands of men. He had defeated three Roman armies, inflicting terrible losses, but the Romans could always raise new legions to replace them. Hannibal, on the other hand, had bled his own army white in winning these battles and may have been left too weak to contemplate a siege of Rome at this time.

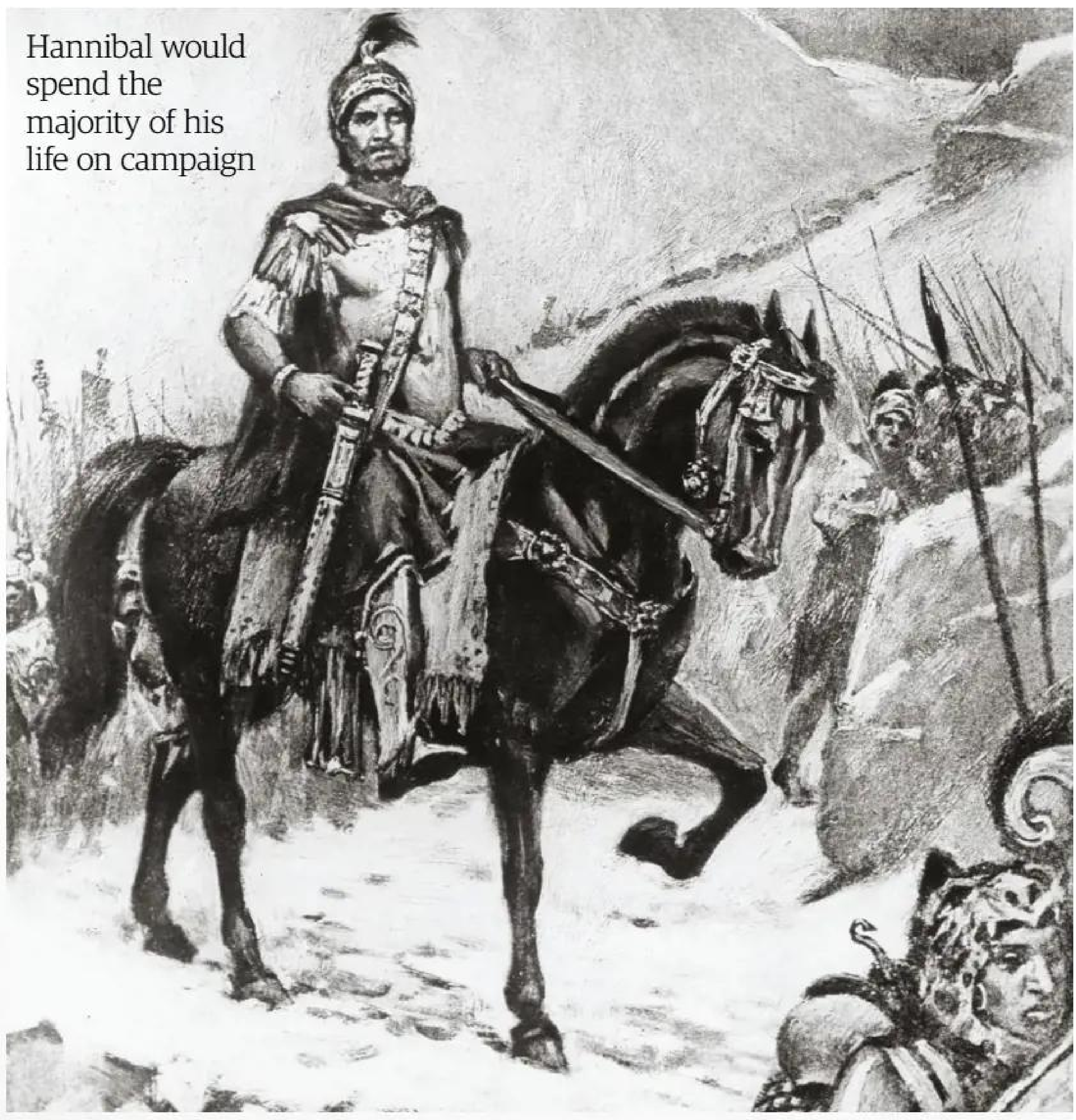
When Hannibal refused to follow his subordinate's advice, a frustrated Maharbal remarked, "You know how to win a battle, Hannibal; you do not know how to use the victory." This decision was one of his most controversial. Rome might well have fallen to the Carthaginians had he appeared outside its gates soon after Cannae. Instead, the Romans found the will to continue the war, and, by and large, their allies stood by them.

Hannibal would enjoy limited successes in Italy after Cannae. The city of Capua defected to him in 216 BCE, and in 212 BCE Tarentum joined his cause too. But these were scattered victories and reinforcements from Carthage were very limited. The Romans could not eject Hannibal from his base in southern Italy, but he could not defeat Rome either, and so a stalemate prevailed.

When the war began, the Romans had shrewdly sent an army to Spain to put pressure on the Carthaginians there. Hannibal, in his eagerness to get to grips with the Romans in Italy, had left behind him an incompletely pacified territory, and Rome found willing allies there who wanted the Carthaginians gone. The Romans suffered terrible reverses in Spain, but it also became a training ground for the one Roman general who would prove to be a match for Hannibal in military skill: Publius Cornelius Scipio. With his father and uncle killed, Scipio was just 25 when he took command of Roman forces. He was no callow youth but a battle-hardened survivor of the disaster at Cannae.

After seizing the main Carthaginian stronghold of Carthago Nova in a surprise assault in 209 BCE, Scipio next defeated Hannibal's brother Hasdrubal at the Battle of Baecula. This was followed by another victory at the Battle of Ilipa in 206 BCE over Hasdrubal Gisgo and Hannibal's brother Mago. All the while, Scipio strengthened his soldiers and developed the tactics that would eventually make the Romans more than a match for the mercenaries who fought for Carthage.

While Hannibal was in Italy, unable to do much against a Rome that had largely recovered from its earlier defeats, Scipio was developing into one of the finest generals Rome would ever produce. Mago would quit Spain altogether by 205 BCE, leaving Scipio as the master of the country. The loss of this territory also encouraged Massinissa, a Numidian prince, to switch his loyalty to Rome. Scipio would later have use of the excellent cavalry



Hannibal would spend the majority of his life on campaign

In this caricature, the young Hannibal swears eternal hatred towards Rome

Massinissa brought with him, and this would go a long way to remedy the Roman weakness in cavalry that had long plagued them in their battles with the Carthaginians.

In 208 BCE, the Carthaginians launched a major bid to bring aid to Hannibal, but this did not come directly from Carthage. Instead, Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal Barca, escaped Scipio's clutches and marched his army out of Spain. He retraced his brother's footsteps through southern Gaul to Italy, which he reached in 207 BCE. Lying between Hasdrubal and his older brother in the south were the Roman legions. The Romans struck at Hasdrubal before they could join together and smashed his army along the Metaurus River, killing some 10,000 of his Spanish and African mercenaries. Hannibal learned of his younger brother's defeat only when the Romans tossed Hasdrubal's head into his army's camp. "Now, at last," Hannibal said grimly, "I see the destiny of Carthage plain!"

Having driven the Carthaginians from Spain, Scipio was placed in command of a large army in Sicily, which he then took to Africa in 204 BCE for a final showdown with Carthage. After landing, Scipio besieged the city of Utica and then defeated a large Carthaginian army sent against him. Scipio was successful in all his endeavours, and Carthage sued for peace. In 203 BCE, while peace terms were being discussed under truce, Hannibal and his brother Mago, who was now in northern Italy, were recalled home.

It is said that Hannibal was furious when this recall order reached him and that he complained bitterly that his government had not supported him during the 16 years he had campaigned against the Romans in Italy. However, at the root of it all, Hannibal had only himself to blame. He had incautiously moved against Saguntum years before, bringing on a war with Rome when Carthage was not fully prepared to wage one. He then invaded Italy with an army that was too small to win that war, no matter how many battles he was able to win with it.

For many years after Cannae, he was unable to do more than hold his own as events unfolded elsewhere, such as in Sicily and Spain. The city of Syracuse, which fell to Carthage in 215 BCE, was captured three years later in 212 BCE, and Spain was entirely in Roman hands by 205 BCE.

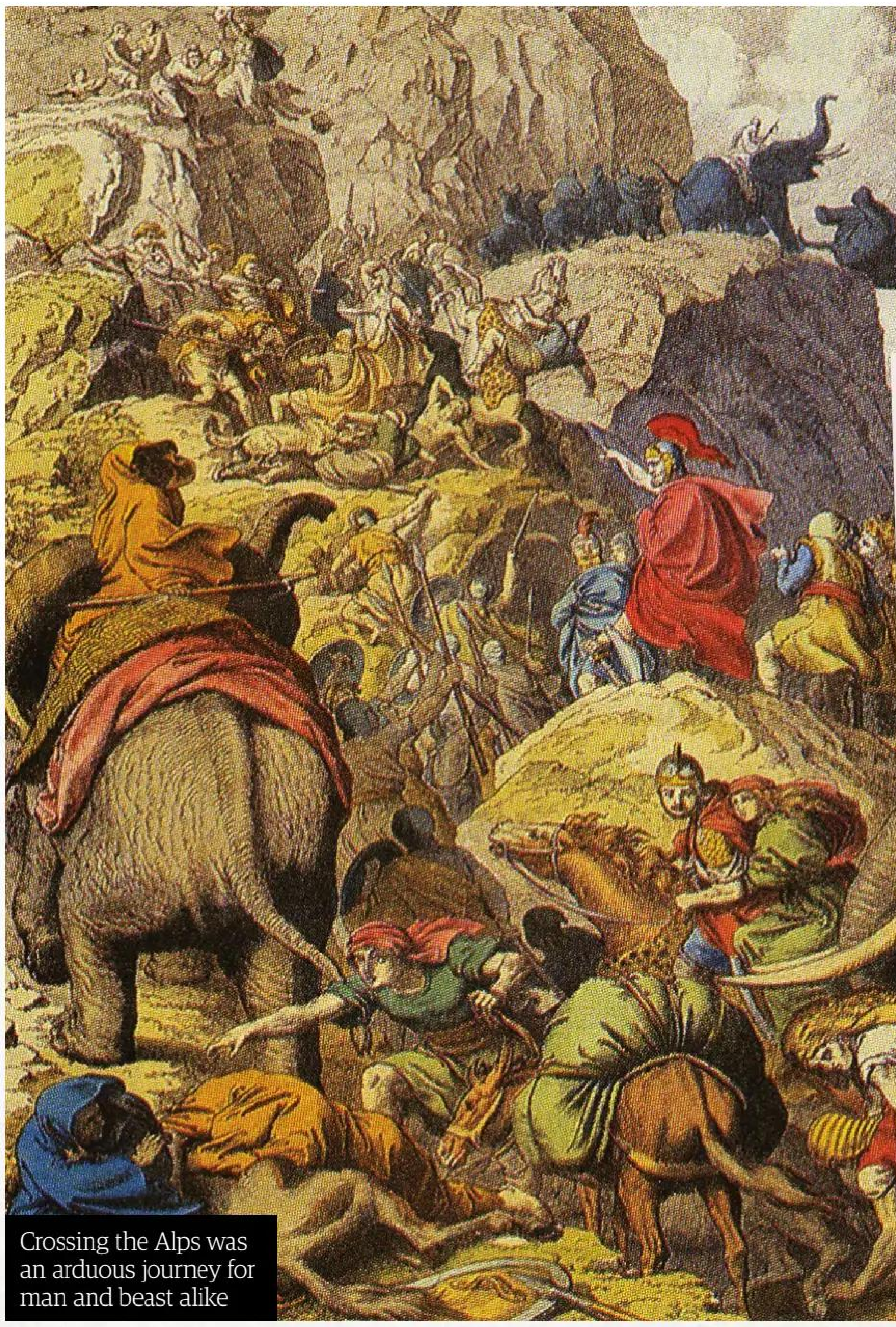
Capua was retaken by the Romans in 211 BCE, as was Tarentum in 209 BCE. Over time, Hannibal's army deteriorated, while the Romans fielded ever more legions that they

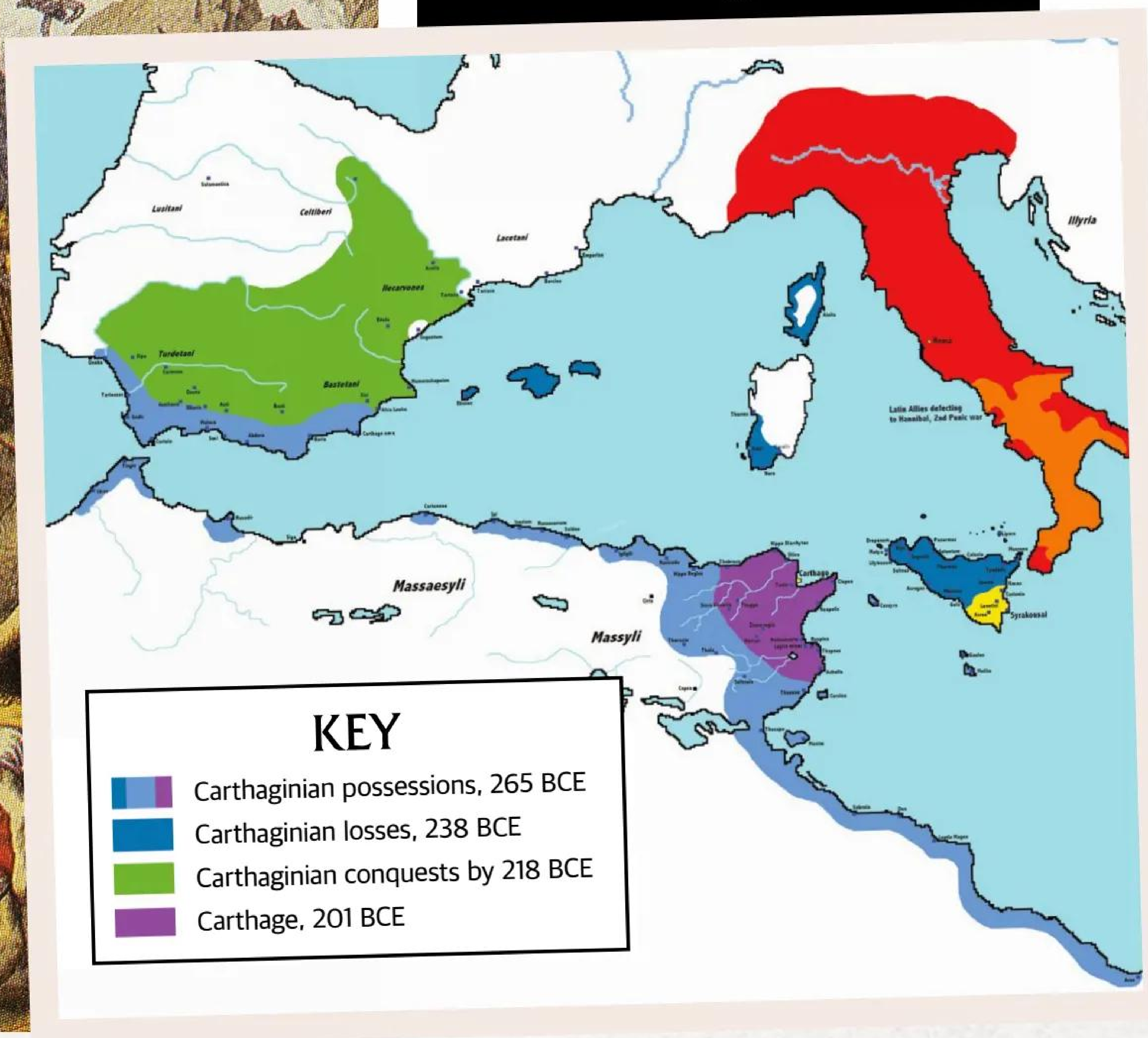
WHY DIDN'T CARTHAGE DO MORE FOR HANNIBAL?

Hannibal's home government in Carthage proved reluctant to send him reinforcements after Cannae. Carthage was not unified behind Hannibal in seeking to fight a war to the death with Rome in Italy, and many leading Carthaginians preferred instead to send newly raised mercenary troops elsewhere, especially to Spain, which was now under attack by Roman legions, and to Sicily, where they hoped to re-establish the positions they had lost after the First Punic War. Hannibal would be reinforced just once following his incredible victory at Cannae with a relative handful of troops delivered to him in 215 BCE.

We can discount the notion that Roman sea power prevented Carthage from ever trying to do more for Hannibal. While Rome had the stronger navy, it was not so powerful that it could prevent any and all Punic sea-borne crossings. Successful reinforcement missions were sent to Spain in 215 BCE and 207 BCE. A crossing was also made to Sicily in 213 BCE and then again in 212 BCE. In 205 BCE, Hannibal's brother Mago travelled by sea with his troops from Spain to northern Italy and was himself reinforced by Carthage in 204 BCE. It is clear then that the Carthaginians could have sent reinforcements by sea to Hannibal. They made the conscious decision not to.

Hannibal's political opponents in Carthage noted that despite Hannibal's grand triumphs in Italy, he had failed to detach any of Rome's Latin allies, the foundation of its power, from the Republic. Thus, they argued, Hannibal had gotten no closer to defeating Rome than when he entered Italy in 218 BCE. For the bulk of Carthage's leading citizens, Hannibal was useful in keeping large numbers of Roman soldiers busy in Italy after Cannae while the more important contests for Spain, Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia played themselves out.


Crossing the Alps was an arduous journey for man and beast alike


In the aftermath of the Second Punic War, Carthage had vast tracks of land stripped from it
Lusitani
Celtiberi
Lacetani
Ilercavones
Turdetani
Bastetani
Illyria
Latin Allies defecting to Hannibal, 2nd Punic war
Massaesyli
Massyli
Carthago
Syrakousai
KEY
Carthaginian possessions, 265 BCE
Carthaginian losses, 238 BCE
Carthaginian conquests by 218 BCE
Carthage, 201 BCE

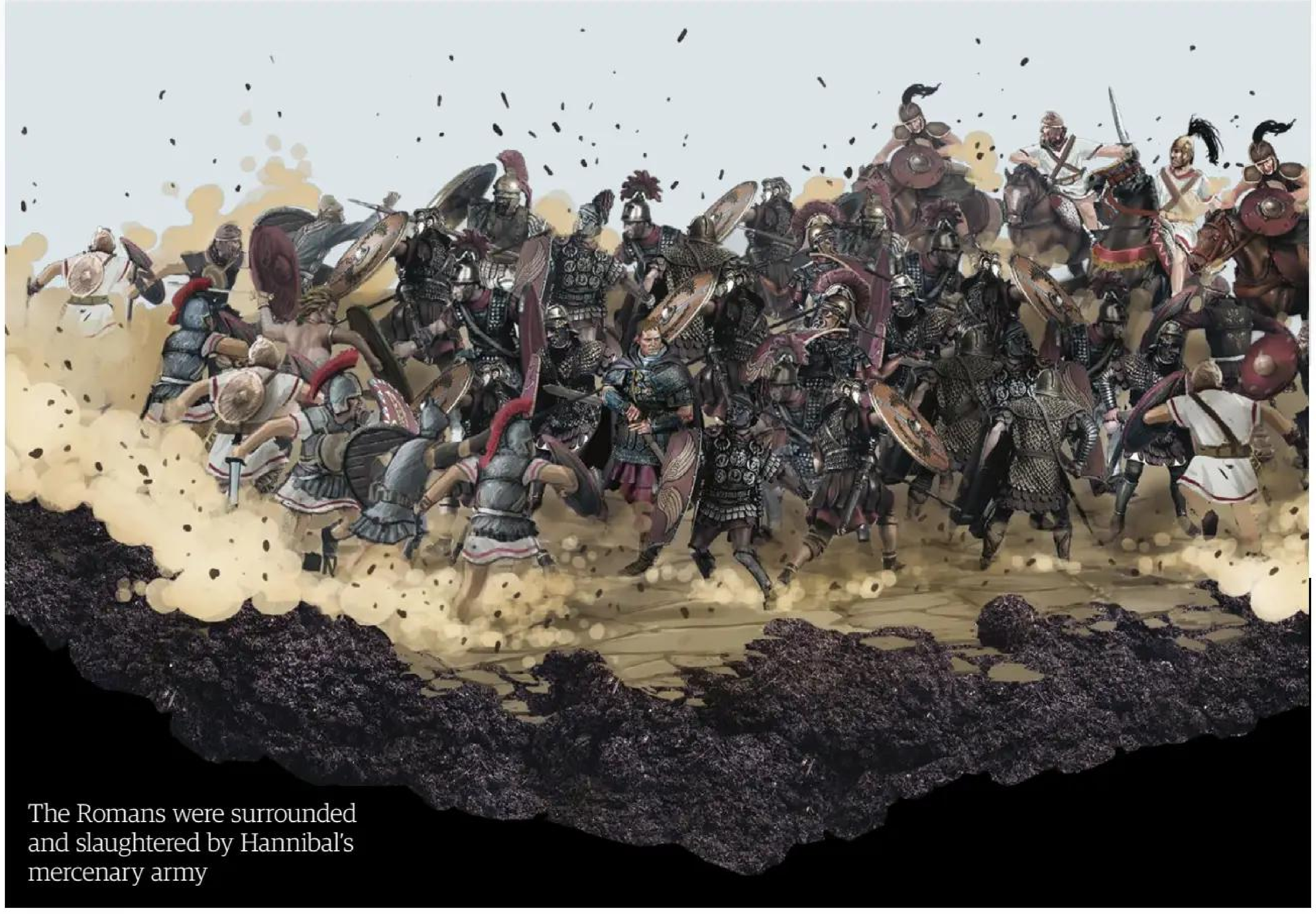
ROME'S DARKEST DAY

The Battle of Cannae was one of the worst disasters that ever befell a Roman army. Often aggressive to a fault, the Romans were, for a time at least, chastened by the thrashings they had received at the hands of the wily Hannibal Barca and his army at the Trebia River and at Lake Trasimene. Shocked by the scale of their defeats, they followed the cautious military policy of the dictator Quintus Fabius Maximus. After a while, however, they could no longer abide the Carthaginian general pillaging his way through Italy virtually unchallenged. They insisted on once again confronting Hannibal in a pitched battle.

In 216 BCE, the Romans elected consuls who would seek to bring Hannibal to account. These were Lucius Aemilius Paullus and his colleague Gaius Terentius Varro. In all, their army numbered about 80,000 men. This giant muster marched on Hannibal in Apulia in southeastern Italy, finding him at Cannae in late July 216 BCE. The Romans made matters more difficult for themselves by alternating command of their army between the two consuls. Paullus would have command of it on one day and Varro the next, and so on. On the day of battle, 2 August 216 BCE, overall command rested in the hands of Varro.

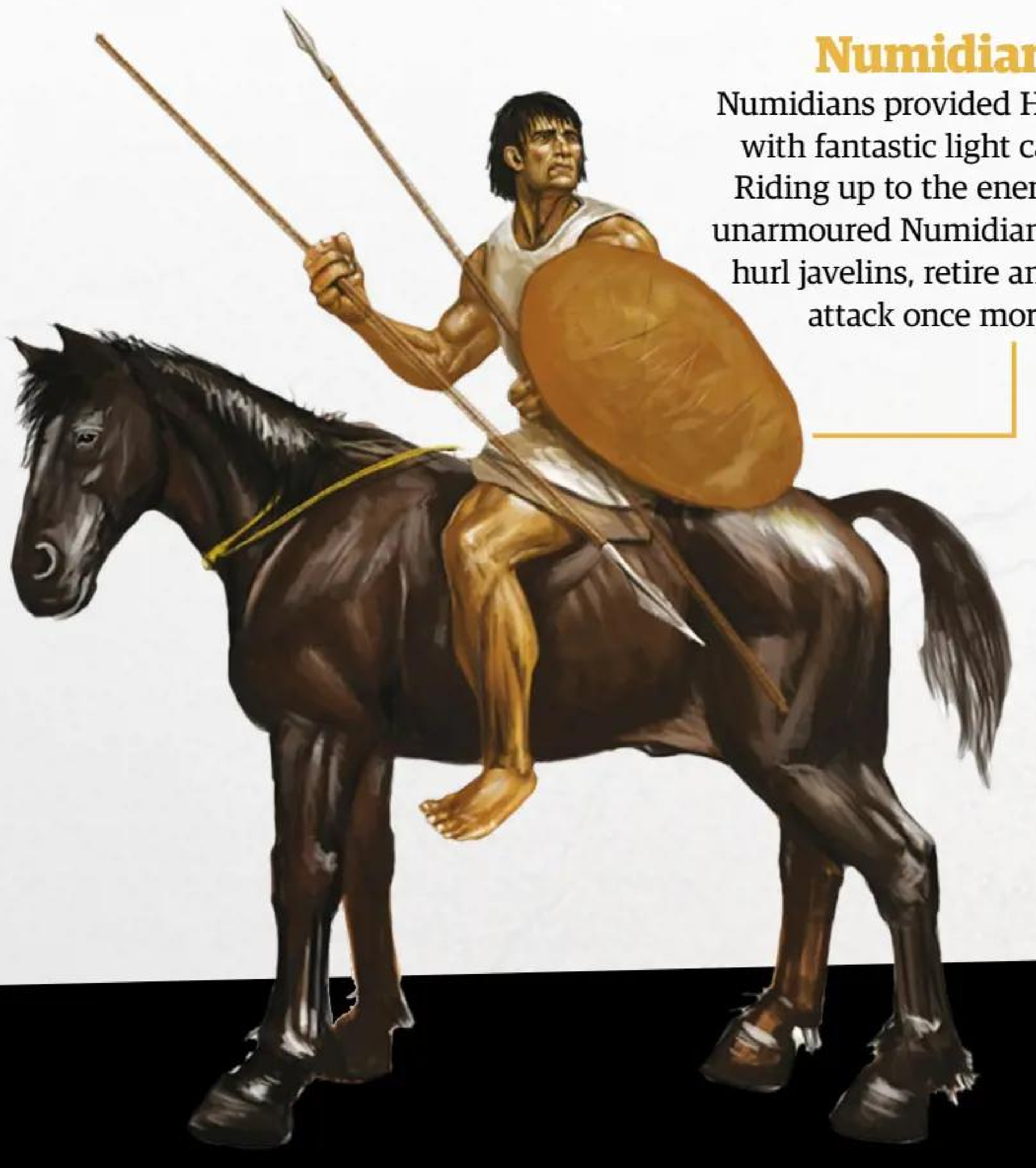
Roman battle tactics of the period were very simple – essentially a straightforward rush at the enemy intended to overwhelm them by brute force alone. The Roman legionary was a highly skilled and very efficient killer, fighting as heavy infantry in several ranks. In contrast, the Carthaginian army at Cannae was a heterogeneous mix of troops from all over the Mediterranean world. It was perhaps Hannibal's greatest talent to weld such men into a cohesive, successful fighting force. He made good use of the varied troops at his disposal. Knowing that the Gauls and Spaniards that were on foot in the centre of his line would likely be pushed back by the Roman infantry charge, he positioned them well forward of his wings in an effort to use the Romans' own power against them. During their charge the legionaries drove the Gallic and Spanish warriors backwards. They succeeded in punching their way through only to find that by doing so they had helped to encircle themselves. When the gore-drenched day of 2 August came to an end, close to 50,000 Romans lay dead on the battlefield.

> "The Roman legionary was a highly skilled and very efficient killer"



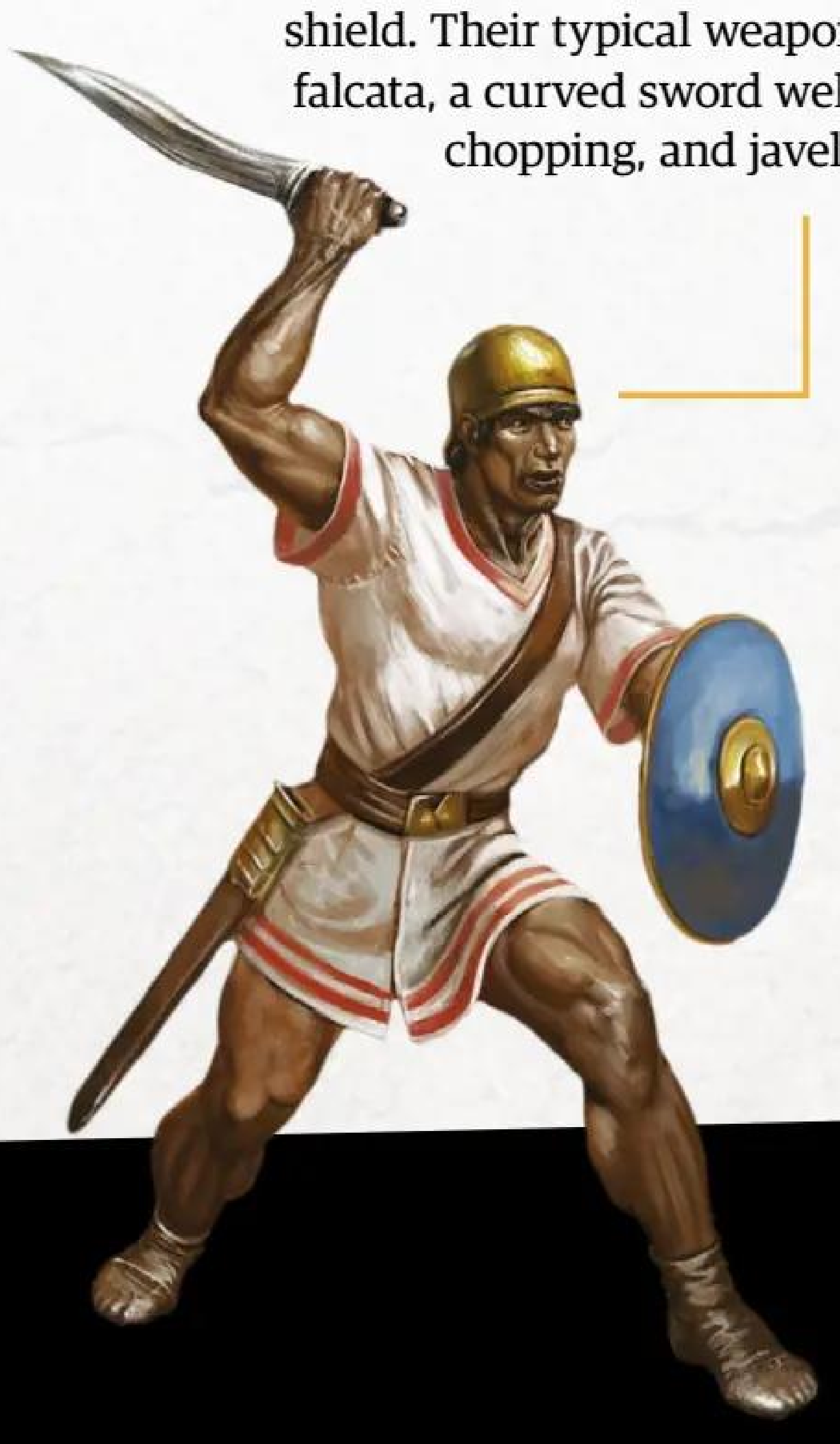
The Romans were surrounded and slaughtered by Hannibal's mercenary army

HANNIBAL'S MERCENARIES



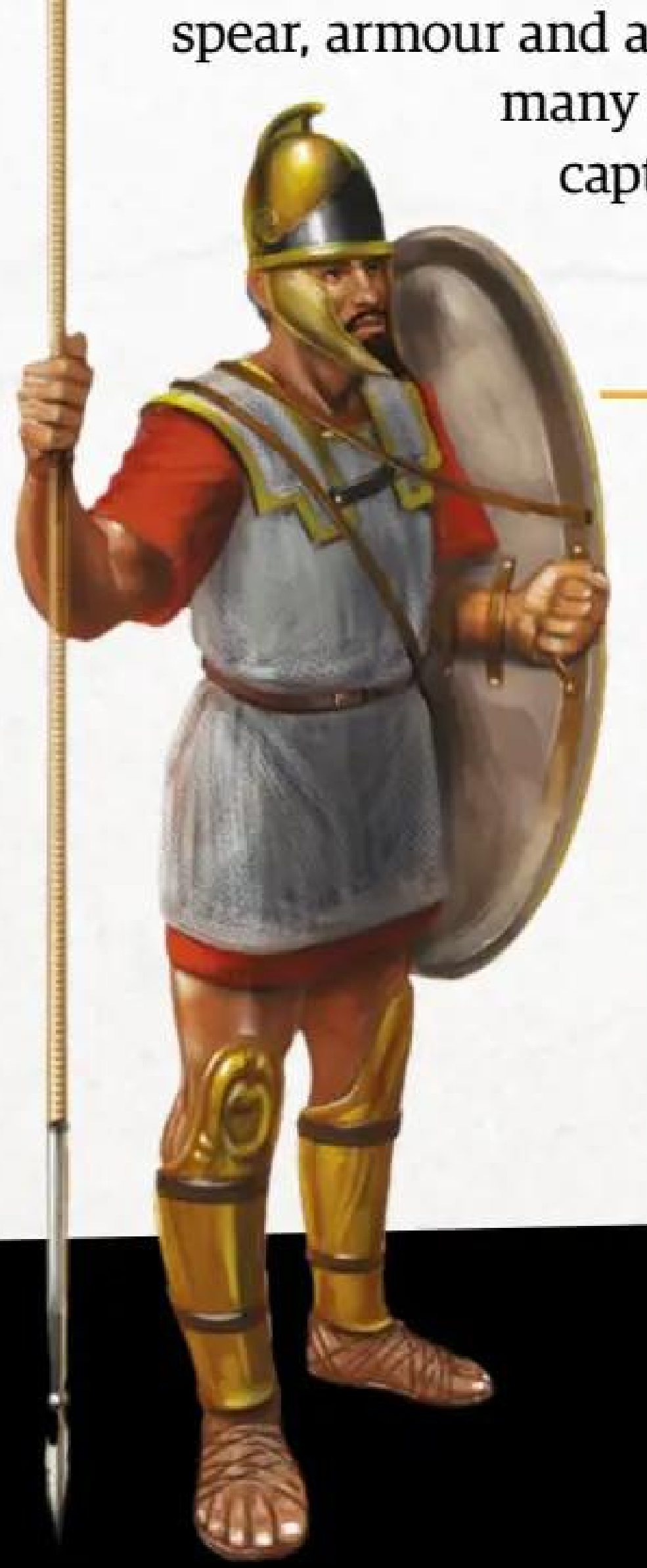
Numidian

Numidians provided Hannibal with fantastic light cavalry. Riding up to the enemy, the unarmoured Numidians would hurl javelins, retire and then attack once more.



Iberian (Spaniard)

Iberian Spanish infantry wore white tunics and carried a small, round shield. Their typical weapons were the falcata, a curved sword well suited for chopping, and javelins.



Libyphoenician

The Libyphoenicians from North Africa spoke Punic but were not Carthaginian citizens. They mainly fought as heavy infantry with a spear, armour and a large shield. By Cannae many had re-equipped with captured Roman weapons and armour.

The battle begins

Hasdrubal's cavalry drives off the Roman horse on the Roman right wing. Meanwhile, Maharbal's Numidians battle the Italian allied cavalry on the Roman left. As the lines of infantry close, they hurl their javelins at each other. The fighting becomes hand-to-hand and both sides fight fiercely. The Romans begin to push the Gauls and Spaniards backward.

The Romans advance

Numbering some 80,000 men, the Romans under their consuls Gaius Terentius Varro and Lucius Aemilius Paullus approach the Carthaginians confidently, intending to smash through them. Varro is on the Roman left with the Italian allied cavalry, while Paullus is on the right with the Roman cavalry.

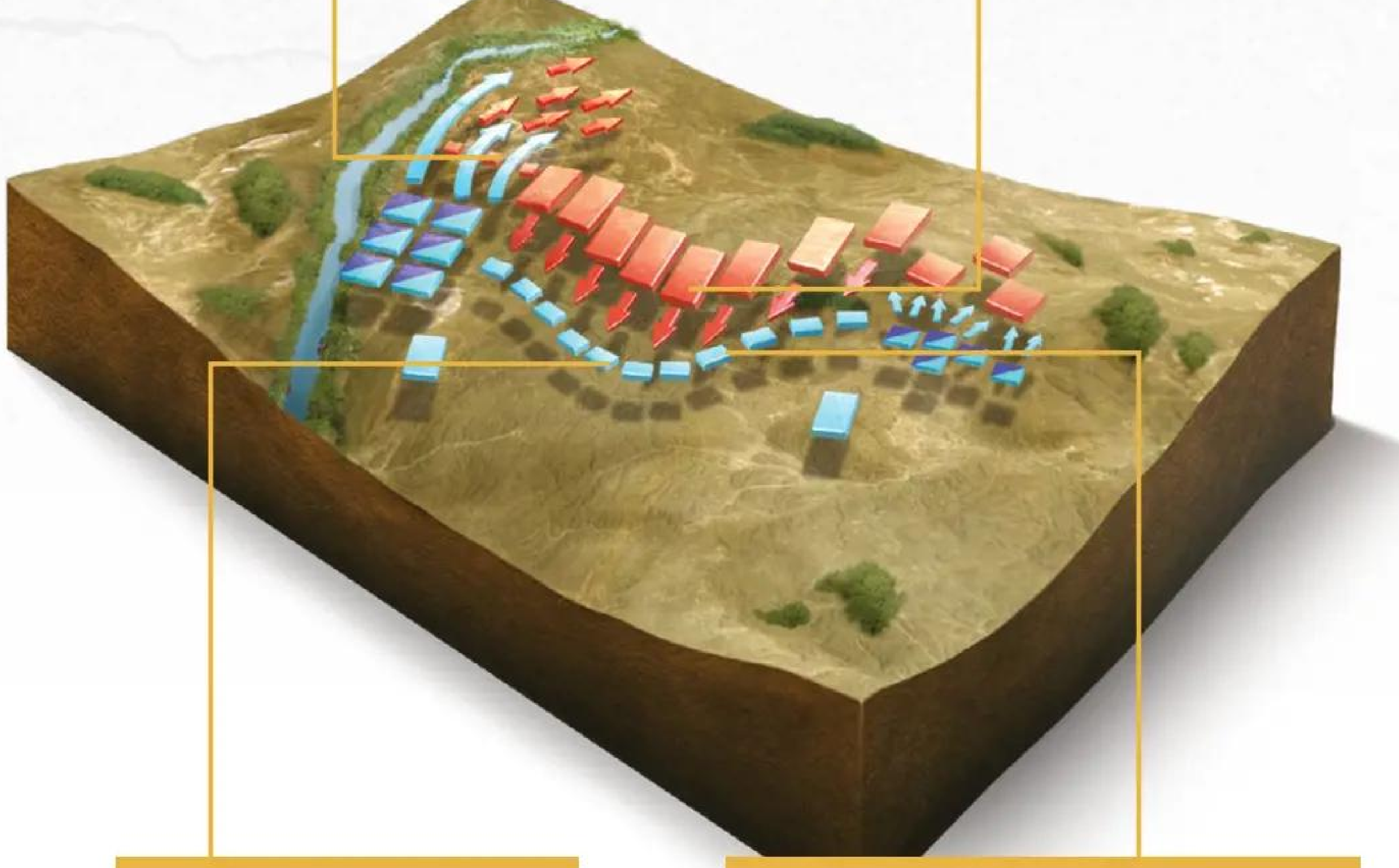
Surrounded

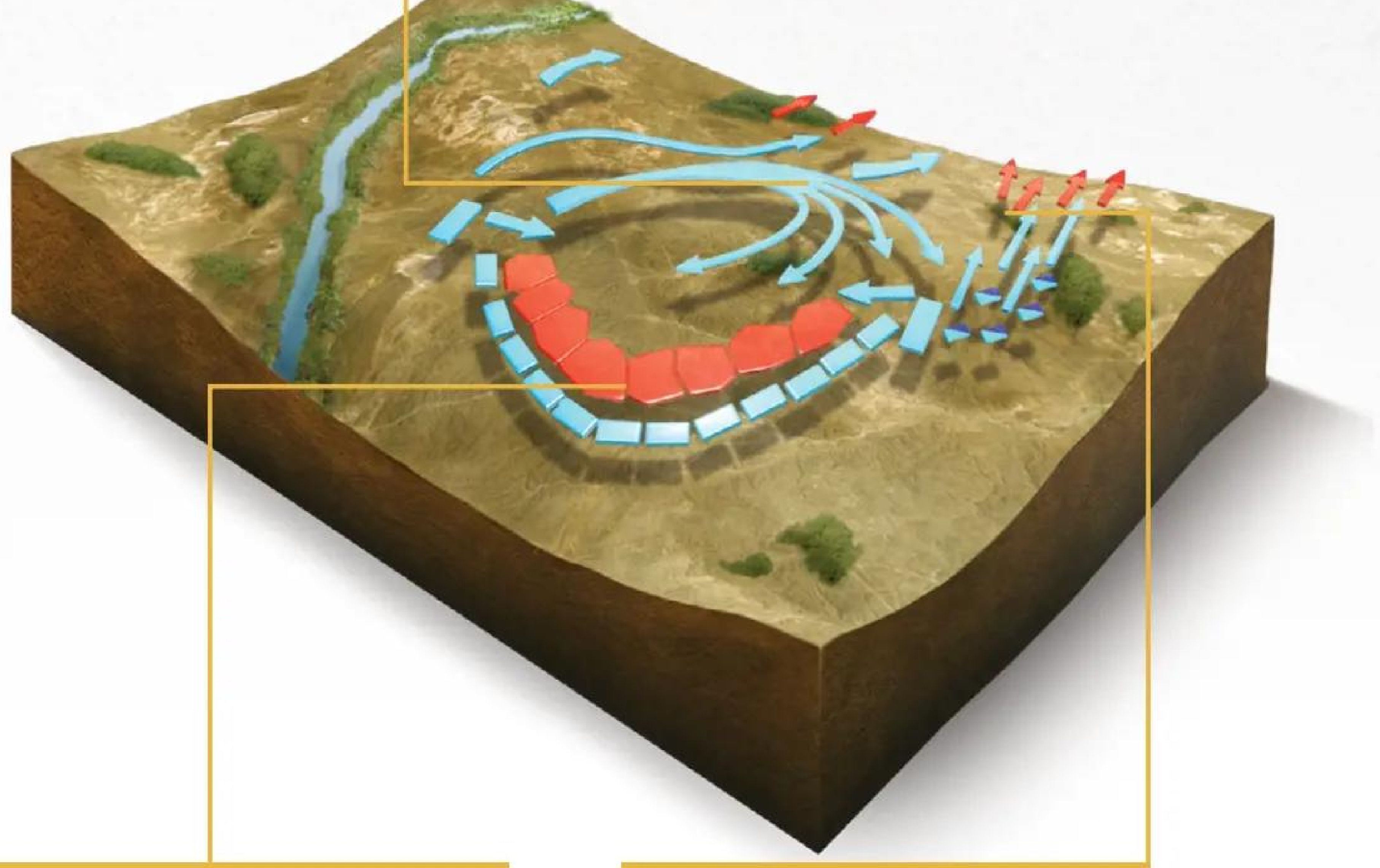
Hasdrubal's horsemen on the Carthaginian left reform, wheel around and attack the Italian allied cavalry under Varro in the rear, who flee for their lives, pursued by the Numidians. Hasdrubal next descends on the rear of the Roman infantry. The Romans find themselves totally surrounded by their enemies.

KEY

🟦 Carthaginian army

🟥 Roman army





Hannibal and his captains

Hannibal and his brother Mago are in the centre with the Gallic and Spanish foot. Hasdrubal is in command of the Gallic and Spanish heavy cavalry on the Punic left wing, while Maharbal leads the Numidian light cavalry on the right.

The Carthaginian line

Hannibal forms his outnumbered army of 40,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry into a convex line. The Carthaginian centre is advanced ahead of the wings, with the left wing touching the Aufidus River. Hannibal has strong cavalry forces deployed on both flanks, with his Gallic and Spanish infantry between them. His African infantrymen are held in reserve.

A Roman breakthrough?

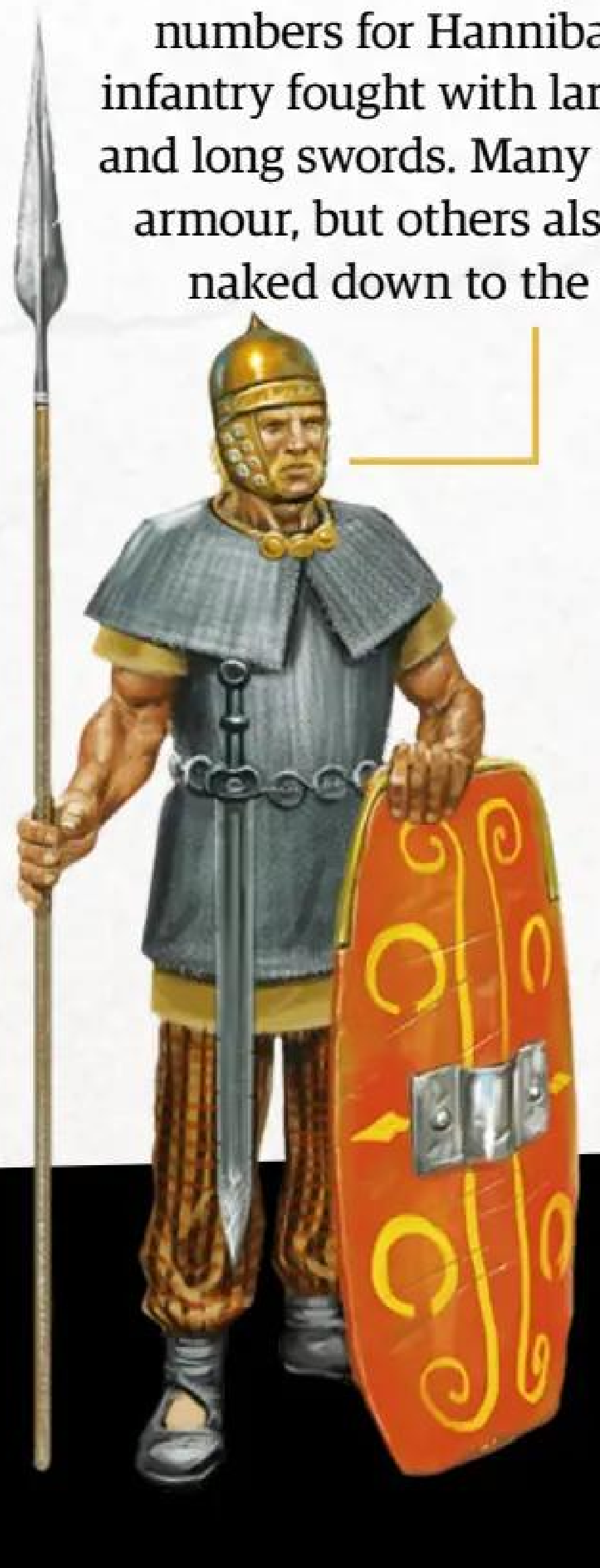
The infantry battle seems to be going the Romans' way as their legionaries drive the enemy before them and finally achieve a breakthrough. Then, Hannibal's African infantry turn inward and strike the tired and disordered legionaries in both flanks. The Gauls and Spaniards themselves reform and get back into the fight.

Slaughter

A massacre ensues as the Punic noose tightens around the doomed Romans. Some legionaries cannot even swing their swords as they are bunched so tightly together. Consul Paullus is slain and, by the end of a day of brutal slaughter, about 50,000 Romans lie dead, along with some 8,000 Carthaginian troops.

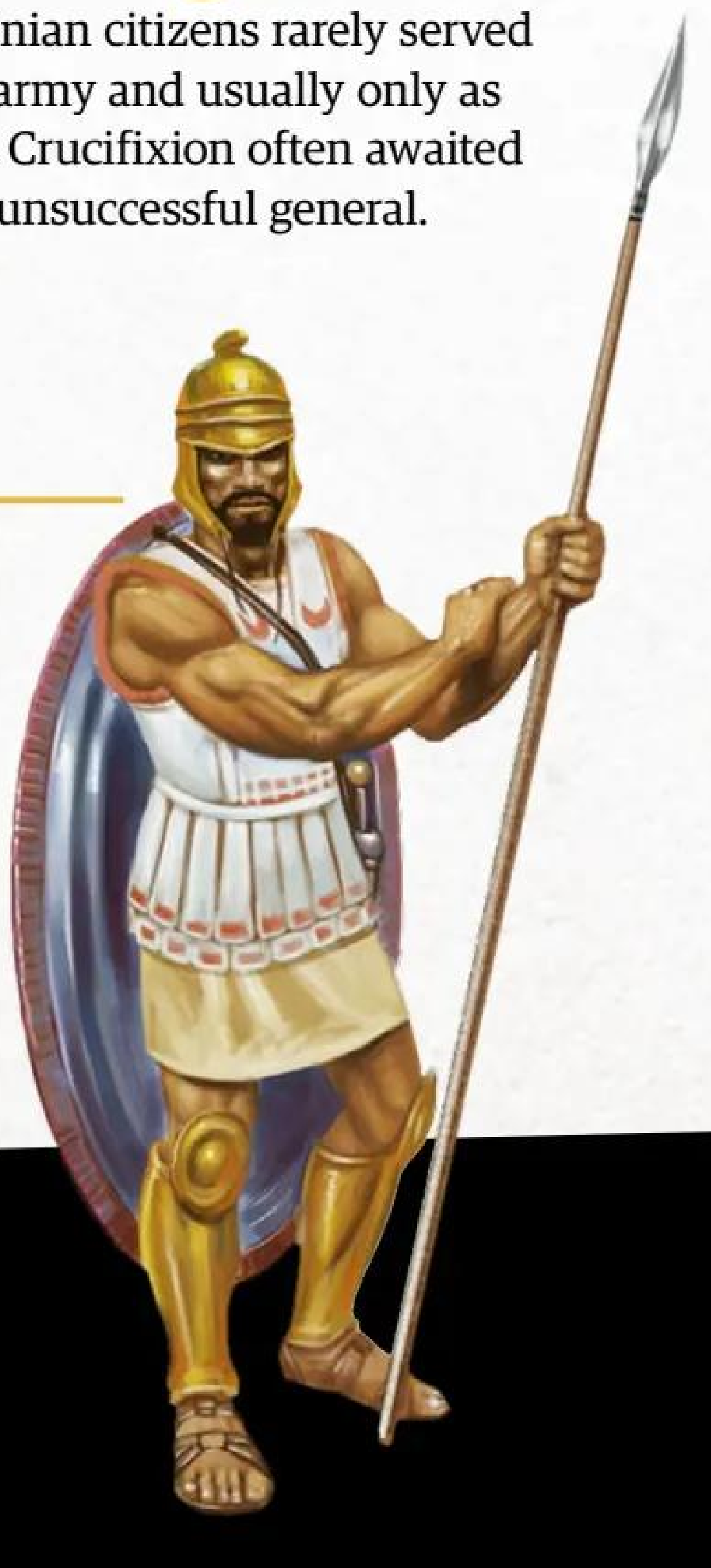
Gaul

Gallic tribesmen fought in large numbers for Hannibal. Their infantry fought with large shields and long swords. Many wore mail armour, but others also fought naked down to the waist.



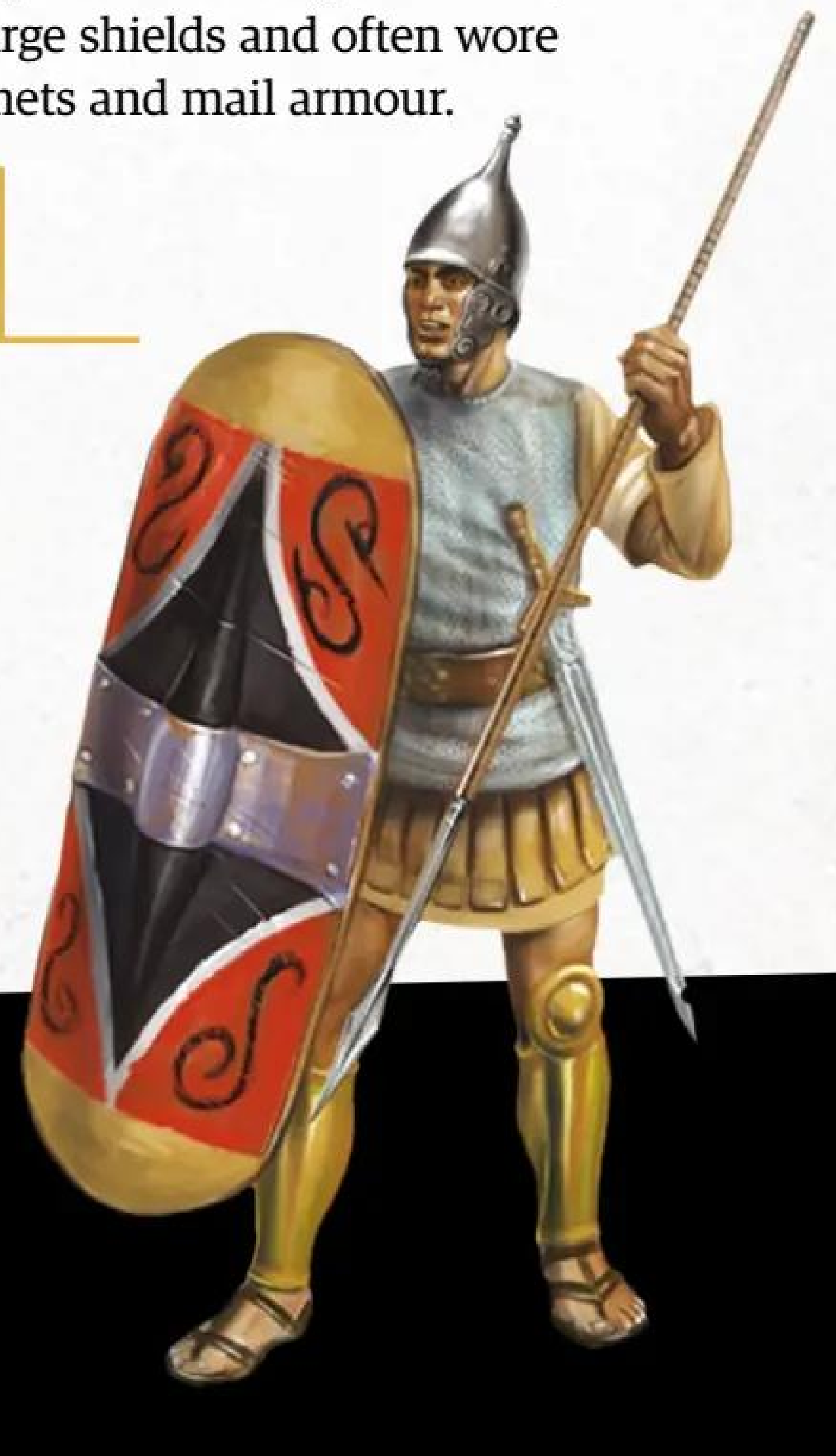
Carthaginian

Carthaginian citizens rarely served in the army and usually only as officers. Crucifixion often awaited an unsuccessful general.



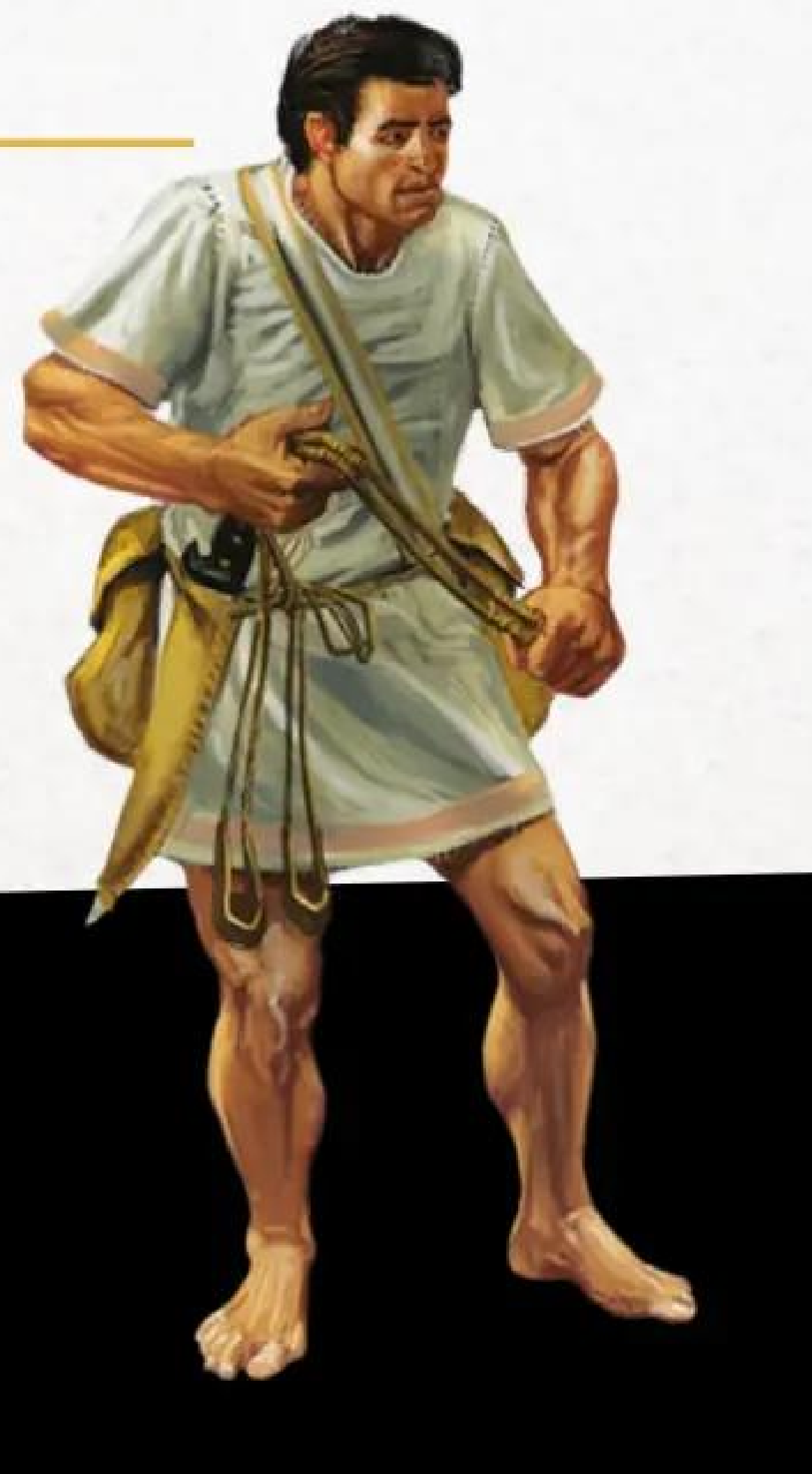
Celtiberian (Spaniard)

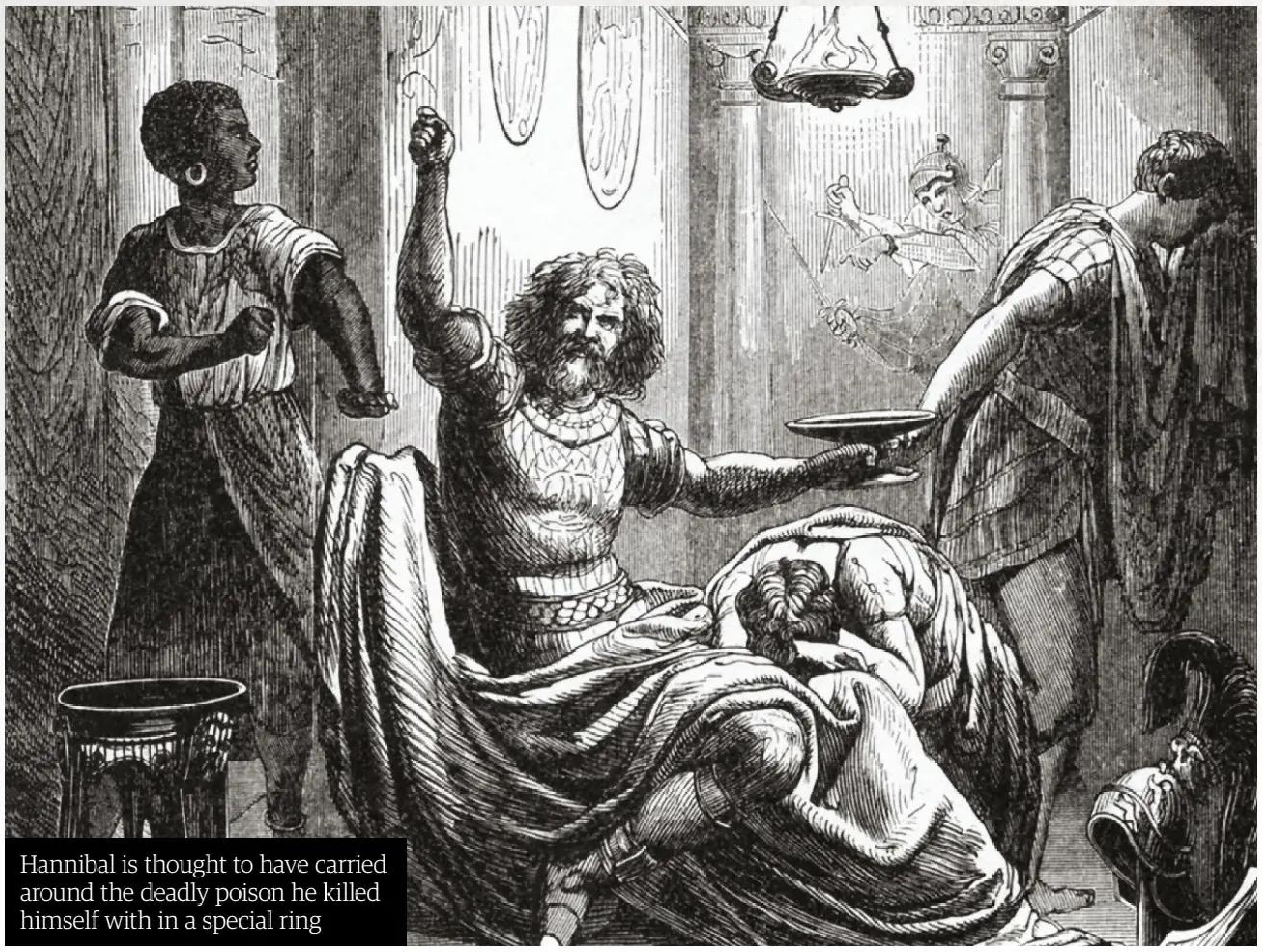
A fusion of Celtic newcomers with the native Spanish, the Celtiberians commonly wielded straight swords, carried large shields and often wore helmets and mail armour.



Balearic Islander

The unarmoured slingers from the Balearic Isles (Majorca and Minorca) in Hannibal's army each carried three slings of varying lengths for use at differing ranges.




Hannibal is thought to have carried around the deadly poison he killed himself with in a special ring

used to hold him at bay in southern Italy. With eventual Roman victory looking ever more certain, Hannibal's allies in Italy began to desert him. Hannibal was forced to make his last refuge in Bruttium, in the toe of Italy, where he remained until his recall.

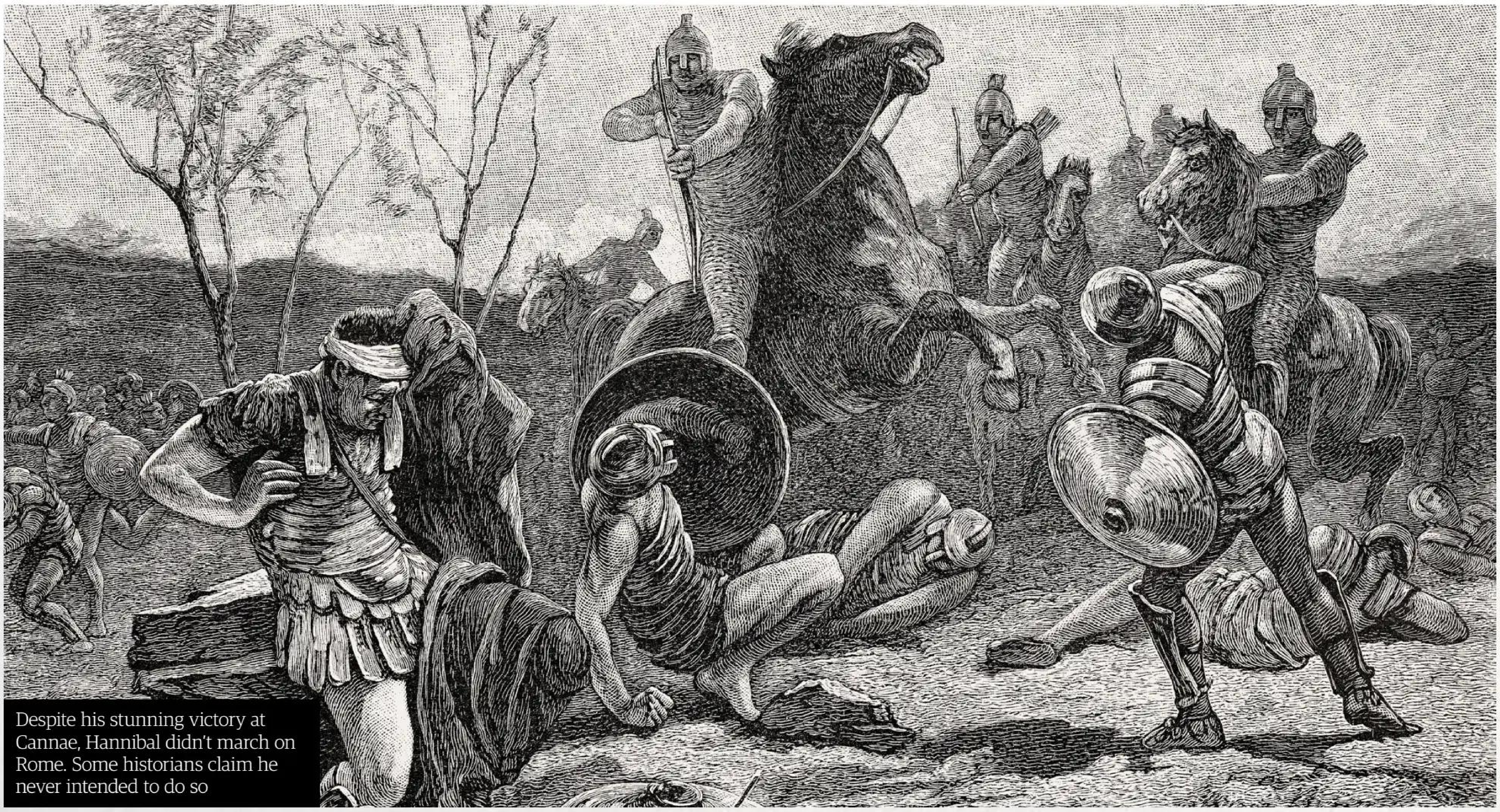
With Hannibal back in Africa (Mago would die at sea from wounds while on his way home) the Carthaginian government regained a measure of confidence and peace negotiations with Rome broke down. War resumed, and Hannibal was put in command of Carthage's remaining troops. With an army of about 40,000, comprising his best troops rescued from Italy and whatever else he could scrape together, including a handful of elephants, Hannibal met Scipio in battle at Zama in 202 BCE in modern Tunisia. Alarmingly, he was weaker in cavalry than Scipio, who had the aid of 4,000 fine Numidian horsemen.

In the hard-fought battle that followed, the Romans had the better of the Carthaginians. Roman tactics had vastly improved after years of war and were no longer simplistic headlong rushes at the enemy. Scipio's men deftly stepped aside as Hannibal's elephants thundered through their lines and then surrounded and slew the beasts. Hannibal's troops wavered and then cracked when the Roman and allied Numidian cavalry swung around and attacked them in their rear. The Carthaginian army crumbled and Hannibal was forced to flee the field.

The Carthaginian government again sued for peace, and in 201 BCE the long war that had begun 17 years earlier officially came to an end. Subsequently, Hannibal did much to restore Carthaginian finances to better pay the huge indemnity the Romans placed on them. Roman connivance with anti-Barcid factions in Carthage saw him driven out of the city, but Hannibal would never give up the struggle against Rome. In 191 BCE he was commanding fleets against the Romans on behalf of King Antiochus the Great of the Seleucid Empire.

After Rome's eventual triumph over the Seleucids, Hannibal made his way to the kingdom of Bithynia in Asia Minor. Agents of Rome, thirsty for vengeance, soon found him there, and they pressured the king to extradite him to Rome. King Prusias agreed to do so, and in 183 BCE he sent his soldiers to Hannibal's house to place him under arrest. Knowing well what fate was in store for him if he fell into Roman hands, Hannibal poisoned himself. One of the greatest generals of antiquity lay dead by his own hand.

The single greatest threat to the Roman Republic now stalked the battlefields of the afterlife, but his name would forever haunt the enemy he'd tried so hard to destroy.


Despite his stunning victory at Cannae, Hannibal didn't march on Rome. Some historians claim he never intended to do so

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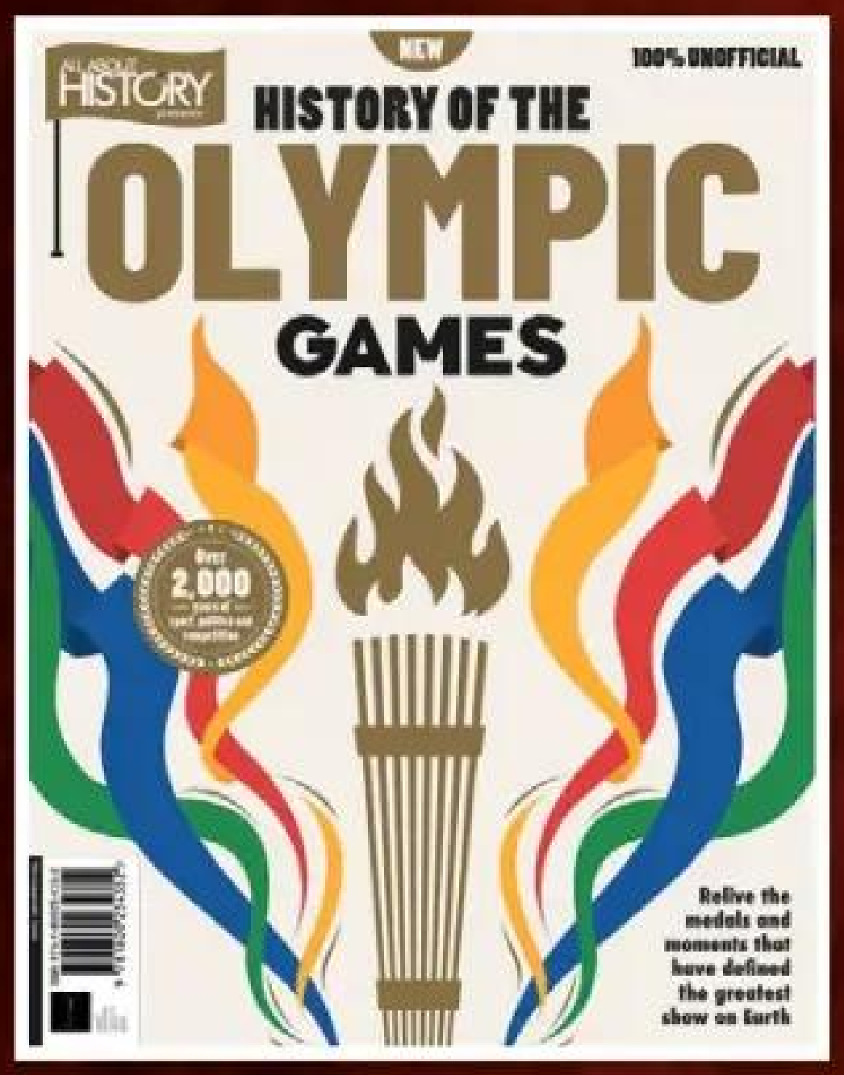
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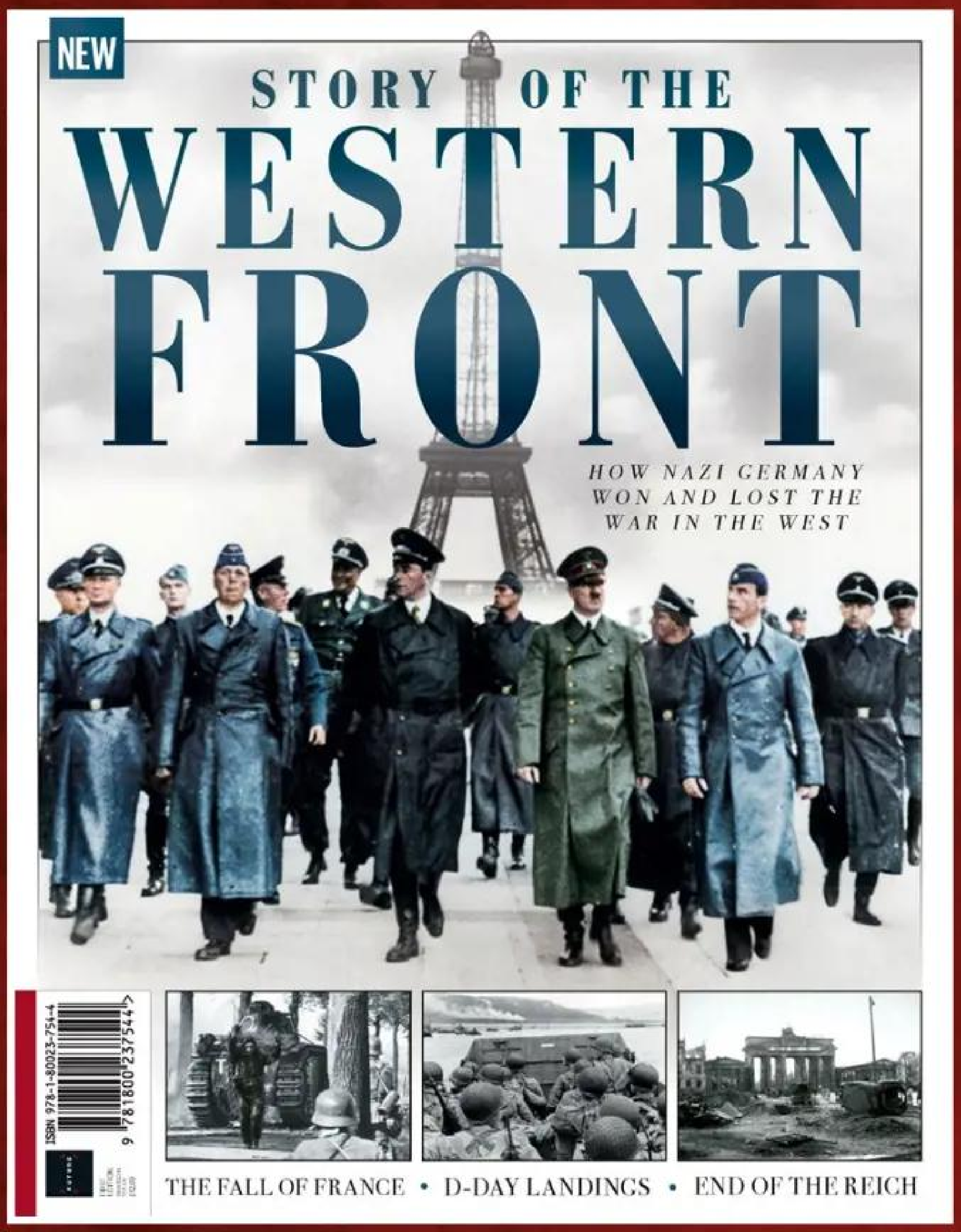
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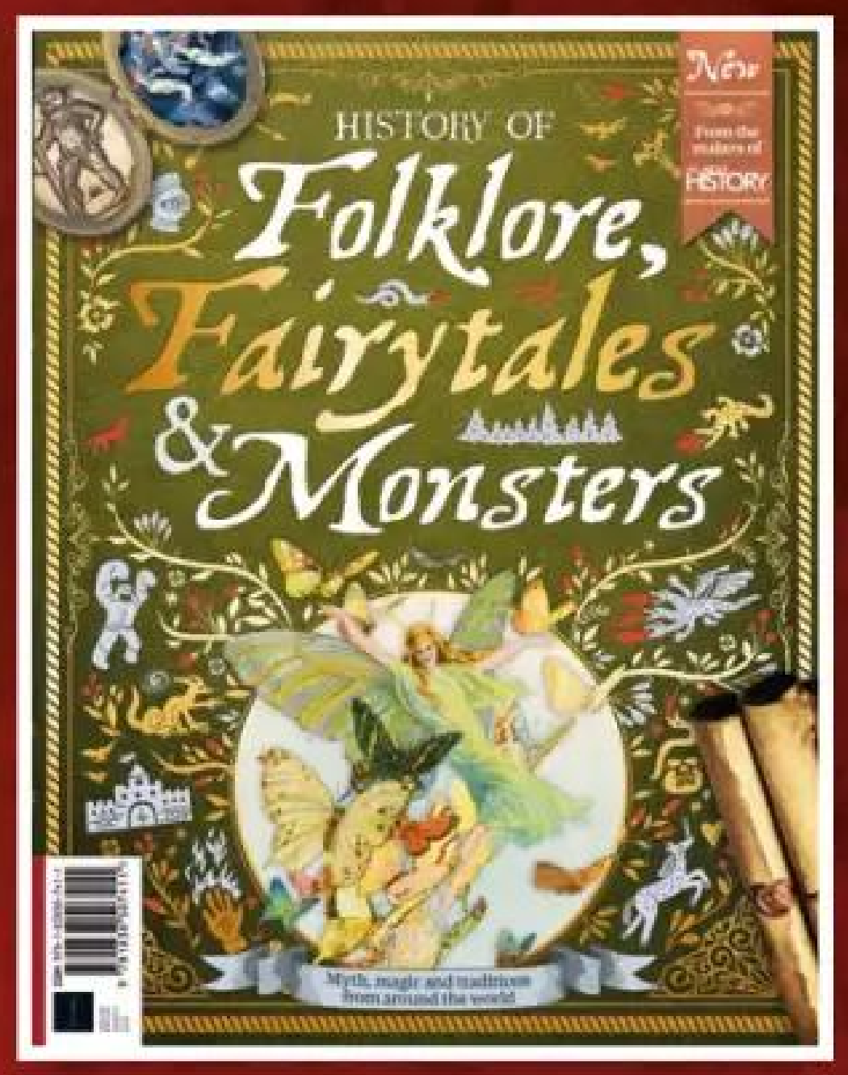
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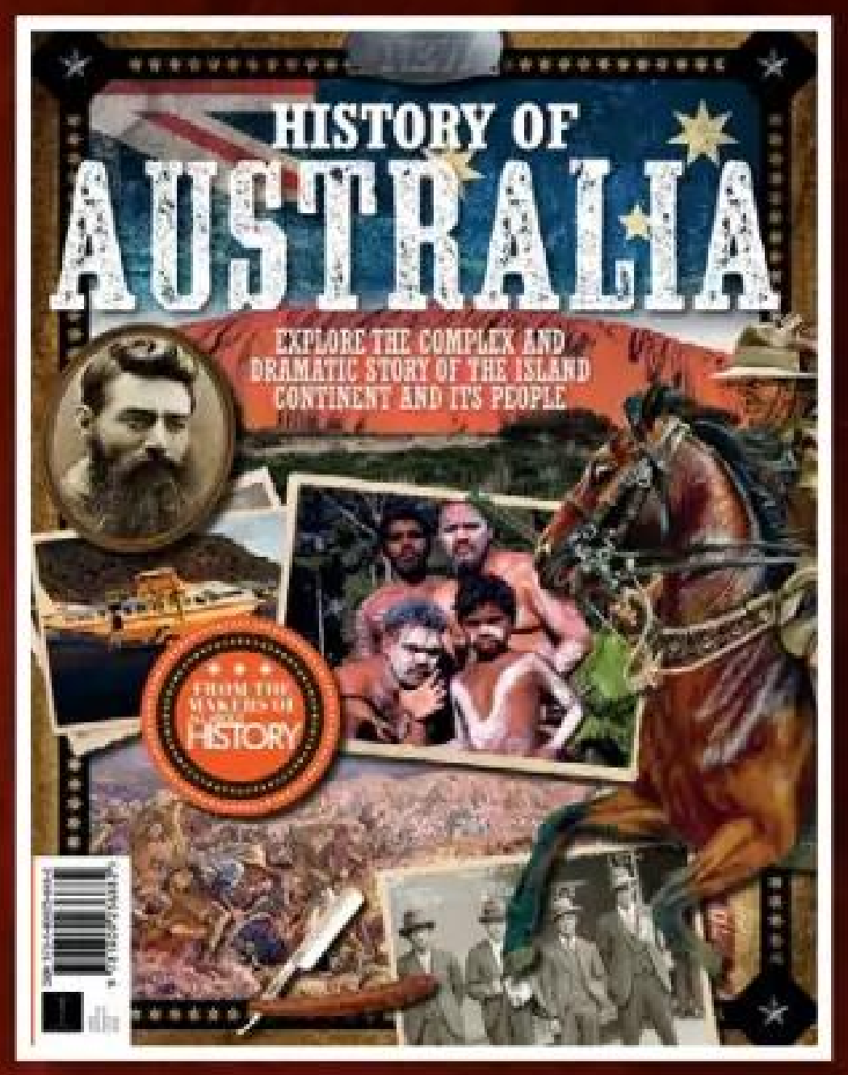
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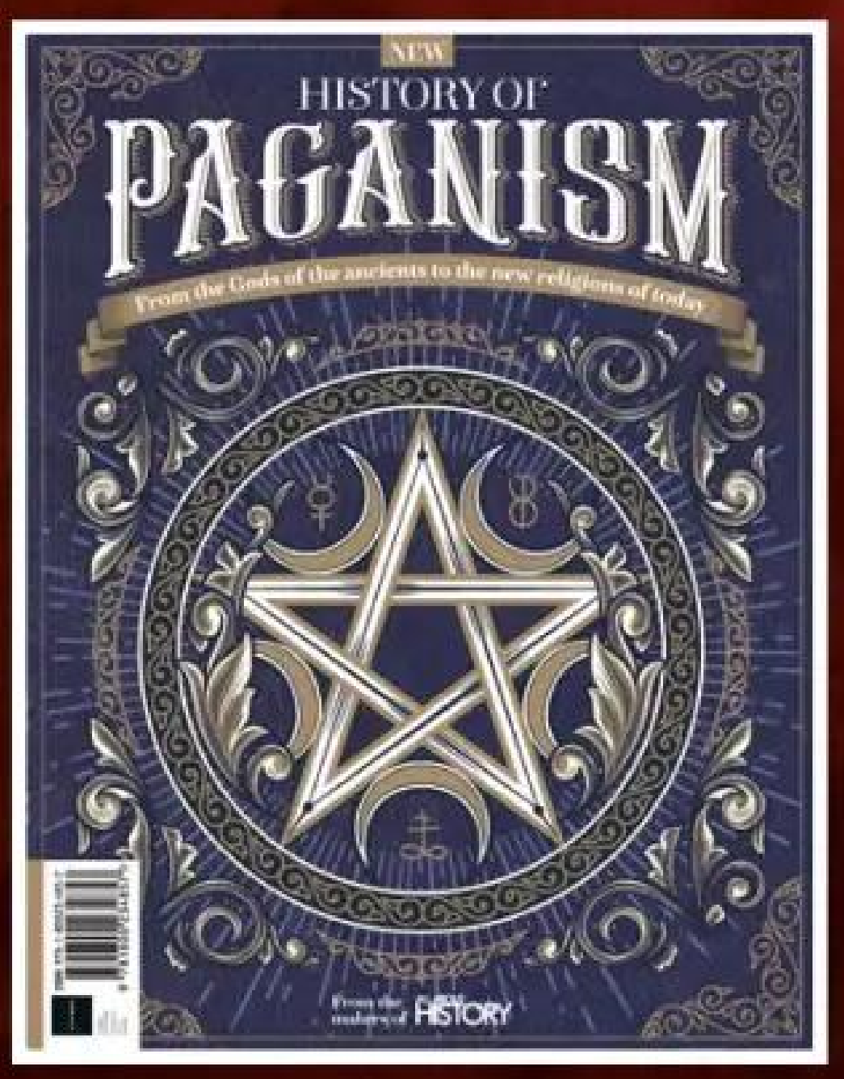
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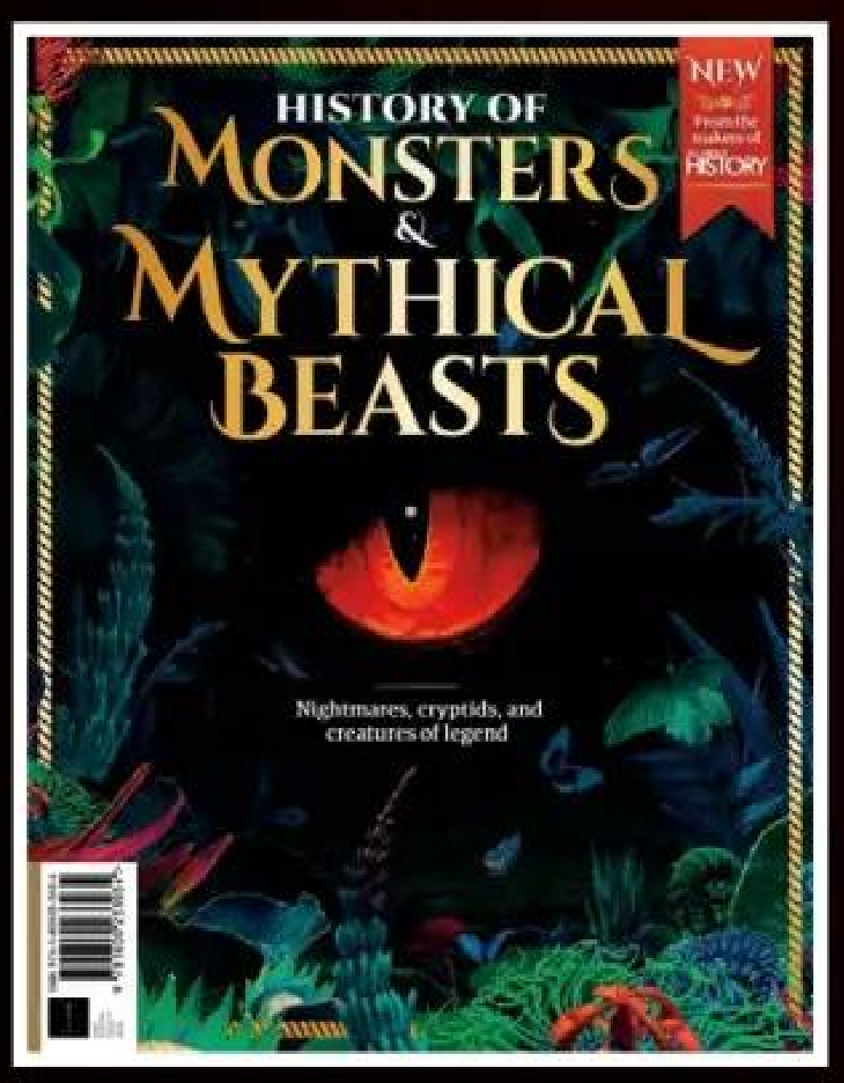
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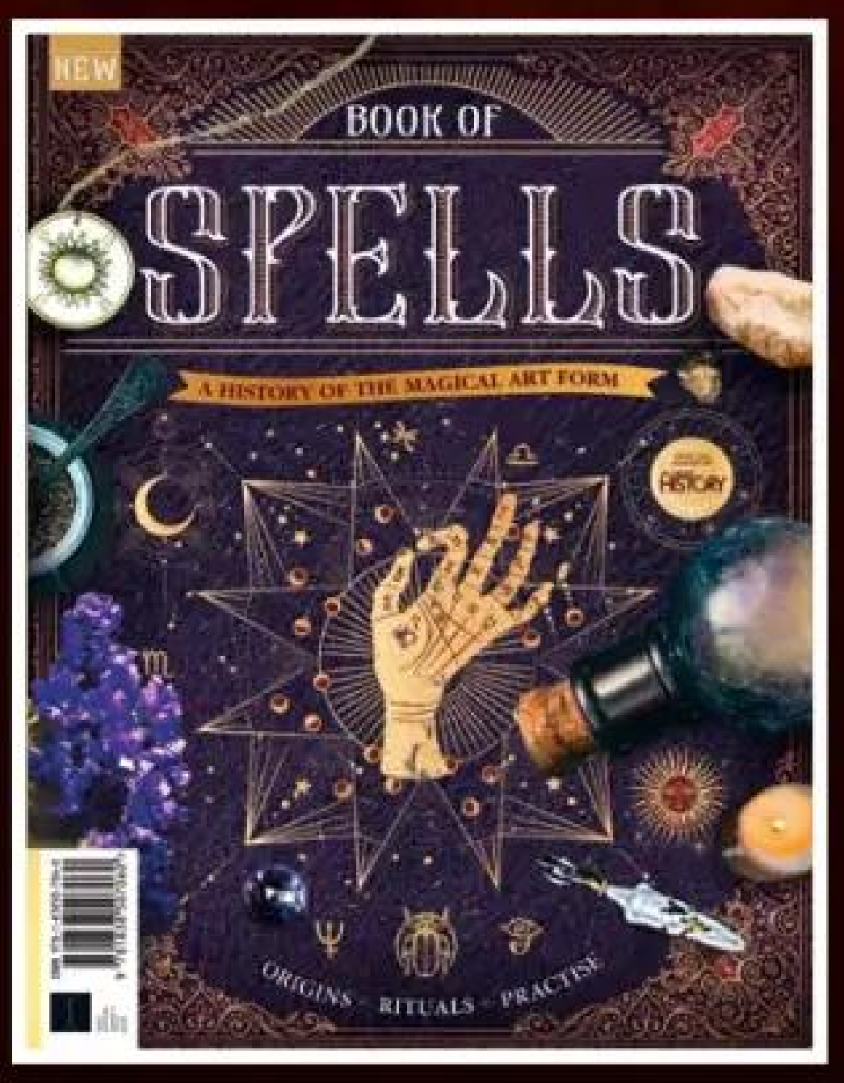
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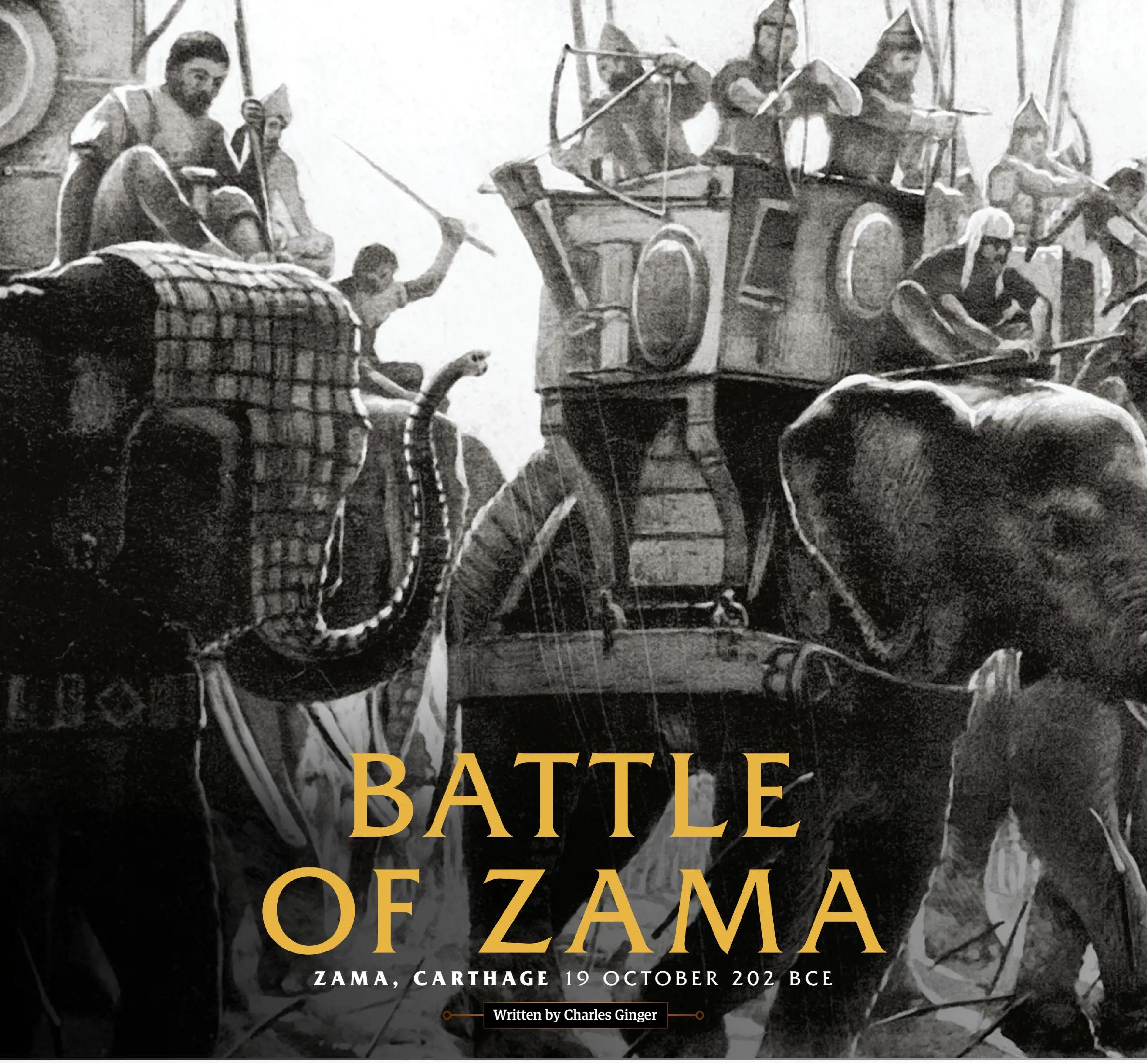


BATTLE OF ZAMA

ZAMA, CARTHAGE 19 OCTOBER 202 BCE

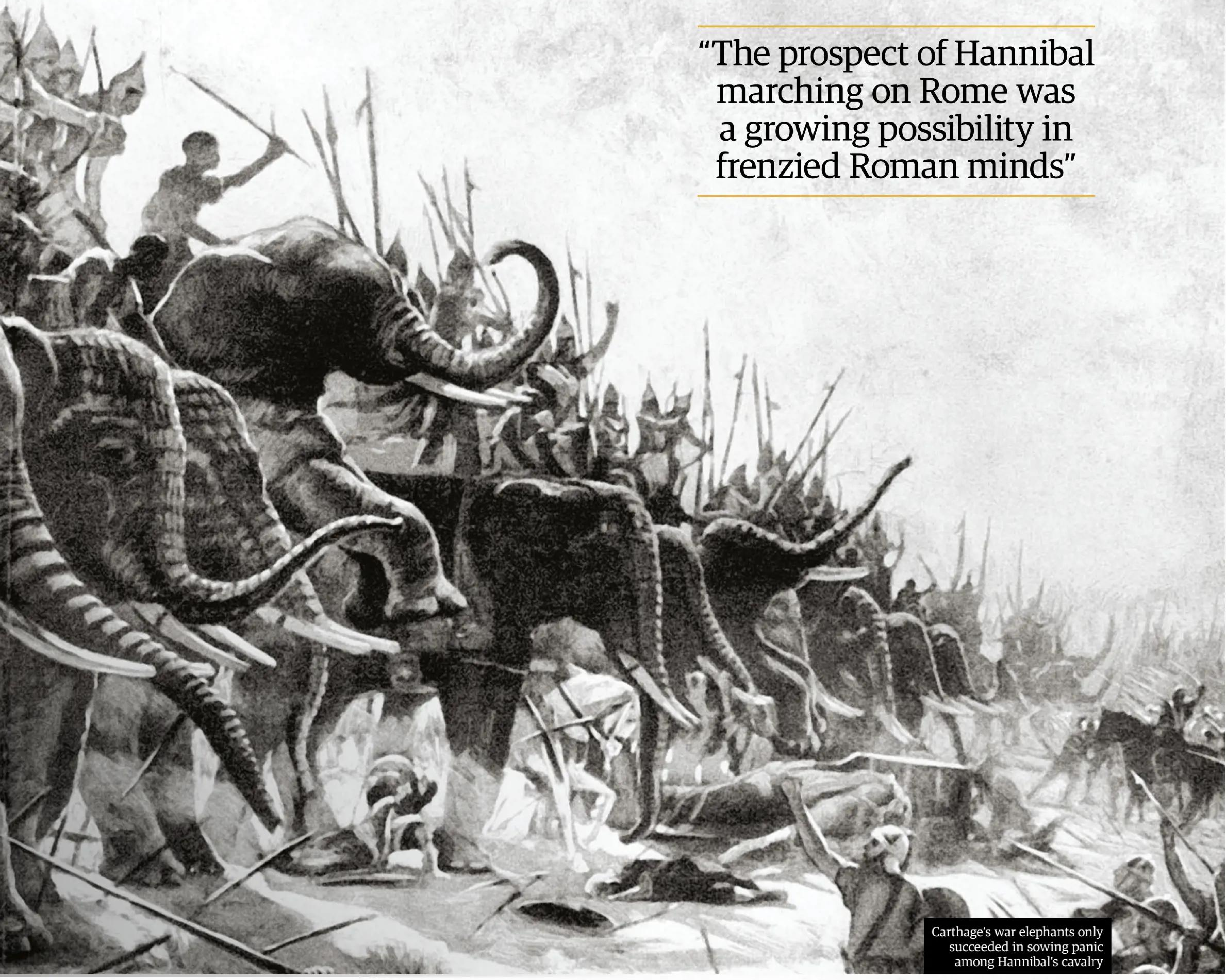
Written by Charles Ginger

By the time they faced each other on the sun-scorched sands of Zama the Mediterranean powerhouses of Rome and Carthage had been at war with one another for 62 years (although there were stretches of 'peace'). Yet while tensions in the region had always made a decisive encounter between these two titans inevitable, the timing of this one in 202 BCE was accelerated by flagrant Carthaginian opportunism.

Since audaciously crossing the Alps and descending into northern Italy in 218 BCE, Hannibal's army had terrorised the peninsular relentlessly, inflicting a series of catastrophic defeats upon a dumbstruck Rome that saw Carthage gain the advantage in the early years of the Second Punic War. Yet Rome refused to surrender in the face of these crushing setbacks, somehow holding its nerve following the almost total evisceration of an entire army at the Battle of Cannae in 216. Critically for the future of this mammoth tussle, one of the few Romans to escape Hannibal's trap at Cannae was a promising young soldier named Publius Cornelius Scipio.

Born into an Etruscan family in 236, Scipio was seemingly destined for a life serving Rome on the battlefield due to his lineage. His father, with whom he shared a name, had served as consul (the highest elected position in the Roman Republic), and in 218 he took his 18-year-old son with him when he marched to confront Hannibal's newly arrived force in northern Italy. In the winter of that year the Romans faced their invaders at the Battle of Ticinus, a clash that saw them soundly beaten by Hannibal's rapid cavalry and Publius Cornelius saved from certain death by his valiant son riding to his rescue.

Subsequent defeats at Trebbia and Cannae sent panic rippling through Italy, with the prospect of Hannibal marching on Rome a growing possibility in frenzied Roman minds. Scipio's father prudently attempted to sever Hannibal's supply lines in a bid to isolate him, but he was cut down along with his other son, Gnaeus Scipio, while campaigning against Carthaginian interests in Spain in 212.



"The prospect of Hannibal marching on Rome was a growing possibility in frenzied Roman minds"

Carthage's war elephants only succeeded in sowing panic among Hannibal's cavalry

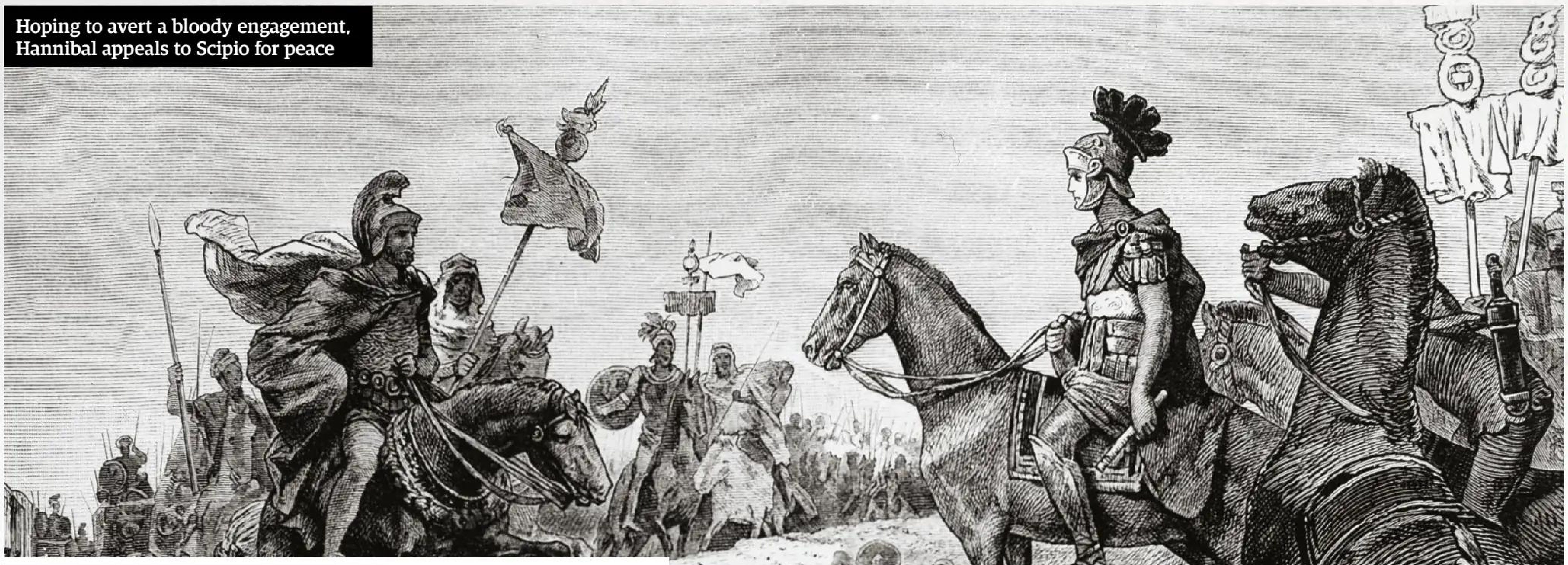
Still grieving the loss of his father and sibling, Scipio returned to Rome. Yet he would not let his father's defeat or personal suffering stunt his progress. Determined to avenge his fallen relatives, Scipio boldly volunteered to lead a fresh assault on Spain and reclaim the mineral- and labour-rich territory for Rome. His drive and ambition must have come as some relief to the rest of Rome's commanders, for none of them were willing to raise their hand and lead a campaign widely deemed to be a suicide mission.

Supported by 10,000 footsoldiers and 1,000 horsemen, Scipio, who was by now still only 25, landed his invasion force in northeast Spain in 211. He wasted little time in harassing the Carthaginian rulers of the region, and by 209 he'd fought his way to Carthago Nova (New Carthage) in the south and taken the city, along with its vast wealth. This was followed up with victory in 208 at Baecula and then another triumph at the Battle of Ilipa in spring 206. On both occasions Scipio outfoxed generals far more experienced than him, his rout of Hannibal's brother Mago in 206 effectively finishing a glittering war that had seen him secure Spain with great speed.

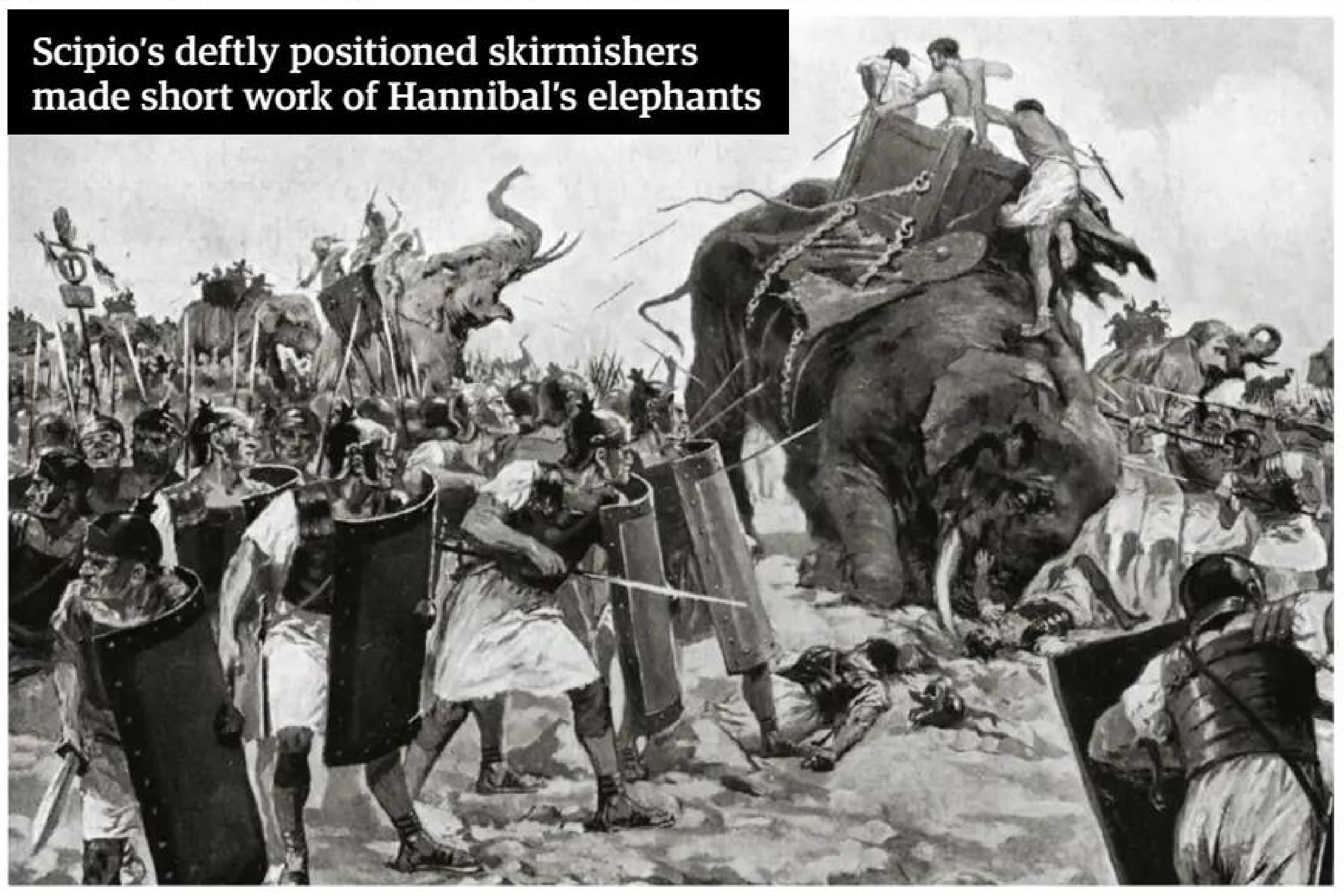
Success on this grand scale would probably have sated the appetite for glory of every other commander in Rome, but as Scipio headed once more for home he was not dreaming of whiling away the rest of his days in luxury. With his customary energy and guile he immediately began to manoeuvre himself into position for election as consul in 205, a prestigious title that he was duly granted at just 31 years of age.

The post of consul afforded Scipio the requisite authority to begin plotting a truly daring military campaign, one that he believed would finally put an end to the seemingly interminable war with Carthage: he would strike at the enemy's heartlands.

Frustratingly for Scipio, the conservative voices within the Senate (a quibbling majority) were so astounded by the sheer scope of his ambitions that they refused to even entertain the notion. By withholding Rome's legions the



Hoping to avert a bloody engagement, Hannibal appeals to Scipio for peace



Scipio's deftly positioned skirmishers made short work of Hannibal's elephants

ruling classes hoped to strangle Scipio's plans at birth, but they had seriously underestimated Scipio's reserves of both creativity and resolve. If the Senate wouldn't provide him with an army then he'd raise one himself.

As the highest elected official in Rome, Scipio faced no resistance when he requested the governorship of the island of Sicily. The reason for his request probably wasn't clear to the Senate, which only made it all the more cunning on Scipio's part. Stationed on the island as a (rather unjust) punishment for their defeats at Trebia and Cannae, veterans of Rome's early struggles with Hannibal had endured military perjury since 216. Crucially for Scipio, these very men were both extremely experienced in the art of fighting Carthage and, even more importantly, desperate to rebuild their reputations by besting Hannibal in battle. Scipio's call for volunteers resulted in a crack force of 7,000 men, more than enough to scare the Senate into finally supporting his dream of invading North Africa.

With Sicily as his base, Scipio set sail across the Mediterranean in 204, making landfall on Carthage's north coast near the city of Utica. Prudently, he sought an alliance with Massinissa, a prince of Numidia, a land known for its excellent cavalry. By 203 the allies were besieging the city, and despite Carthage's efforts to lift the siege with an army comprising their own soldiers and those loyal to Syphax, another Numidian noble, Scipio soon took it.

Carthage's prospects now looked dire, and the situation was to worsen significantly that same year when Scipio and Massinissa once again combined to destroy a Carthaginian host, this time at the Battle of the Great Plains. 30,000 men had either been slain or captured, and their general, Hasdrubal Gisco, would later select suicide over being torn apart by an enraged gang of Carthaginians.

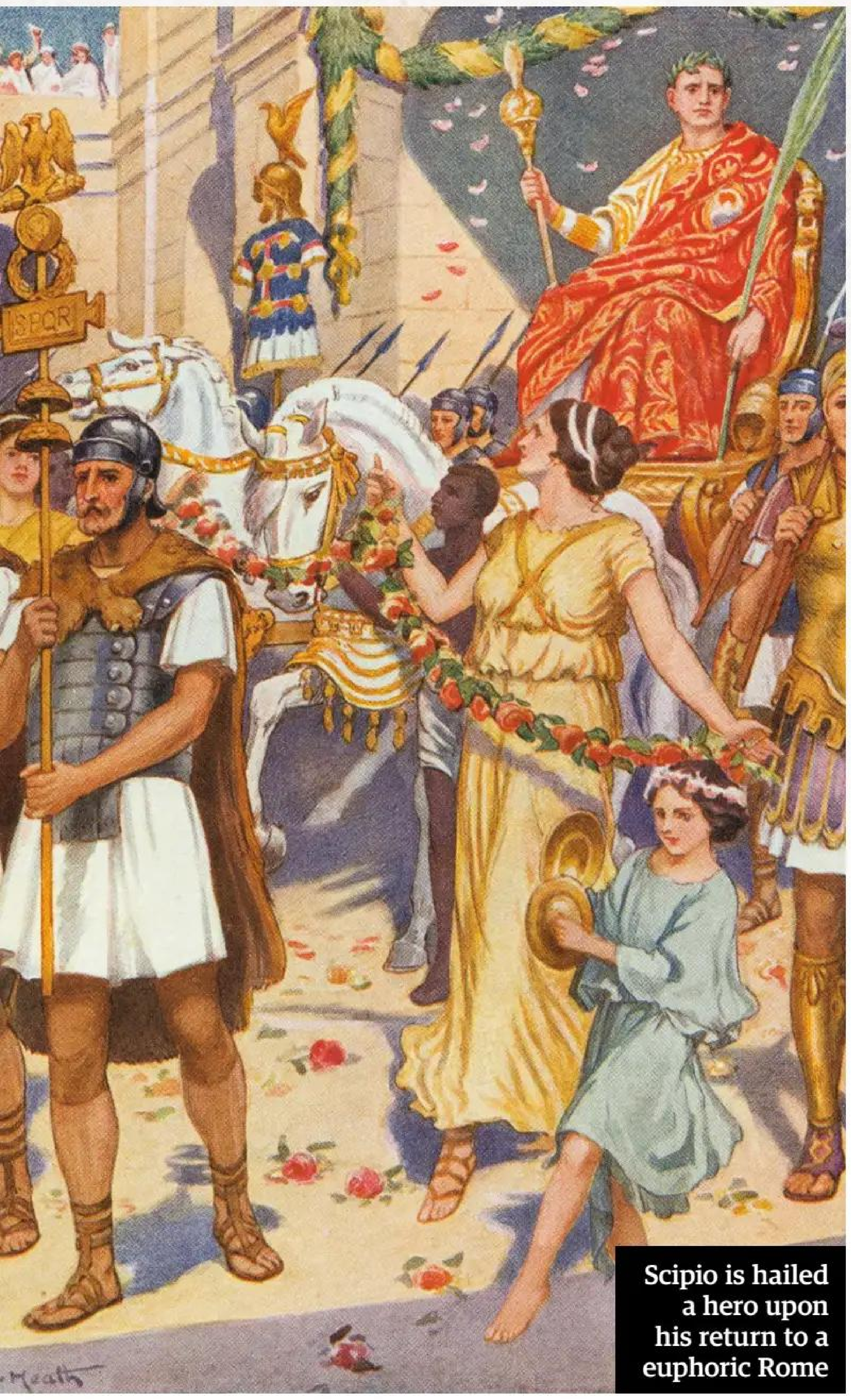
Where once it was Rome beset by panic as a foreign invader approached, now it was Carthage's turn to collapse into a wild episode of hysteria. Their dreams of forcing a weakened Rome to the negotiating table had been turned on their heads; now it was they who were scrambling to agree a peace deal. Fortunately for them, Scipio was a man of fair judgement.

Standing by his principles, Scipio informed Carthage that their overseas territories were to be confiscated, its fleet was to be drastically reduced and it was to pay war reparations. By any standard these terms were incredibly lenient given the destruction that Hannibal had wrought on the Italian Peninsula for over a decade and a half. Carthage would have been wise to stick to them.

Despite having escaped a string of military defeats relatively unscathed, Carthage, or more specifically, its senate, failed to appreciate its fortune and instead seized the first opportunity to hit back at their vanquishers by seizing a stricken Roman fleet off their coast and stripping them of their supplies in 202. Deeming the peace treaty offered by Rome as an inconvenience, the senate, which was comprised of influential citizens overseen by two 'suffetes' (judges), recalled a disgruntled Hannibal from Italy and prepared to make a final stand despite Hannibal's warnings that his army wasn't ready to fight. They could not have dreamed up a better casus belli for Rome, which simply couldn't tolerate this galling display of arrogance.

Having remained in North Africa, Scipio once again marched to confront Carthage. His army of approximately 35,000 met Hannibal's force of around 40,000 men on 19 October near what is today the border between Tunisia and Algeria. However, instead of immediately coming to blows, Hannibal first extended the hand of friendship in a bid to avoid a battle.

Reminding Scipio of the terms that he himself offered Carthage only the year before, Hannibal implored his opposite number to consider peace. Scipio is believed to have listened politely before curtly informing



Scipio is hailed a hero upon his return to a euphoric Rome

Hannibal that it was Carthage who "seemed to find peace intolerable" and suggesting that he ready himself for battle. Hannibal rode back to his army to do just that.

As Hannibal's three lines arranged themselves behind a buttress of armoured elephants, the Carthaginians among them must have considered the significance of what was about to take place. While victory over Scipio's men would place fame and booty in their hands, defeat would almost certainly mean their deaths, the razing of their city and the enslavement of their people. The sound of half of Hannibal's elephants suddenly breaking into a charge may well have come as some relief from these horrifying thoughts.

At the other end of the field, Scipio's army could only watch as Hannibal's trumpeting titans raced towards them. Thankfully for them, the elephants quickly became disorientated and began to turn back on themselves, stomping into the cavalry unit that Hannibal had stationed on his left flank. Likely due to their own initiative, as opposed to a direct command, the Numidian riders on Scipio's right flank recognised the opportunity unfolding before them and hurtled forwards.

Events were moving beyond the control of either general, and it wasn't long before the second division of war elephants was pouring

ROMAN REPUBLIC

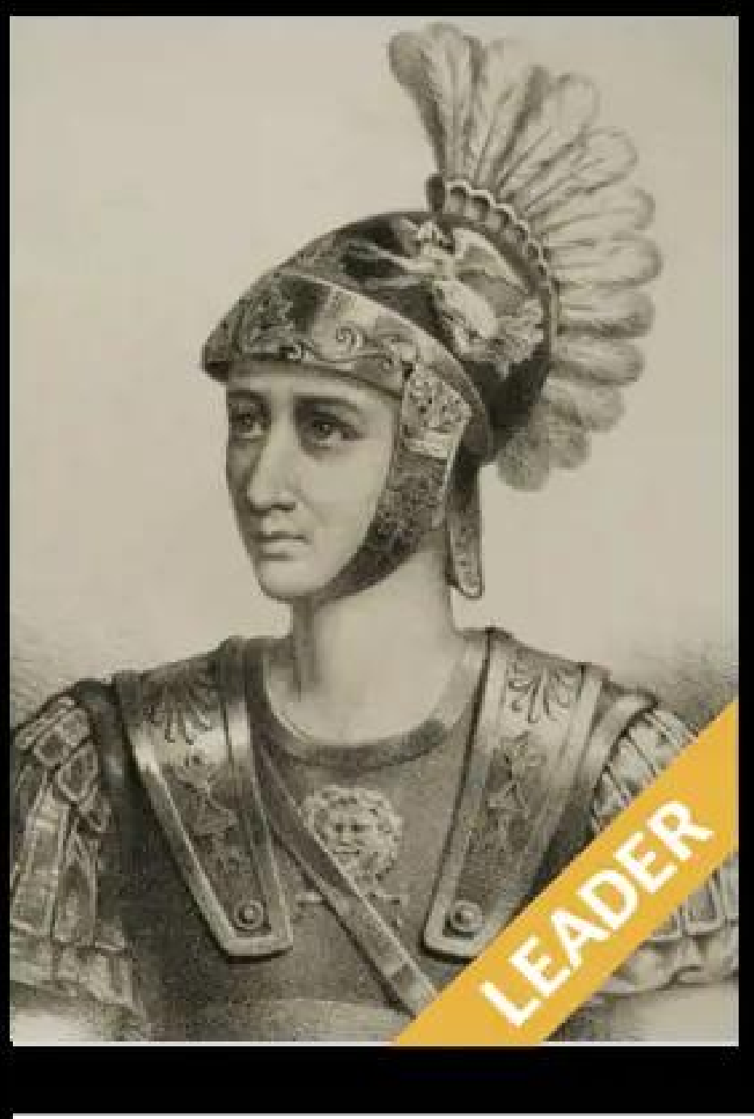
NUMBER OF TROOPS

29,000

NUMBER OF CAVALRY

6,100

SCIPIO AFRICANUS



An energetic and resourceful commander, Scipio would inflict six major defeats on Carthage in a glittering military career.

+ Smart and aggressive, Scipio had gained vital experience in the field from his campaigns in Spain.

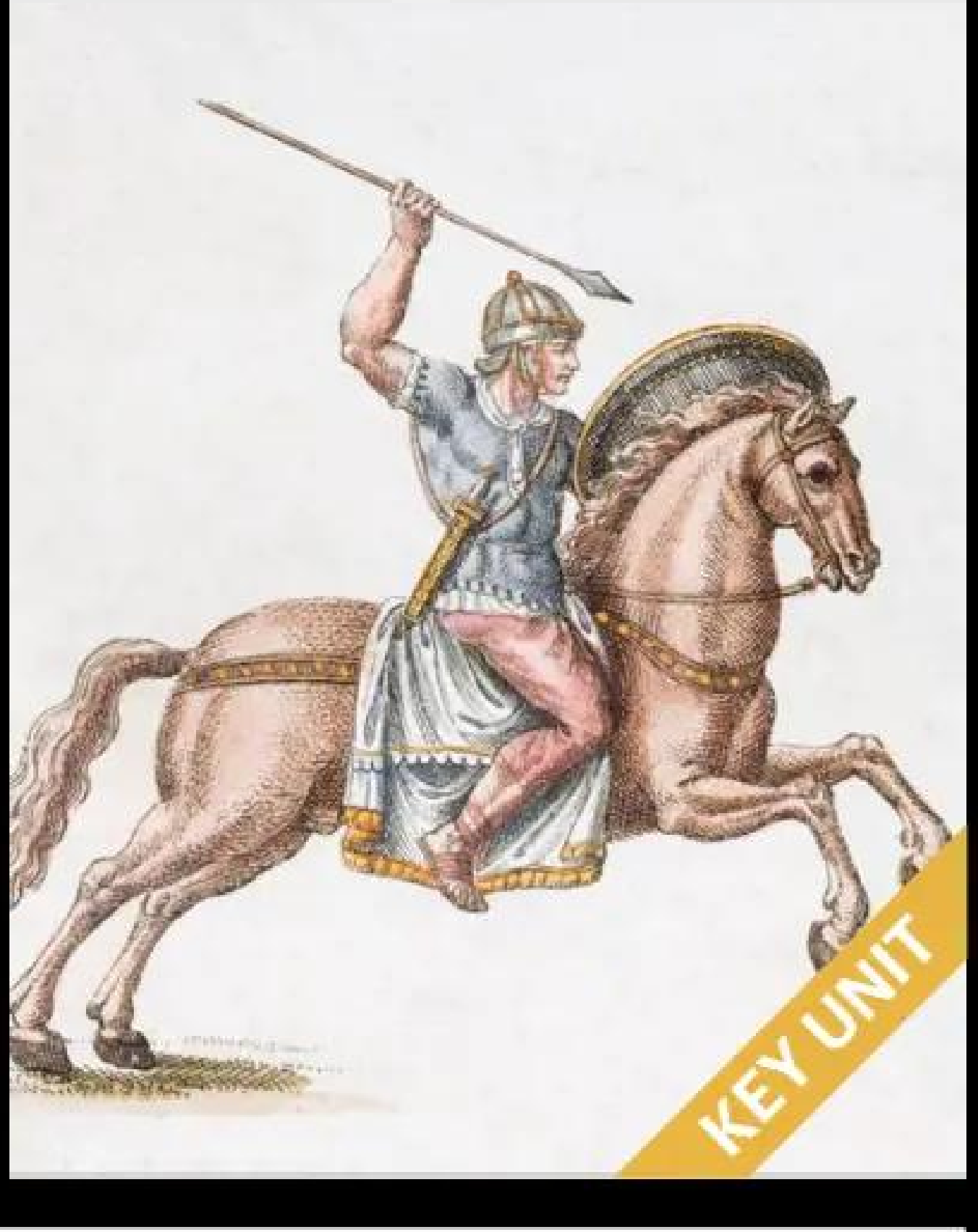
− Compared to Hannibal, Scipio was still inexperienced.

CAVALRY

Scipio's cavalry would deliver the fatal blow at Zama.

+ Fast, agile and daring.

− Lured from the field for much of the battle by the thrill of pursuing their beleaguered counterparts.



GLADIUS

A staple among Rome's legionaries, this short sword was carved in steel.

+ An extremely efficient weapon in close-quarters combat, the gladius could be used from behind a shield to make a stab at the enemy.

− Little use against Carthage's famed slingers and spear-throwing cavalry.

CARTHAGINIAN EMPIRE

NUMBER OF TROOPS

36,000

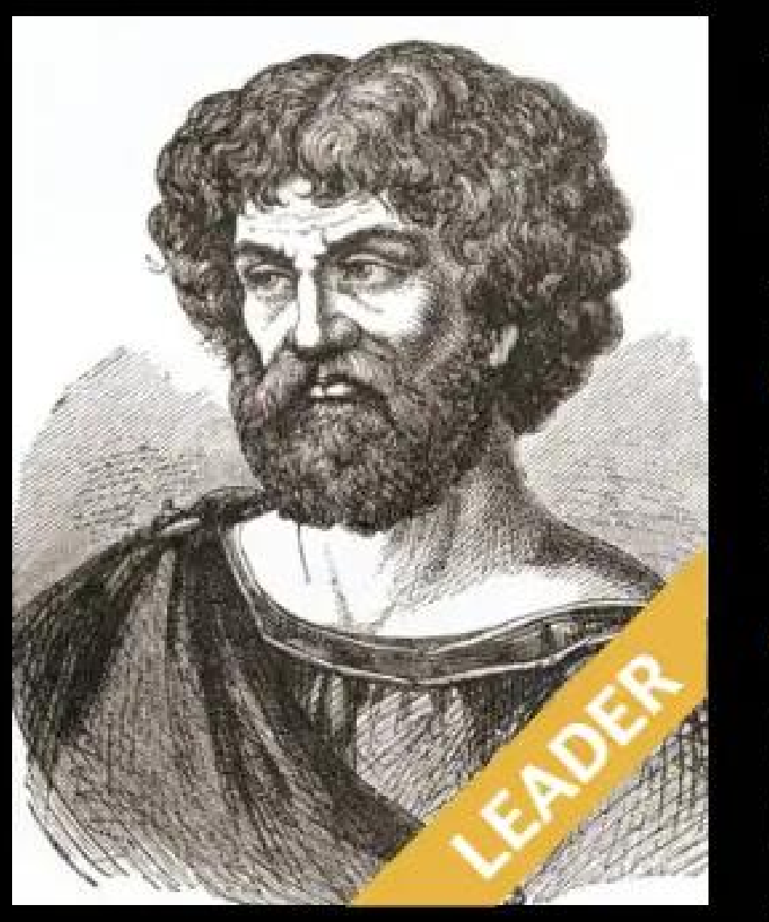
NUMBER OF CAVALRY

4,000

NUMBER OF ELEPHANTS

80

HANNIBAL BARCA



An exceptionally brilliant general, Hannibal had waged war on Italy for 16 years prior to Zama.

+ An ingenious military strategist who was yet to taste a significant defeat.

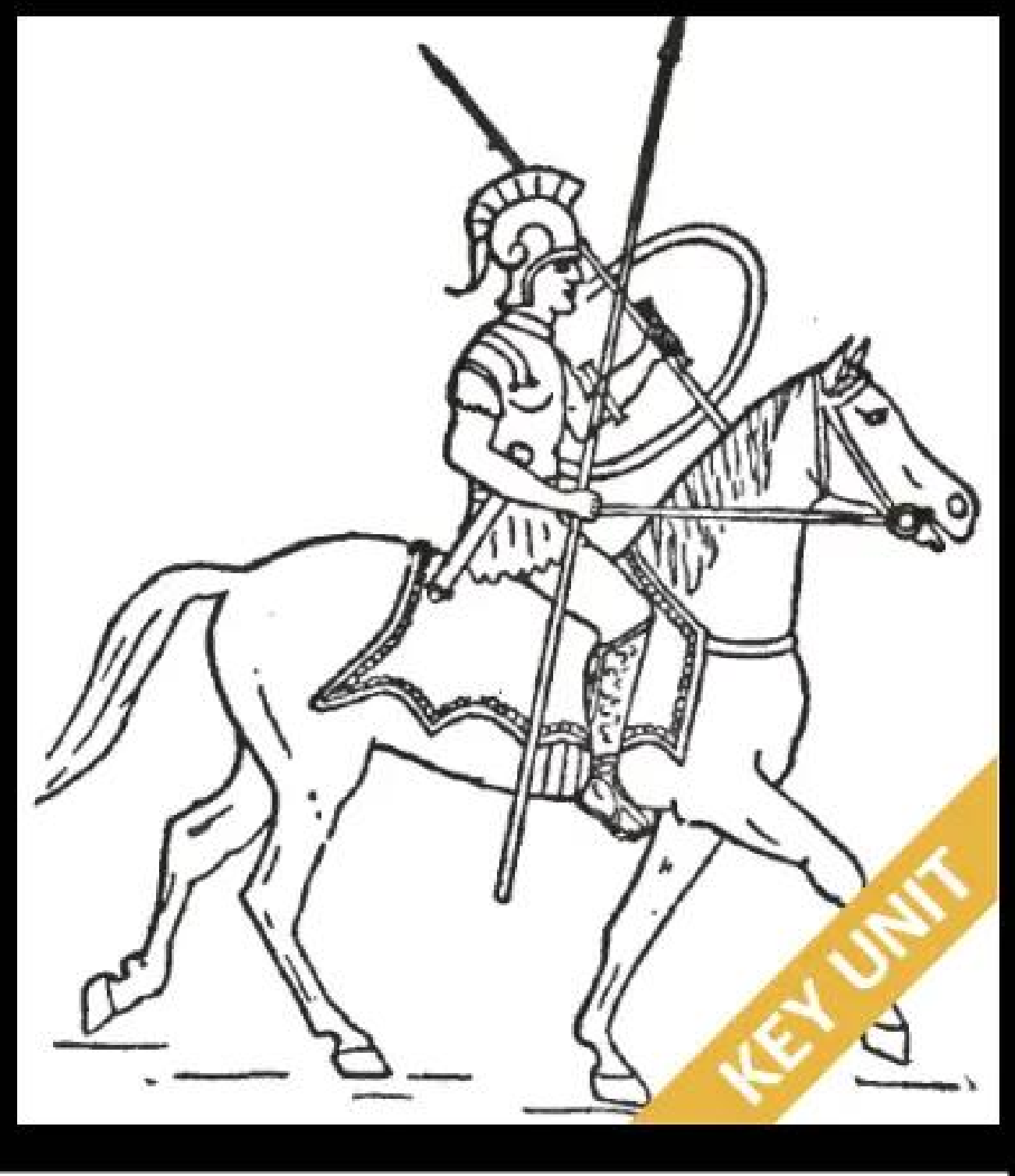
− Commanded a force largely comprised of inexperienced recruits and foreign mercenaries.

SACRED BAND

These troops were drilled from a young age in the art of fighting as a phalanx.

+ The Sacred Band were equipped with a high standard of both armour and weaponry.

− Horribly exposed when confronted with Scipio's marauding cavalry.

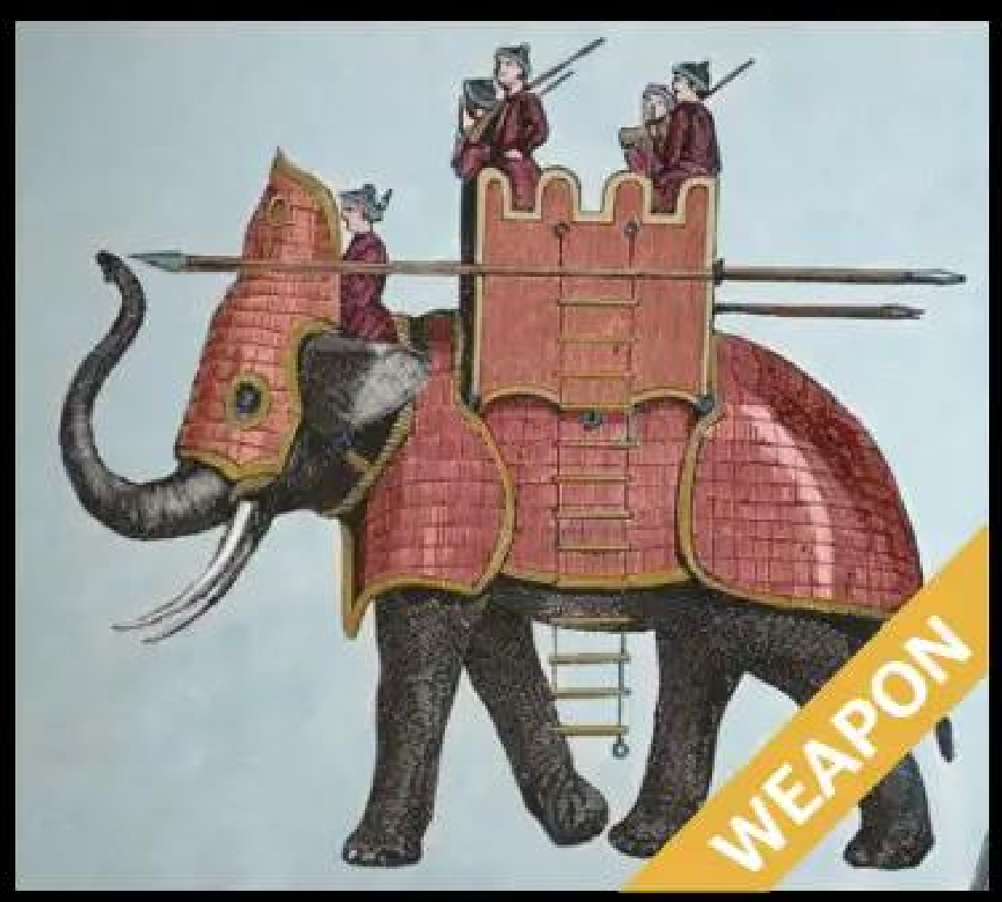


WAR ELEPHANTS

Caught on the plains of Africa, these graceful giants could be transformed into the ancient world's answer to a tank.

+ The mere sight of a charging elephant clad in armour could strike fear into the heart of even the most experienced veteran.

− Unwieldy and violently temperamental, elephants were prone to panic and inflicting losses on their own soldiers.



forwards. This time the beasts reached enemy lines only to stride into Scipio's well-laid trap, the gaps in his ranks funnelling the elephants towards the Roman skirmishers at the rear. Many of the poor animals were cut down, and those who did manage to flee did so in terror.

Now came the turn of Scipio's Roman riders. Starting out from the left flank, these lightly armoured horsemen advanced towards the Carthaginian cavalry opposite them. A vicious engagement erupted as each side slashed at each other while trying to steady their steeds. Scipio's men soon gained the advantage and chased their foes from the field, a development that now meant only infantry remained. Both sets duly advanced.

No quarter was given in the carnage that followed the two sides colliding, although both commanders kept their last line of troops in reserve for as long as possible. In fact, some historians have pondered why Hannibal was so uncharacteristically conservative in his approach. It could be argued that the general was merely biding his time, waiting for the best moment to commit his formidable veterans.

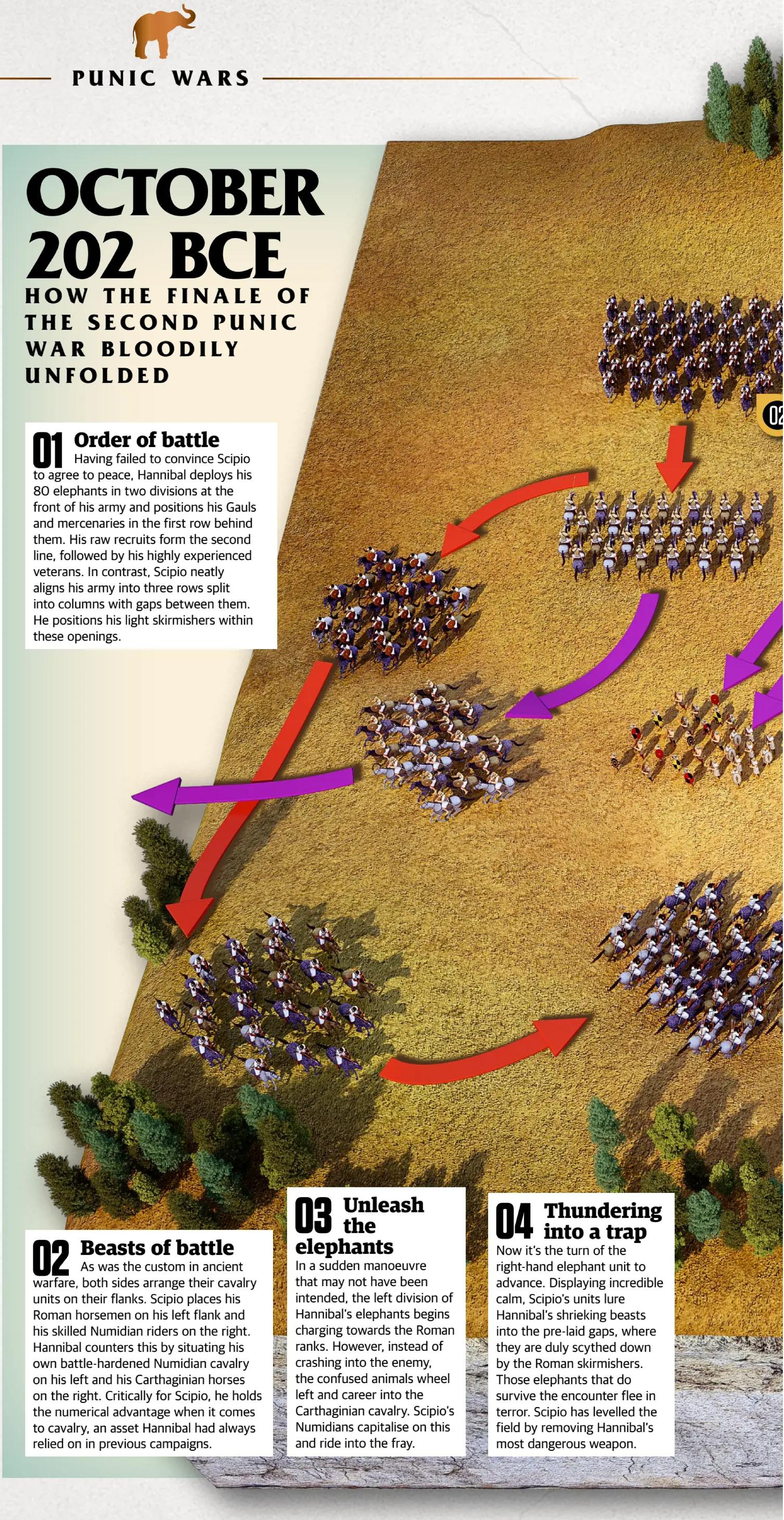
Ultimately, it made no matter that Hannibal's army had managed to fight Scipio's to a standstill, for they could never have foreseen the menace approaching their rear. Whether they finished routing Hannibal's cavalry first is not clear, but what is beyond doubt is that Scipio's horsemen returned to the battle precisely when it was poised to go either way. Valiantly struggling to hold the Roman infantry back, Hannibal's footsoldiers were completely exposed as the enemy cavalry slammed into them. The Carthaginians were surrounded and systematically cut down or captured. Hannibal had suffered his first major defeat.

Scipio's victory at Zama finally ended the Second Punic War, a struggle that had begun in 218, and this time his terms would not be so kind to Carthage. When Scipio demanded Carthage surrender its elephants, the entirety of its fleet, and pay Rome the truly enormous sum of 10,000 talents (245 tons) of silver, they were in no position to resist. Yet while these terms were humbling, the ultimate insult for the once mighty empire of Carthage was Rome's instruction that Hannibal's homeland was henceforth forbidden from waging war without first being granted permission by the Senate in Rome. A once feared giant was now nothing more than a cowed client state. Scipio returned triumphant to Rome.

For Carthage, the true cost of defeat at Zama would not be paid in full until the spring of 146, when a ruthless Roman army laid siege to the city, slaughtering up to 350,000 people, enslaving a further 50,000 and then destroying every building brick by brick. By that stage their often underappreciated saviour was long dead, Hannibal having chosen poison over falling into Rome's hands.

OCTOBER 202 BCE

HOW THE FINALE OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR BLOODILY UNFOLDED



01 Order of battle

Having failed to convince Scipio to agree to peace, Hannibal deploys his 80 elephants in two divisions at the front of his army and positions his Gauls and mercenaries in the first row behind them. His raw recruits form the second line, followed by his highly experienced veterans. In contrast, Scipio neatly aligns his army into three rows split into columns with gaps between them. He positions his light skirmishers within these openings.

02 Beasts of battle

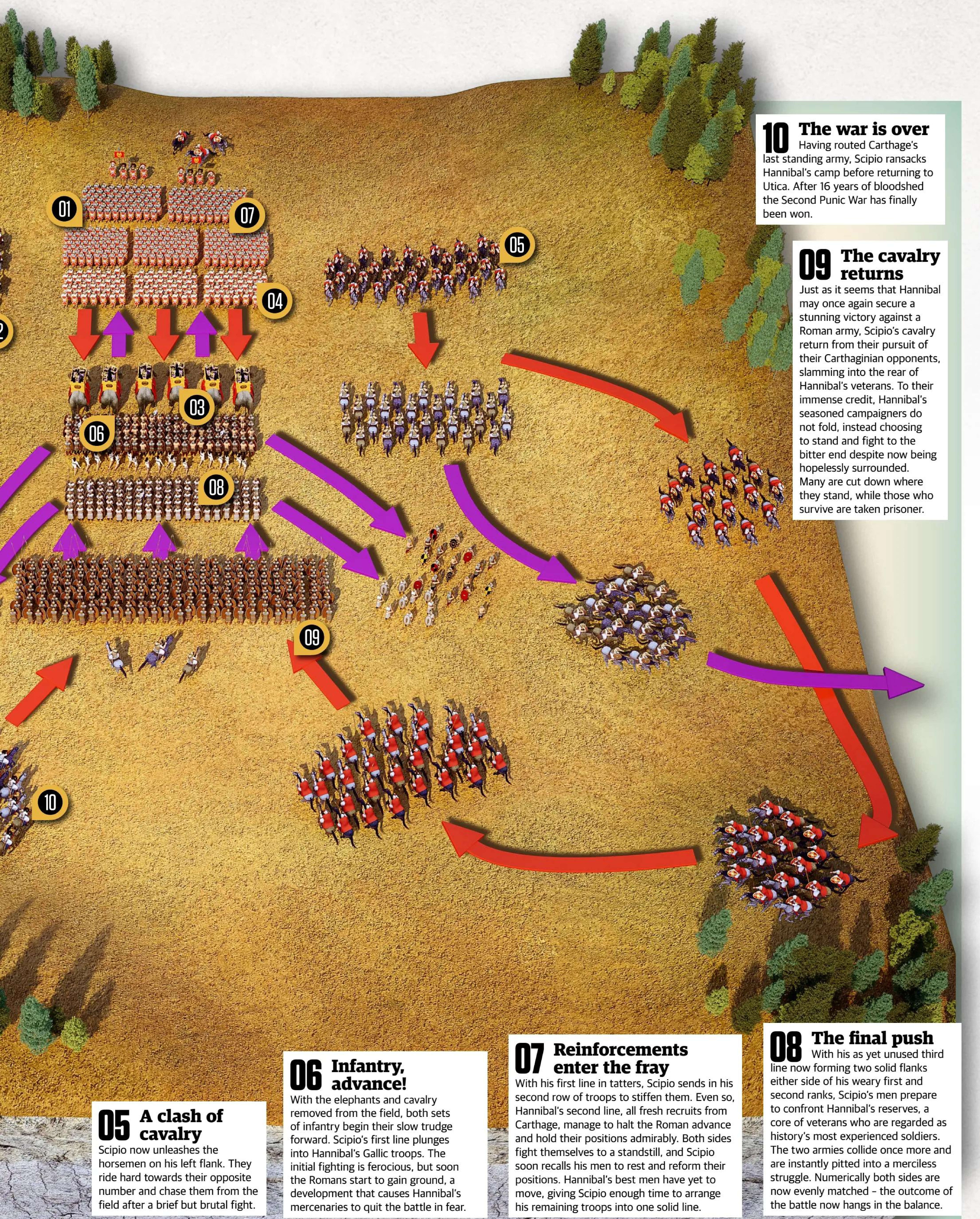
As was the custom in ancient warfare, both sides arrange their cavalry units on their flanks. Scipio places his Roman horsemen on his left flank and his skilled Numidian riders on the right. Hannibal counters this by situating his own battle-hardened Numidian cavalry on his left and his Carthaginian horses on the right. Critically for Scipio, he holds the numerical advantage when it comes to cavalry, an asset Hannibal had always relied on in previous campaigns.

03 Unleash the elephants

In a sudden manoeuvre that may not have been intended, the left division of Hannibal's elephants begins charging towards the Roman ranks. However, instead of crashing into the enemy, the confused animals wheel left and career into the Carthaginian cavalry. Scipio's Numidians capitalise on this and ride into the fray.

04 Thundering into a trap

Now it's the turn of the right-hand elephant unit to advance. Displaying incredible calm, Scipio's units lure Hannibal's shrieking beasts into the pre-laid gaps, where they are duly scythed down by the Roman skirmishers. Those elephants that do survive the encounter flee in terror. Scipio has levelled the field by removing Hannibal's most dangerous weapon.



05 A clash of cavalry

Scipio now unleashes the horsemen on his left flank. They ride hard towards their opposite number and chase them from the field after a brief but brutal fight.

06 Infantry, advance!

With the elephants and cavalry removed from the field, both sets of infantry begin their slow trudge forward. Scipio's first line plunges into Hannibal's Gallic troops. The initial fighting is ferocious, but soon the Romans start to gain ground, a development that causes Hannibal's mercenaries to quit the battle in fear.

07 Reinforcements enter the fray

With his first line in tatters, Scipio sends in his second row of troops to stiffen them. Even so, Hannibal's second line, all fresh recruits from Carthage, manage to halt the Roman advance and hold their positions admirably. Both sides fight themselves to a standstill, and Scipio soon recalls his men to rest and reform their positions. Hannibal's best men have yet to move, giving Scipio enough time to arrange his remaining troops into one solid line.

08 The final push

With his as yet unused third line now forming two solid flanks either side of his weary first and second ranks, Scipio's men prepare to confront Hannibal's reserves, a core of veterans who are regarded as history's most experienced soldiers. The two armies collide once more and are instantly pitted into a merciless struggle. Numerically both sides are now evenly matched – the outcome of the battle now hangs in the balance.

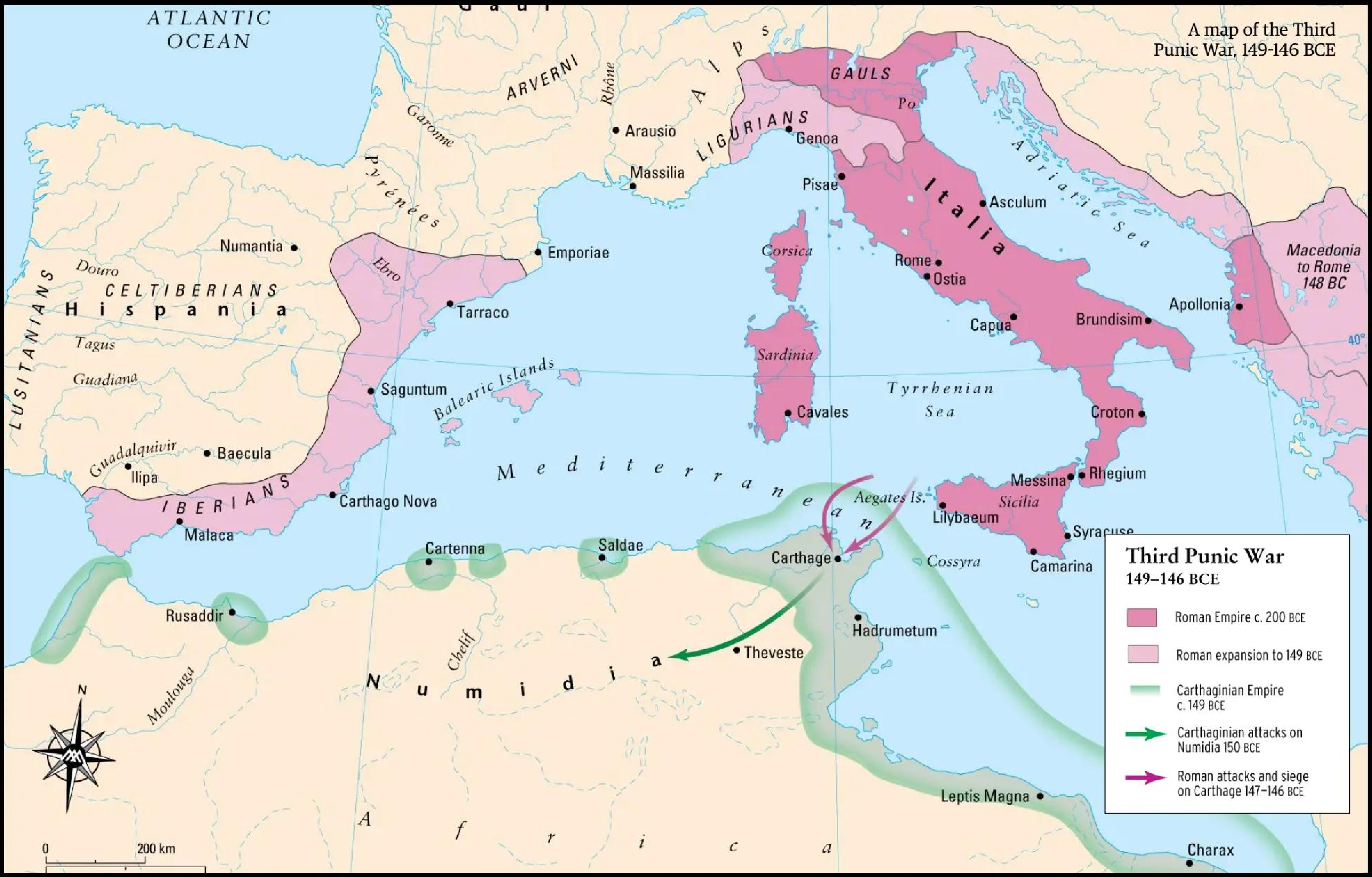
09 The cavalry returns

Just as it seems that Hannibal may once again secure a stunning victory against a Roman army, Scipio's cavalry return from their pursuit of their Carthaginian opponents, slamming into the rear of Hannibal's veterans. To their immense credit, Hannibal's seasoned campaigners do not fold, instead choosing to stand and fight to the bitter end despite now being hopelessly surrounded. Many are cut down where they stand, while those who survive are taken prisoner.

10 The war is over

Having routed Carthage's last standing army, Scipio ransacks Hannibal's camp before returning to Utica. After 16 years of bloodshed the Second Punic War has finally been won.

© Nicholas Forder; Alamy; Getty images


A map of the Third Punic War, 149-146 BCE

ATLANTIC OCEAN
Gaul
ARVERNI
Rhône
Alps
Garonne
Pyrénées
Arausio
Massilia
LIGURIANS
Genoa
GAULS
Po
Pisae
Italia
Asculum
Adriatic Sea
Corsica
Rome
Ostia
Capua
Brundisim
Apollonia
Macedonia to Rome 148 BC
40°
Numantia
Douro
CELTIBERIANS
Hispania
LUSITANIANS
Tagus
Guadiana
Ebro
Emporiae
Tarraco
Sardinia
Saguntum
Balearic Islands
Tyrrhenian Sea
Croton
Cavales
Guadalquivir
Baecula
Ilipa
IBERIANS
Malaca
Carthago Nova
Mediterranean
Aegates Is.
Messina
Rhegium
Lilybaeum
Sicilia
Syracuse
Camarina
Cartenna
Saldae
Carthage
Cossyra
Rusaddir
Hadrumetum
Theveste
Chelif
Moulouga
Numidia
N
Leptis Magna
Charax
Africa
0
200 km
Third Punic War 149–146 BCE
Roman Empire c. 200 BCE
Roman expansion to 149 BCE
Carthaginian Empire c. 149 BCE
Carthaginian attacks on Numidia 150 BCE
Roman attacks and siege on Carthage 147–146 BCE

THE DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE

AFTER OVER A CENTURY OF NEAR-CONSTANT WARFARE, THE BITTER STRUGGLE FOR DOMINANCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN ENDED WITH THE OBLITERATION OF ROME'S ONCE GREAT RIVAL

Written by Tim Williamson

In 202 BCE the Second Punic War ended in humiliating defeat for Carthage, with its territories in Spain and elsewhere seized, its fleet decimated and a heavy war debt demanded by Rome. In addition, Carthage was forbidden from waging its own wars without the permission of the Roman Senate, leaving it unable to restore its lost territories. Despite this, over the following years the city-state rebuilt its wealth, restored its ports and profited greatly from trade with Rome and its neighbours.

Though emerging victorious, Rome had been truly humbled during the long war with Carthage. In 218 BCE Hannibal Barca's invasion of the Italian Peninsula had reached the gates of Rome itself and at the Battle of Cannae (216 BCE) had crushed an entire Roman army. In the following years, many in the Senate wished to see Carthage destroyed once and for all, never to threaten Roman

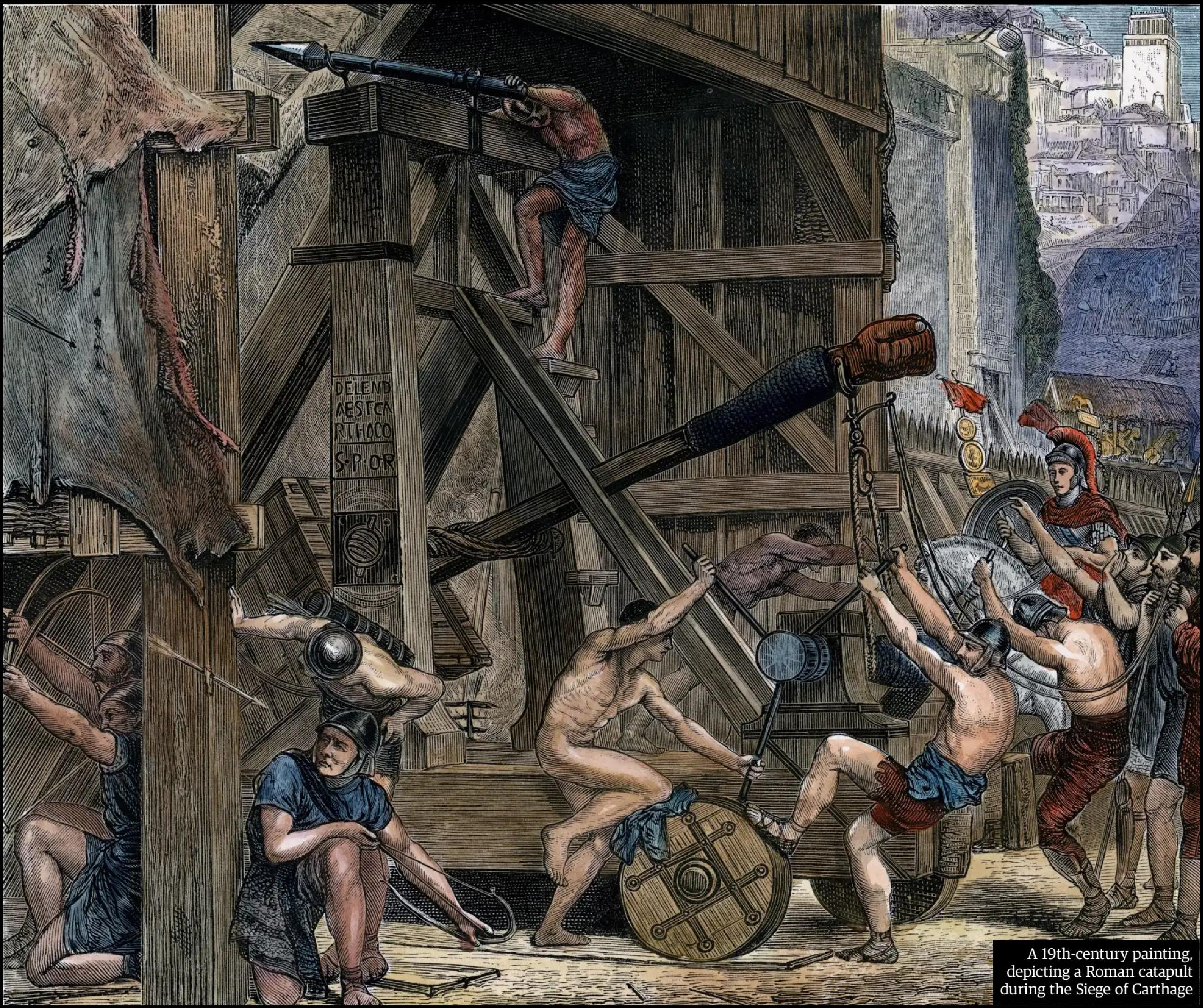
> "Many in the Senate wished to see Carthage destroyed once and for all, never to threaten Roman might again"

might again. Chief among those baying for Carthaginian blood was Marcus Porcius Cato, a senior senator and celebrated military veteran of the Second Punic War. Cato held a personal disdain for the Mediterranean rival who had bested Rome so often on the battlefield. He repeatedly ended his warmongering speeches with the phrase: 'Delenda est Carthago!' ('Carthage must be destroyed!').

To the west of Carthage (what is modern-day Algeria) was the Kingdom of Numidia, an ally of Rome since the Second Punic War and another regional rival to Carthage. After the war was over, Massinissa, the king of Numidia, took advantage of his powerful alliance by launching a series of raids into Carthage's territory, seizing several small border towns and fertile agricultural land. When Carthage sent envoys to Rome to protest against the attacks, the Roman Senate sent diplomats to investigate the claims but never failed to rule in favour of Massinissa. Astonishingly, among these supposedly impartial Roman arbitrators was Cato.

According to the historian Appian, upon arriving in Carthage Cato noted how the city and its people were prospering, growing rich once more from the city-state's fertile fields and profitable trade across the Mediterranean Sea. After returning to Rome, Cato forewarned its citizens with scare stories of how their great enemy was growing stronger. This was partly true: Carthage had thrived in the decades following its defeat and had even paid off its hefty war debt early. The Roman Senate agreed that something must be done and waited for the right opportunity to strike.

This chance came in around 151 BCE. When Massinissa continued to invade Carthage's territory, and laid siege to the town of Oroscopa, the Carthaginians finally reacted. They sent a young general named Hasdrubal to march against the Numidians, with over 25,000 infantry and 400 cavalrymen. One observer of the ensuing battle between Massinissa and Hasdrubal's armies was Roman tribune Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, who reported a huge clash of some 110,000 men in the field, though this is possibly exaggerated. The battle lasted the entire day, but neither side could muster a knock-out blow. Afterwards, Scipio attempted to accommodate negotiations



A 19th-century painting, depicting a Roman catapult during the Siege of Carthage between the two sides, but they failed. Massinissa deployed his army to surround Hasdrubal's camp, cutting off any access to forage or supply. Slowly, the Carthaginians were starved and weakened before finally being crushed by an overwhelming Numidian cavalry charge. Though Hasdrubal escaped, the fate of his army would be a tragic foreshadowing for his city.

Back in Rome, news of Carthage's outrageous move against the Numidians was all the justification the warmongers among the Senate required. They accused Carthage of breaking the peace treaty by attacking Massinissa. In 149 BCE the Senate sent two consuls to launch an invasion from Sicily: Manius Manilius was placed in charge of some 80,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry, while Lucius Marcius Censorinus commanded 150 warships and transports.

Desperate, Carthage sent diplomats to plead for peace and even offered to send 300 hostages to seal an agreement – all children of the great city's wealthy nobility. Though the Romans agreed to take the hostages, the invasion force continued its journey across the Mediterranean, making port at the city of Utica, around 11 kilometres south of Carthage city. Again, Carthage sued for peace, according to Appian even surrendering arms and armour for some 200,000 troops, as well as 2,000 catapults, to the Roman army. Despite this grand submission, the consuls refused to spare the city. On orders from the Senate, they declared Carthage was to be destroyed.

Though Carthage had surrendered a vast amount of its weaponry and arms, it still posed a significant challenge to any would-be attacker. The city was built on an isthmus protruding east into what today is the Gulf of Tunis. According to Appian, three layers of wall defended the city to the west, each at least 15 metres high. The citadel of Byrsa, the city's main inner defensive fortification, sat on top of a great hill overlooking the large commercial and military harbours below.

After realising their dire situation, the citizens of Carthage set about re-arming themselves with whatever they could; forging swords, shields and missiles of any kind to hurl down upon the Roman attackers. These weapons greeted Manius Manilius' forces when they approached the defences from the west some days later. Expecting to find the city deserted, the Romans were taken by surprise at the Carthaginians' resolve and withdrew to make camp close by. Manilius positioned his men on the isthmus and manoeuvred Censorinus with his ships onto Lake of Tunis to the southwest of the city.

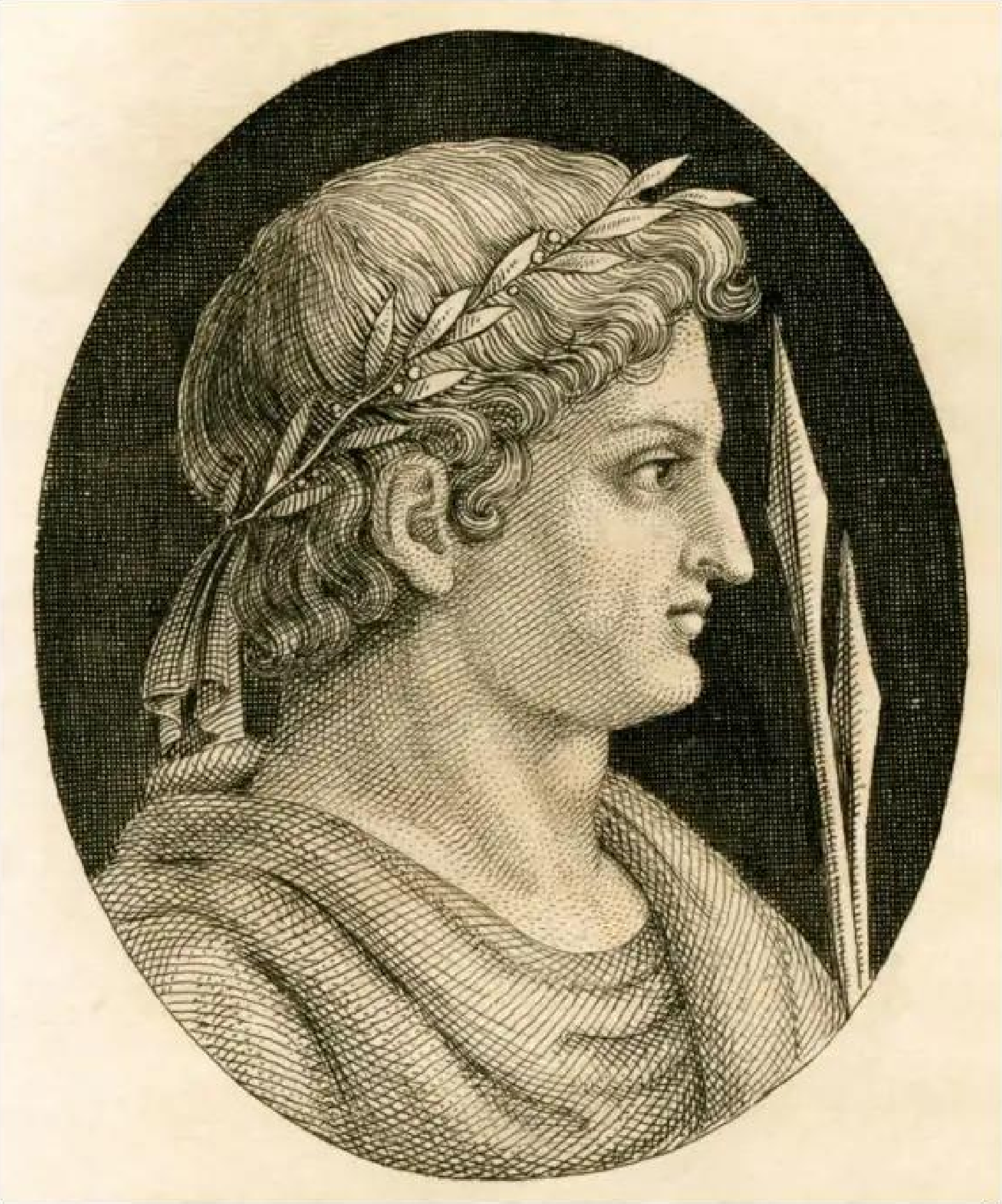
Soon after, the consuls ordered timber to be gathered in order to build siege machines and ladders with which to scale the walls. On one occasion, 500 Romans gathering wood around the Lake of Tunis were caught off-guard by Carthaginian cavalry commanded by an officer named Himilco Phameas, who cut them down. This small victory spurred on the Carthaginian defenders, who sallied forth several times to attack the Roman siege machines and when the wind was in their favour even cast flaming ships towards Censorinus' fleet.

Meanwhile, the disgraced general Hasdrubal and the remainder of his army had made camp further south, across the Lake of Tunis,

Some of the remaining ruins of the ancient city, in modern-day Tunisia

PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO AEMILIANUS

A warrior seemingly destined for greatness, Scipio Aemilianus lived up to his name, twice earning Rome's highest military honour

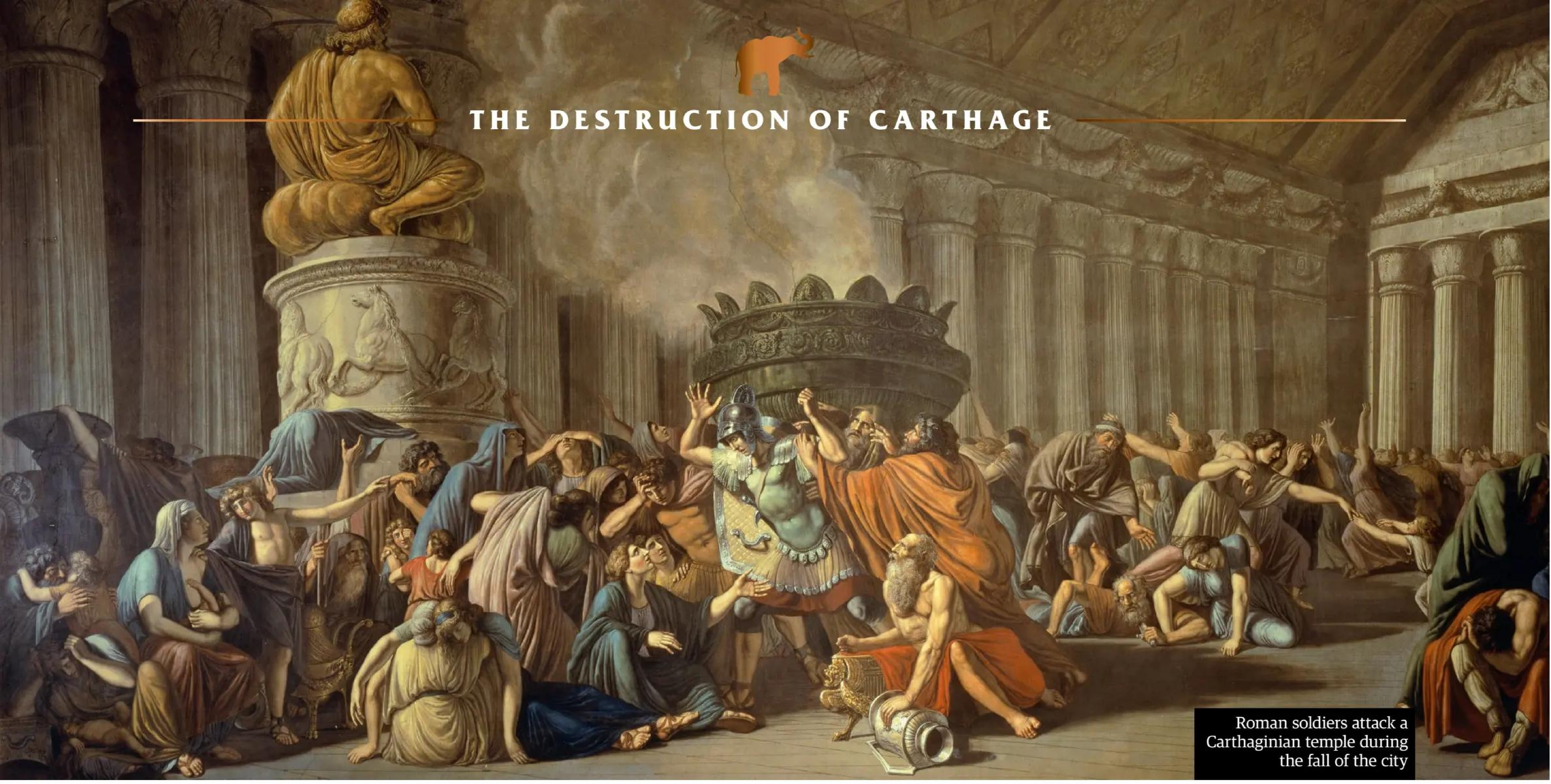

A copperplate depiction of Scipio Aemilianus

A natural soldier and leader, Scipio Aemilianus was born in 185 BCE into a Roman family with strong military heritage. His father, Lucius Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus, had already led successful military campaigns in Spain and Italy and would later gain fame in his victories over the Macedonians. Scipio's grandfather, of the same name as his father, was killed during the Battle of Cannae against Hannibal Barca in 216 BCE.

However, while still young, Scipio was adopted by the son of Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, taking his family name. A hero of the Second Punic War, Scipio's adopted grandfather had defeated Hannibal at the Battle of Zama (202 BCE), earning him the name Africanus. After serving as a tribune and rising through the military ranks, Scipio was elected early to consul and after his victory in Carthage was given a triumph in Rome, also earning the name Africanus, like his adopted grandfather.

After the end of the Third Punic War, Scipio was elected as a censor in 142 BCE, and later in 134 BCE he was once again elected consul in order to lead a campaign in Spain during the Celtiberian Wars. The following year he besieged the Celtiberian capital of Numantia, enslaving the inhabitants and destroying the city. He returned for a second triumph in Rome in 132 BCE. A gifted leader on the battlefield, Scipio's prestige earned him many enemies in Roman politics. In 129 BCE, after a political crisis in the Senate, Scipio was found dead under suspicious circumstances.

> "A gifted leader on the battlefield, Scipio's prestige earned him many political enemies"



Roman soldiers attack a Carthaginian temple during the fall of the city

threatening the Roman flank, and later repositioned to the southern town of Nepheris. In 148 BCE, with no end to the long siege in sight, Manilius chose to march his men against Hasdrubal, who had positioned his forces well among the rough, mountainous terrain. The Battle of Nepheris was a disaster for Manilius, who was forced to retreat in almost total disarray. During the withdrawal, Appian recounts that several cohorts became cut off from the main force, only to be rescued by Scipio – still only a tribune at this time – and his cavalry.

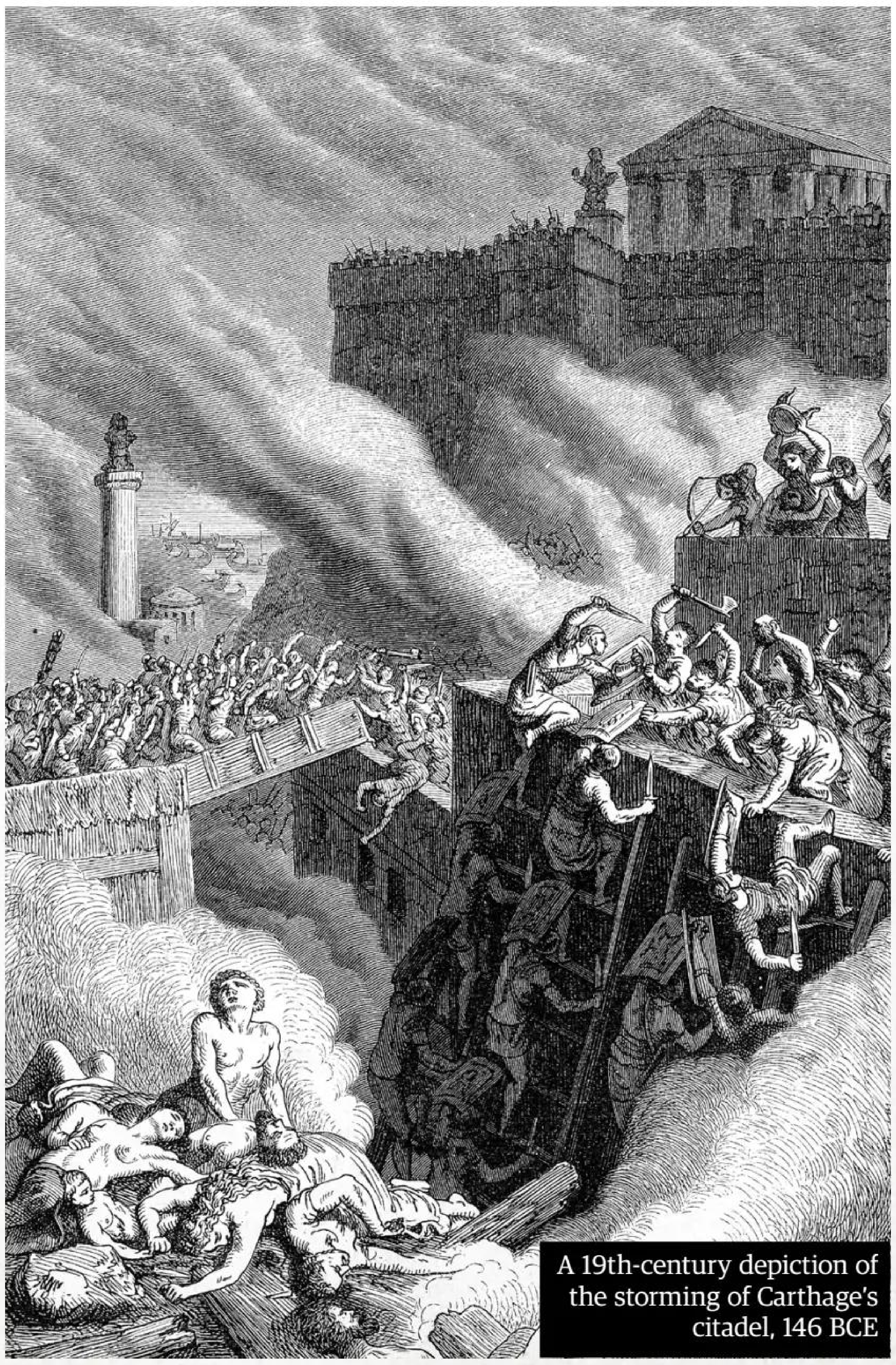
In 147 BCE, with the Siege of Carthage still locked in stalemate, Scipio was voted consul by the Senate despite being aged 37 – legally five years too young for the position. He was given command of the Siege of Carthage, and once he returned he took command of the army and launched a night-time attack. Splitting 4,000 infantry into two groups, he attacked the district of Megara, north of the citadel of Byrsa. Though they were spotted before reaching the wall, some of Scipio's men managed to scale the defences and opened the gates wide from within. Startled, many of the city's inhabitants immediately fled to the citadel, but rather than press the attack against the citadel Scipio withdrew his men.

Next, Scipio set about building up earthworks, including small towers and barricades, to entirely cut off any possible route into the city, by which food or supplies could be transported. He even constructed a great wall across the entrance to the harbour, moving huge stones and tons of earth to prevent any ship from passing through. In this way, slowly and terribly, the population of Carthage began to run out of food.

Finally, in the spring of 146 BCE, after years of repeated assaults and with its inhabitants and defenders starving, Carthage's defences fell. First taking the commercial quay, then the military harbour, Scipio's men began fighting street by street towards Byrsa, the heart of the city. Three main streets led to the citadel, flanked with tall houses packed in tightly up to six stories high. From the windows and rooftops Carthaginian soldiers and citizens hurled missiles down upon the advancing Romans below.

Moving house to house, and even fighting high up on the rooftops, the Romans cut their way up these streets, killing anyone in their path. Fires were set to flush out anyone left inside. The dead as well as the living were thrown from the rooftops into the street below, before being dragged out of the road to allow passage for the army to pass. Appian describes how the elderly, women and children were not spared in this slaughter. In this way the Romans headed towards the citadel, leaving a path of corpses and raging infernos in their wake. For six days and nights the Romans took shifts in the slaughter, so exhausting was their terrible work. On the seventh day, the people of the Byrsa surrendered. 50,000 survivors emerged, a fraction of the city's original population, and were taken into slavery.

The inferno raged for 17 days, leaving nothing behind but burnt rubble. Carthage's holy places and its great library were destroyed, ensuring its people, language and culture were almost entirely erased from history. The desolation of the city was complete, though the ardent Cato had not lived to see his malevolent wish come true. According to legend, Scipio wept upon surveying the ruins of the city, reflecting that Rome itself might one day meet the same fate.



A 19th-century depiction of the storming of Carthage's citadel, 146 BCE

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WAR AND ORDER

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If Rome was going to master the known world, she would need a professional standing army

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> "No friend ever served me, and no enemy ever wronged me, whom I have not repaid in full" - Sulla

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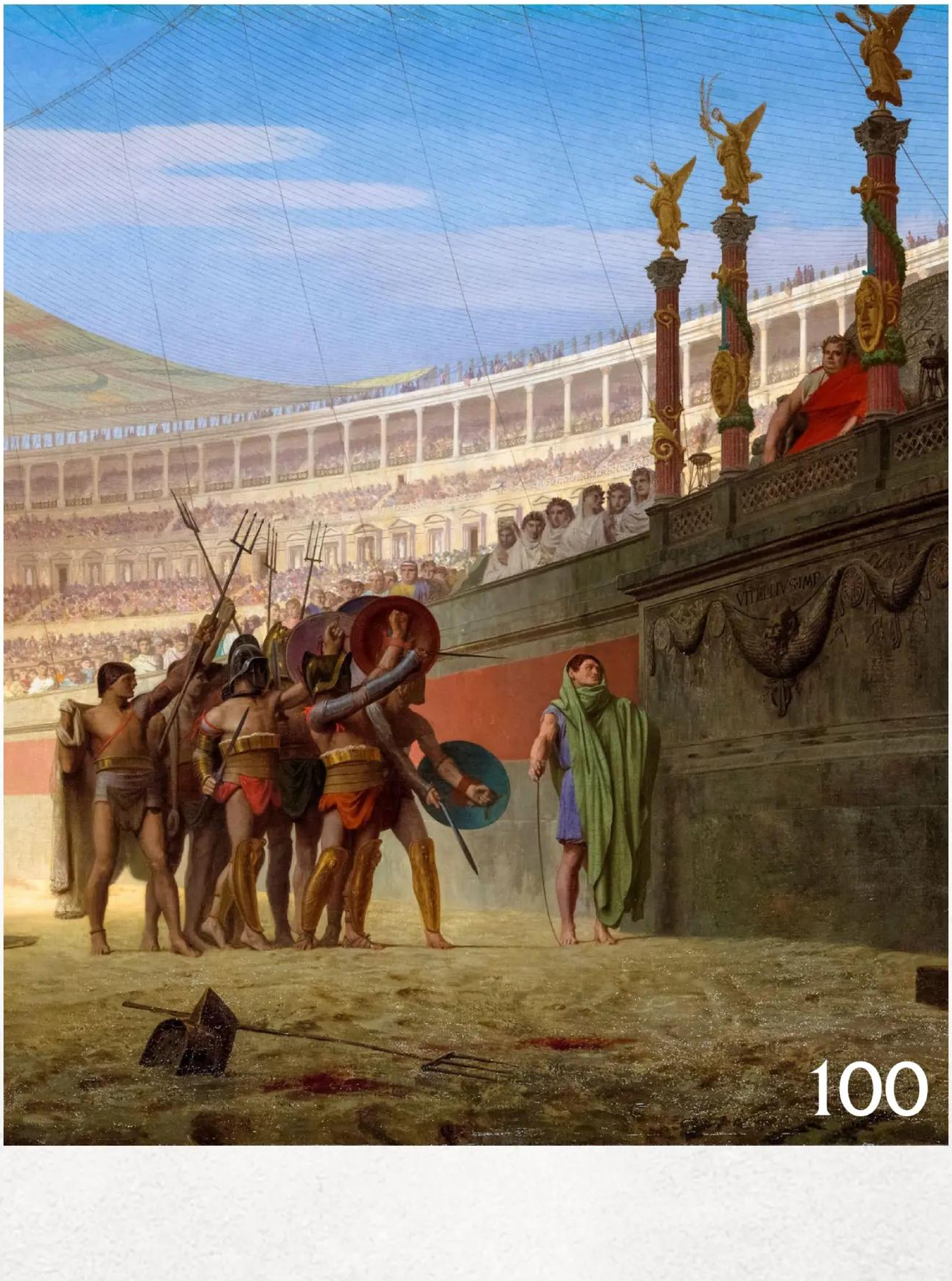

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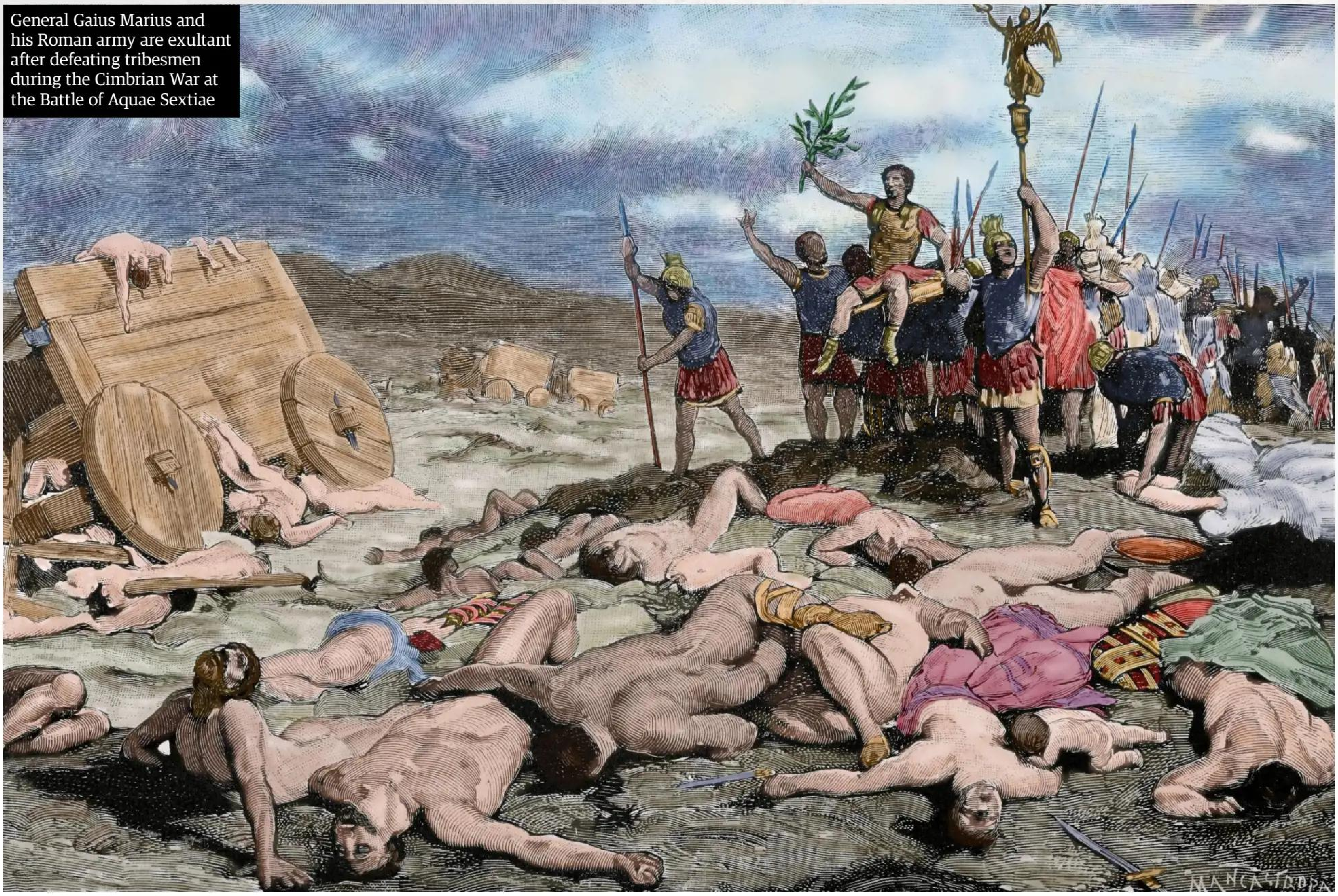


General Gaius Marius and his Roman army are exultant after defeating tribesmen during the Cimbrian War at the Battle of Aquae Sextiae

THE MARIAN MILITARY REFORMS

GENERAL AND POLITICIAN GAIUS MARIUS INSTITUTED MAJOR ROMAN ARMY REFORMS, PRODUCING A PROFESSIONAL MILITARY

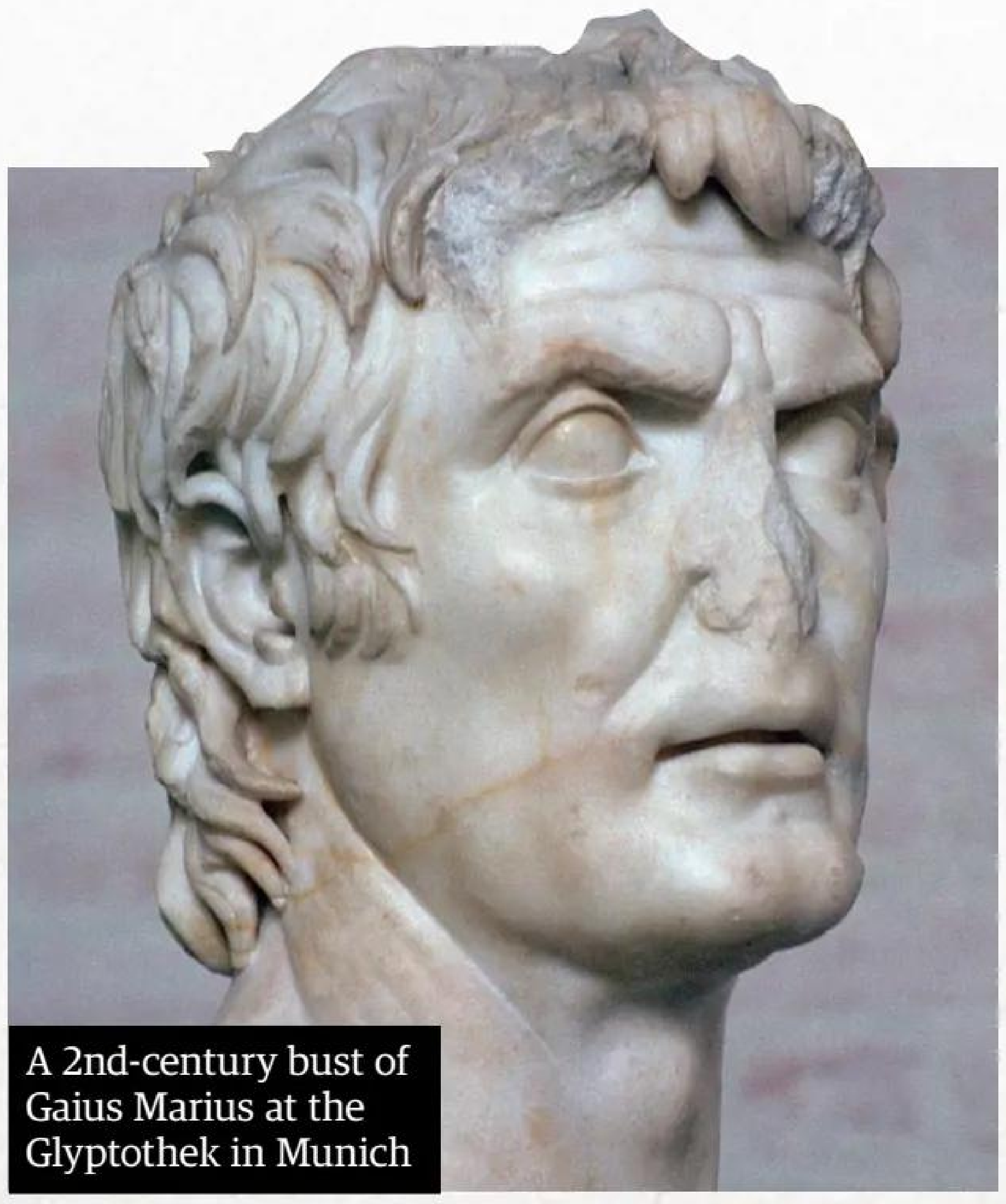
Written by Michael E Haskew

In the late 2nd century BCE, Rome was continually threatened. Upstart kings and barbarian tribes seemed unrelenting in their desire to plunder the Republic, seizing land, resources and prestige. The Roman army, however, defended against these usurpers and managed to parry each thrust.

Nevertheless, the army was stretched to breaking point. The maniple system, in place since the mid-4th century BCE, lacked sustainability. Manpower was scarce due to restrictions applied to service. Soldiers were chosen by dilectus, a lottery assigning men to one of four legions raised annually. Eligible men were required to own property worth at least 3,500 sesterces and to be members of the fifth census class, paying commensurate taxes. They were also responsible for their own armour and weapons.

As conflicts emerged, the continuing demand for troops placed the Republic at even greater peril. However, contemporary reforms instituted by prominent general and politician Gaius Marius transformed the 'militia'-style army into a highly trained, well-organised, professional force that became the strongest military machine of its time.

Gaius Marius was born in 157 BCE in Cereatae, west-central Italy. As a boy he once found an eagle's nest with a clutch of seven eggs, an omen that he would gain high authority seven times. Entering the military as



A 2nd-century bust of Gaius Marius at the Glyptothek in Munich

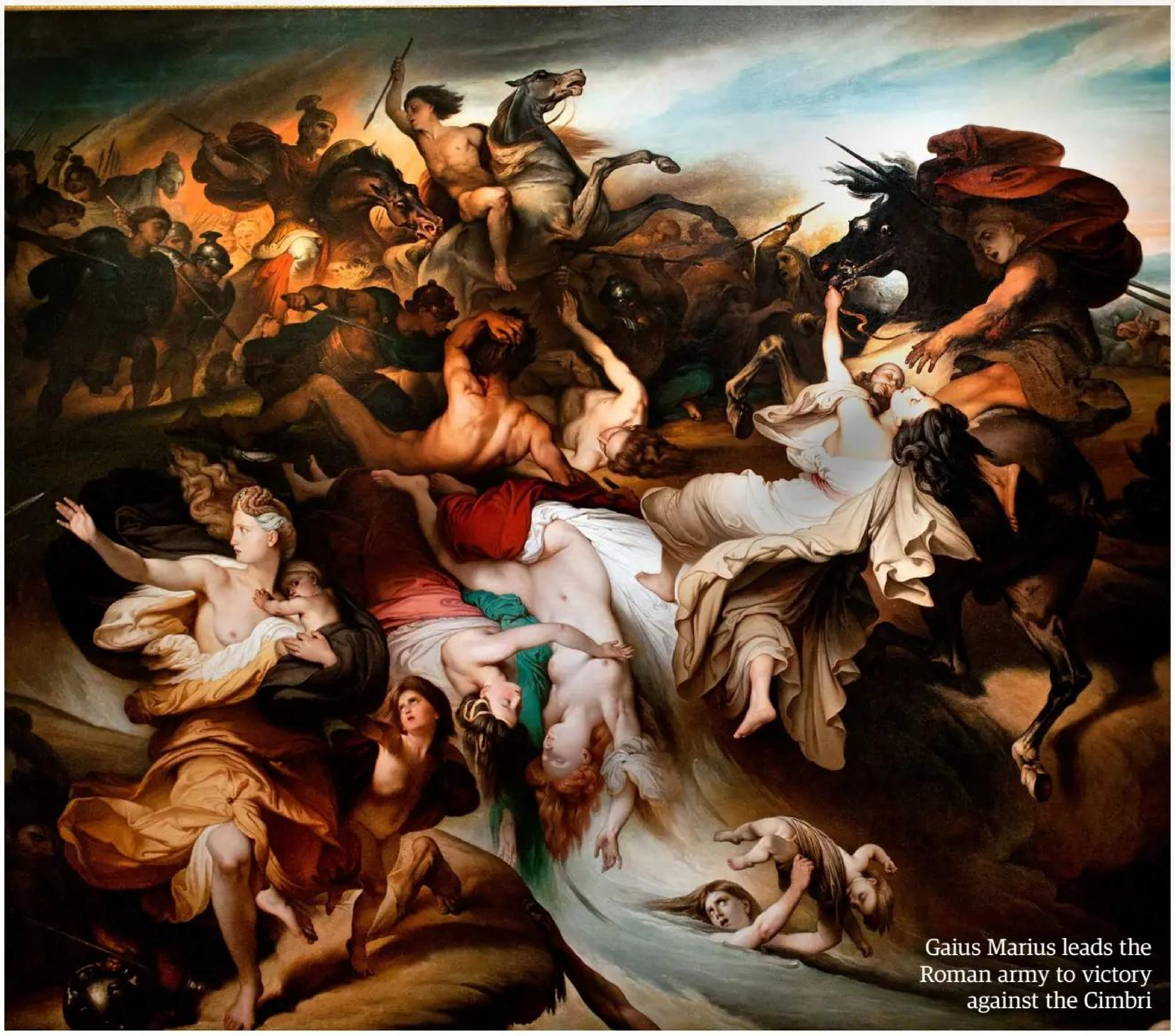
> “The ‘Marian reforms’ helped to shape the Roman army into an engine of conquest and legend”

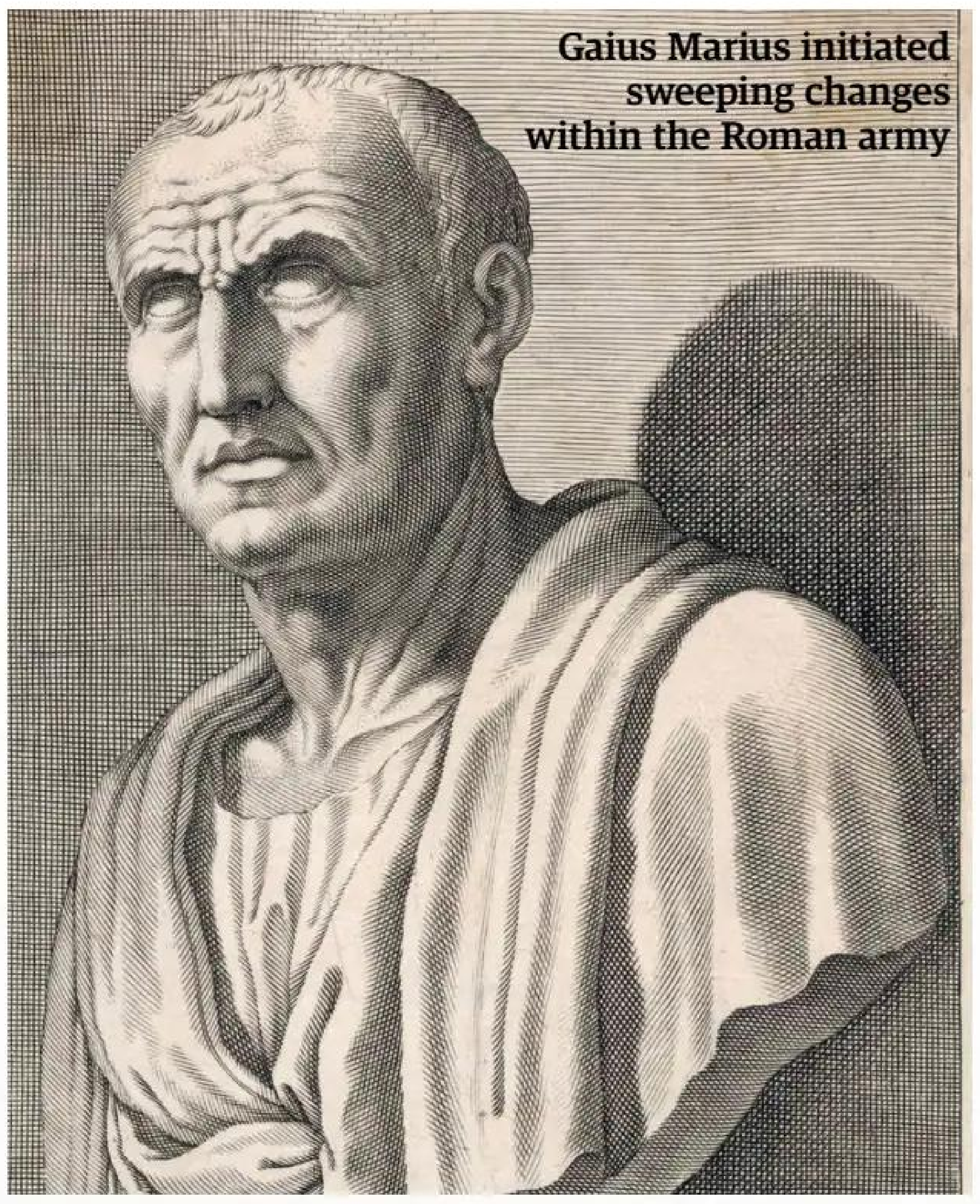
a youth, he served with distinction in Africa. Soon, his political star was also rising. Gaius won office after office, appearing to fulfil the old prophecy. He was elected consul in 107 BCE, became a tribune in 119 BCE, and married Julia, future aunt of Julius Caesar. He was later appointed praetor and named governor of Further Spain.

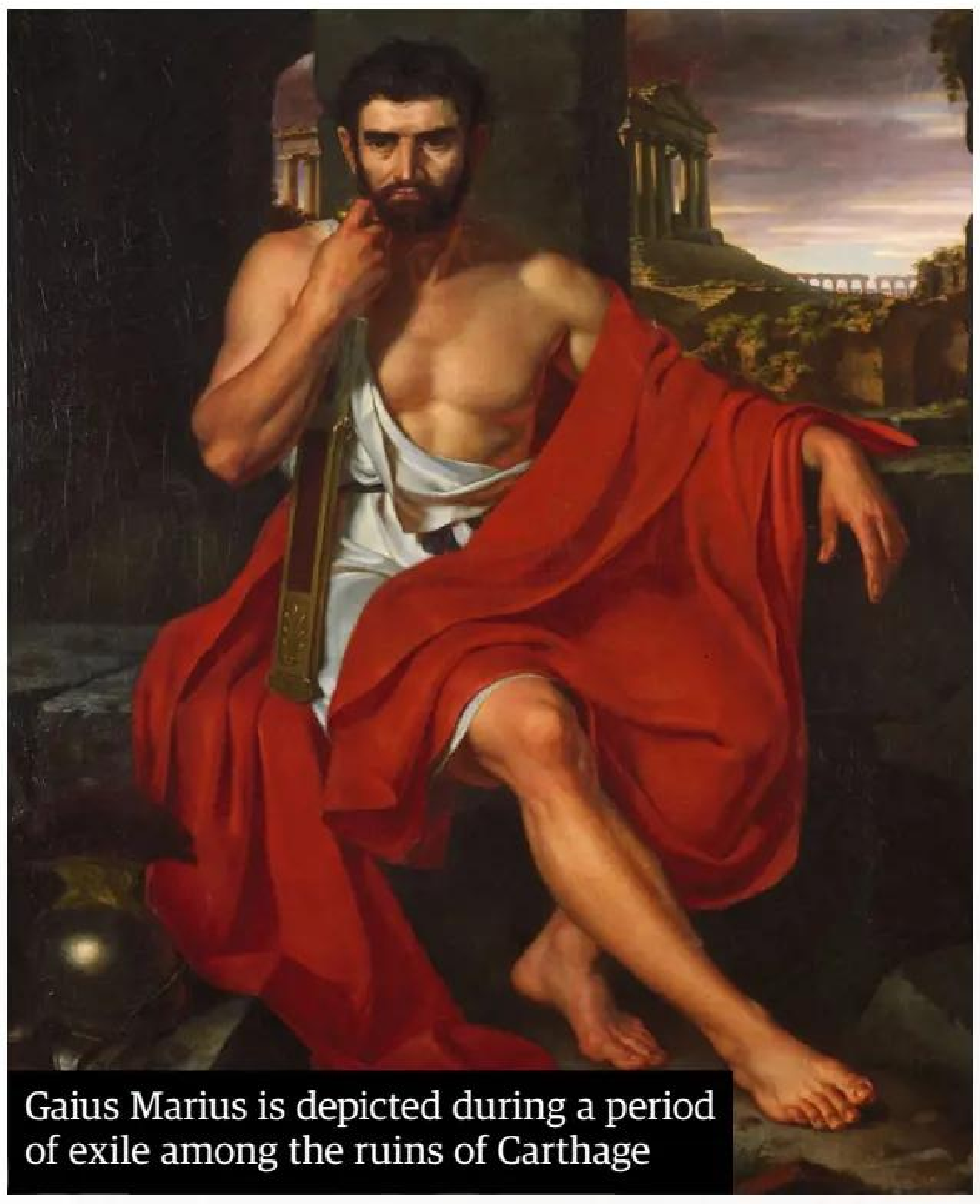
Gaius Marius won victories over King Jugurtha in Numidia and the Cimbri in Gaul. He raised an army free of the restrictions that had previously shackled the Roman military, and as his popularity among the lower classes of Roman society grew, he was elected to consulship an unprecedented seven times. He was lauded with victory parades, or triumphs, and lionised as the “third founder of Rome” after delivering the city from the threat of the northern tribes. During his later years, however, he was involved in political intrigue and corruption. He died in 86 BCE at the approximate age of 70. The so-called ‘Marian reforms’, however, survived their innovator and helped to shape the Roman army into an engine of conquest and legend.

As his political fortunes waxed and waned, Gaius Marius affected sweeping changes within the army. His most far-reaching involved the elimination of class distinction for those wishing to serve in the military. Men of lower social status saw an opportunity to better themselves and flocked to Gaius Marius. Rather than furnishing their own equipment, it was provided by the state. Soldiers were paid wages and allowed to enlist for a period of 16 years, establishing an experienced, professional core that did not require hasty recruitment and rudimentary training to conduct an effective campaign. Soldiers were further allowed to share in the spoils of war and upon retirement were sometimes given plots of land in conquered territories. Allied soldiers who fought with Rome were often granted full Roman citizenship.

Under Gaius Marius, the army was reorganised into legions generally numbering 4,800 to 6,000 soldiers, each divided into ten cohorts containing six centuries of 100 men. Each unit lived, trained, marched and fought together, forming the basis of a cohesive fighting force. Soldiers were equipped with common weapons, including a javelin redesigned by Gaius Marius himself and the short sword, or gladius. Gaius Marius abolished distinctive insignia, standardising the eagle as the symbol of the army and furthering esprit de corps.


Gaius Marius leads the Roman army to victory against the Cimbri


Gaius Marius initiated sweeping changes within the Roman army


Gaius Marius is depicted during a period of exile among the ruins of Carthage

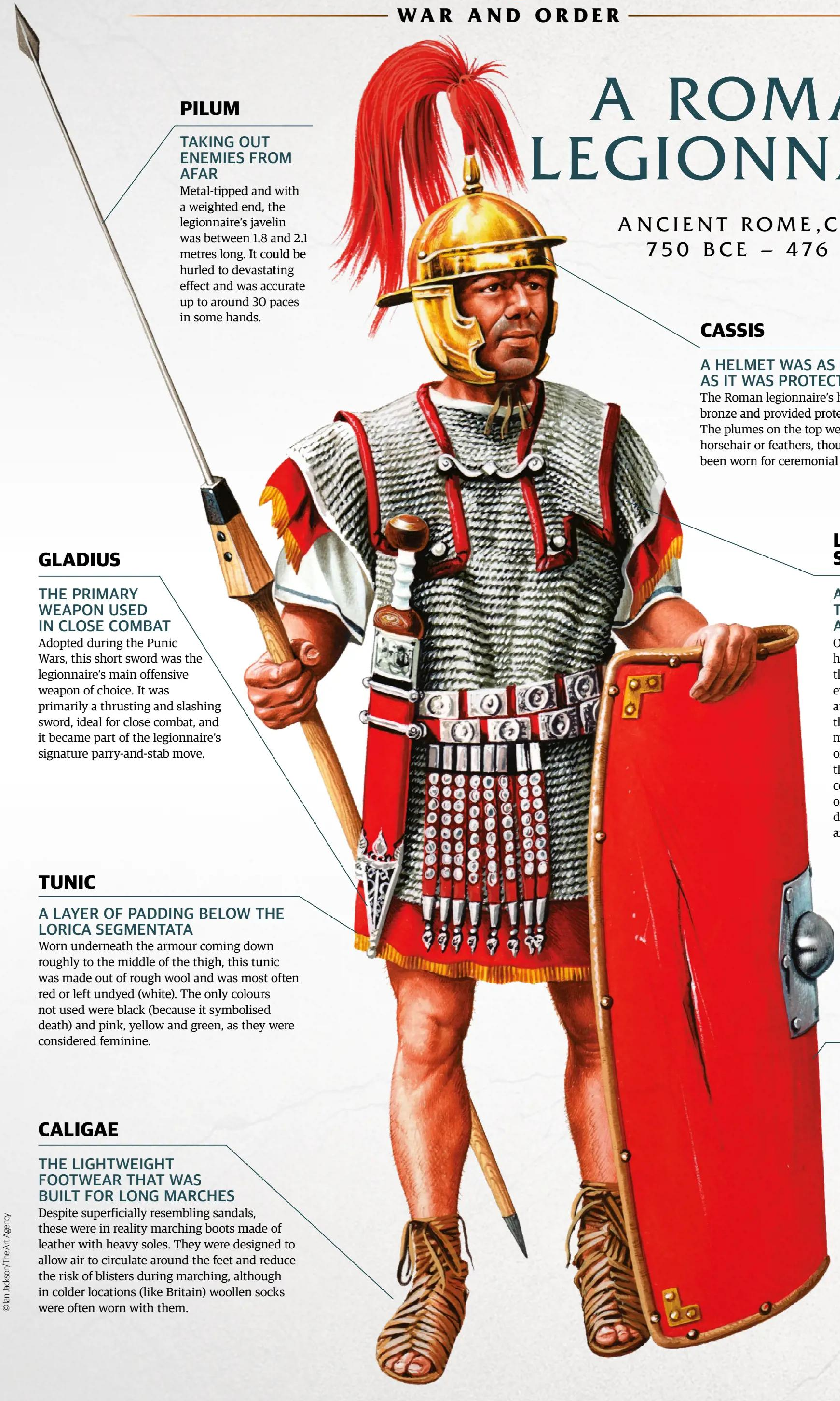
To improve the army’s mobility, Gaius Marius dramatically reduced the number of pack animals employed, eliminating ponderous, vulnerable trains that followed the legions during campaigns. Each soldier carried his own rations, camp equipment, armament and baggage (typically up to 27 kilograms) on his shoulders with the aid of a forked pole that made the load more manageable. The result was an army nicknamed ‘Marius’ Mules’ but one much better suited to lengthy marches while more responsive to opportunities and threats in the field.

The Marian reforms created the Roman army that came to dominate the known world. Still, there was an unintended consequence. Soldiers soon became more loyal to their commanders than to the state, contributing to the unrest that later developed as powerful military leaders and politicians vied for supremacy and plunged the Republic into civil war. Ultimately, the legacy of Gaius Marius must be footnoted with the evolution of Rome from a stable republic to being ruled as an empire.

© Alamy

A ROMAN LEGIONNAIRE

ANCIENT ROME, CIRCA
750 BCE – 476 CE



PILUM

TAKING OUT ENEMIES FROM AFAR

Metal-tipped and with a weighted end, the legionnaire's javelin was between 1.8 and 2.1 metres long. It could be hurled to devastating effect and was accurate up to around 30 paces in some hands.

GLADIUS

THE PRIMARY WEAPON USED IN CLOSE COMBAT

Adopted during the Punic Wars, this short sword was the legionnaire's main offensive weapon of choice. It was primarily a thrusting and slashing sword, ideal for close combat, and it became part of the legionnaire's signature parry-and-stab move.

TUNIC

A LAYER OF PADDING BELOW THE LORICA SEGMENTATA

Worn underneath the armour coming down roughly to the middle of the thigh, this tunic was made out of rough wool and was most often red or left undyed (white). The only colours not used were black (because it symbolised death) and pink, yellow and green, as they were considered feminine.

CALIGAE

THE LIGHTWEIGHT FOOTWEAR THAT WAS BUILT FOR LONG MARCHES

Despite superficially resembling sandals, these were in reality marching boots made of leather with heavy soles. They were designed to allow air to circulate around the feet and reduce the risk of blisters during marching, although in colder locations (like Britain) woollen socks were often worn with them.

CASSIS

A HELMET WAS AS MUCH FOR SHOW AS IT WAS PROTECTION

The Roman legionnaire's helmet was made from bronze and provided protection for the whole head. The plumes on the top were usually made from horsehair or feathers, though they may have only been worn for ceremonial duties.

LORICA SEGMENTATA

A COAT OF METAL TO DEFLECT ATTACKS

Once only used by the highest-ranking soldiers, this form of armour eventually became standard after the Romans perfected the ability to mass produce metal goods. Consisting of strips of iron or steel that had been heated by coal and quenched in oil or water, it was perfect for deflecting swords strikes and arrows.

SCUTUM

A SHIELD USED FOR BOTH DEFENCE AND OFFENCE

Constructed from plywood and covered in leather, this oval-shaped shield was over a metre in length and proved a valuable defence against ranged weapons. Up close, it could also be used as a weapon to pummel the enemy.

© Ian Jackson/The Art Agency

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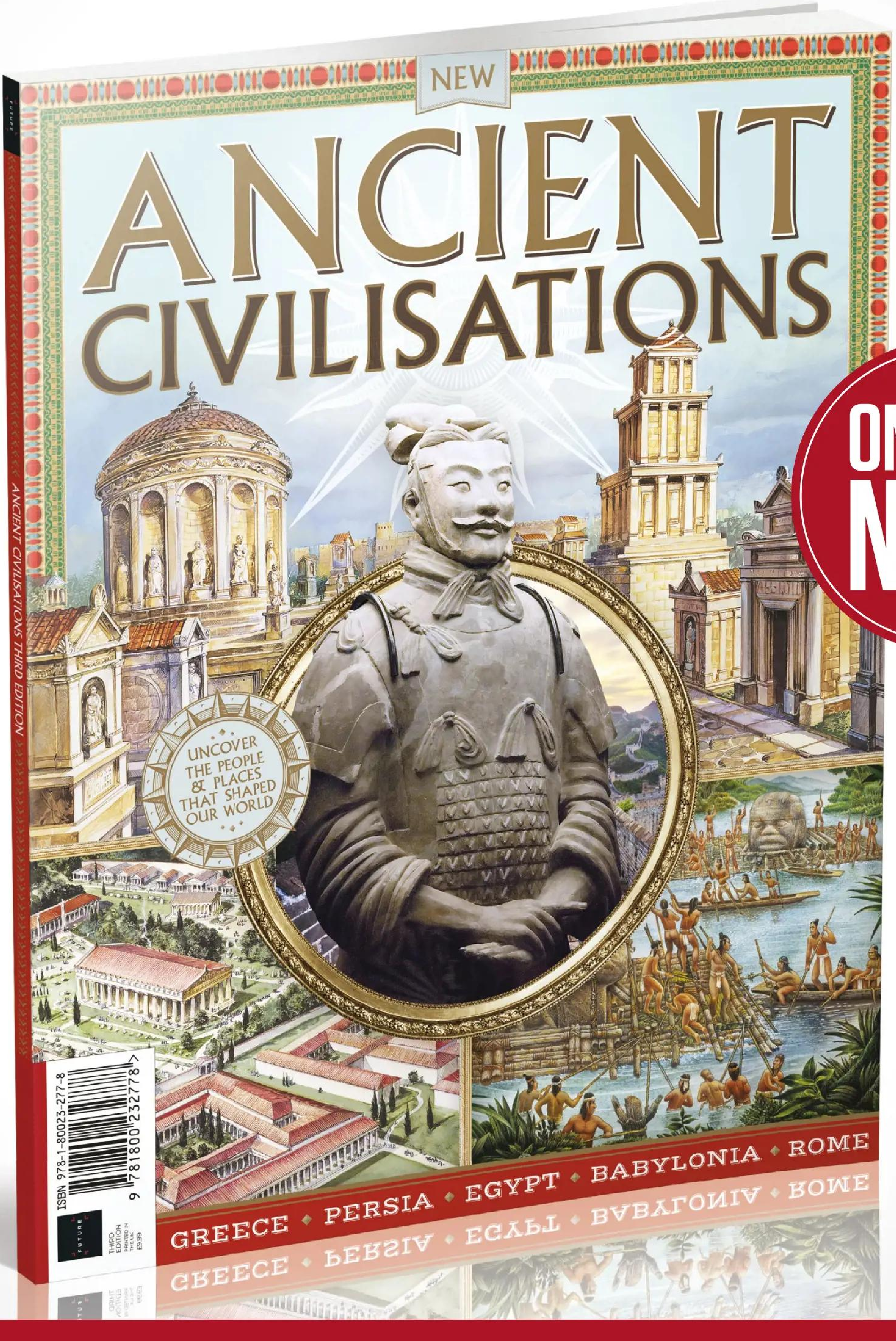
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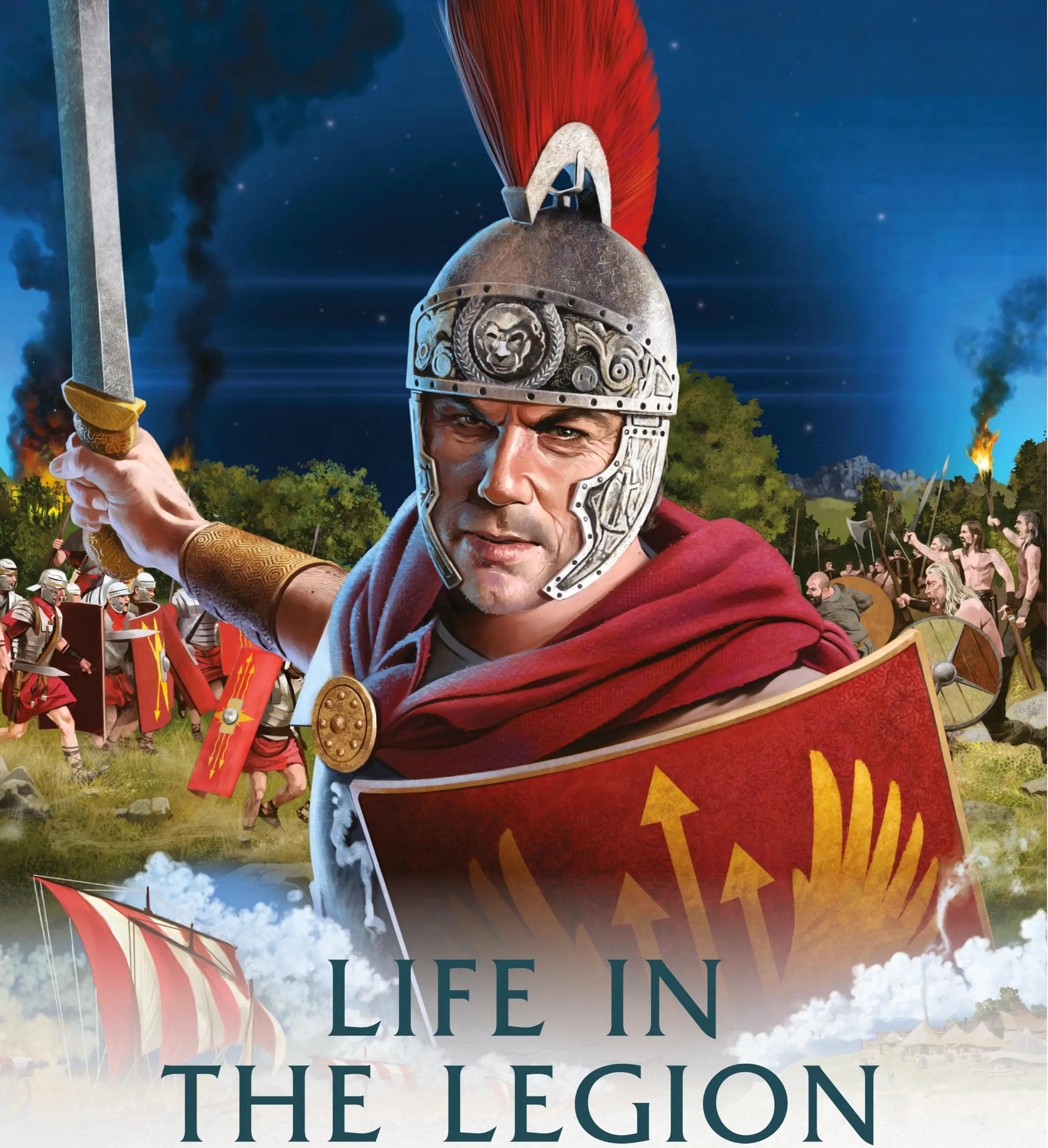


LIFE IN THE LEGION

ROME'S RANKS WERE FILLED WITH SOME OF THE BEST-TRAINED SOLDIERS IN THE WORLD, FORMING ONE FORMIDABLE FORCE

Written by Tim Williamson

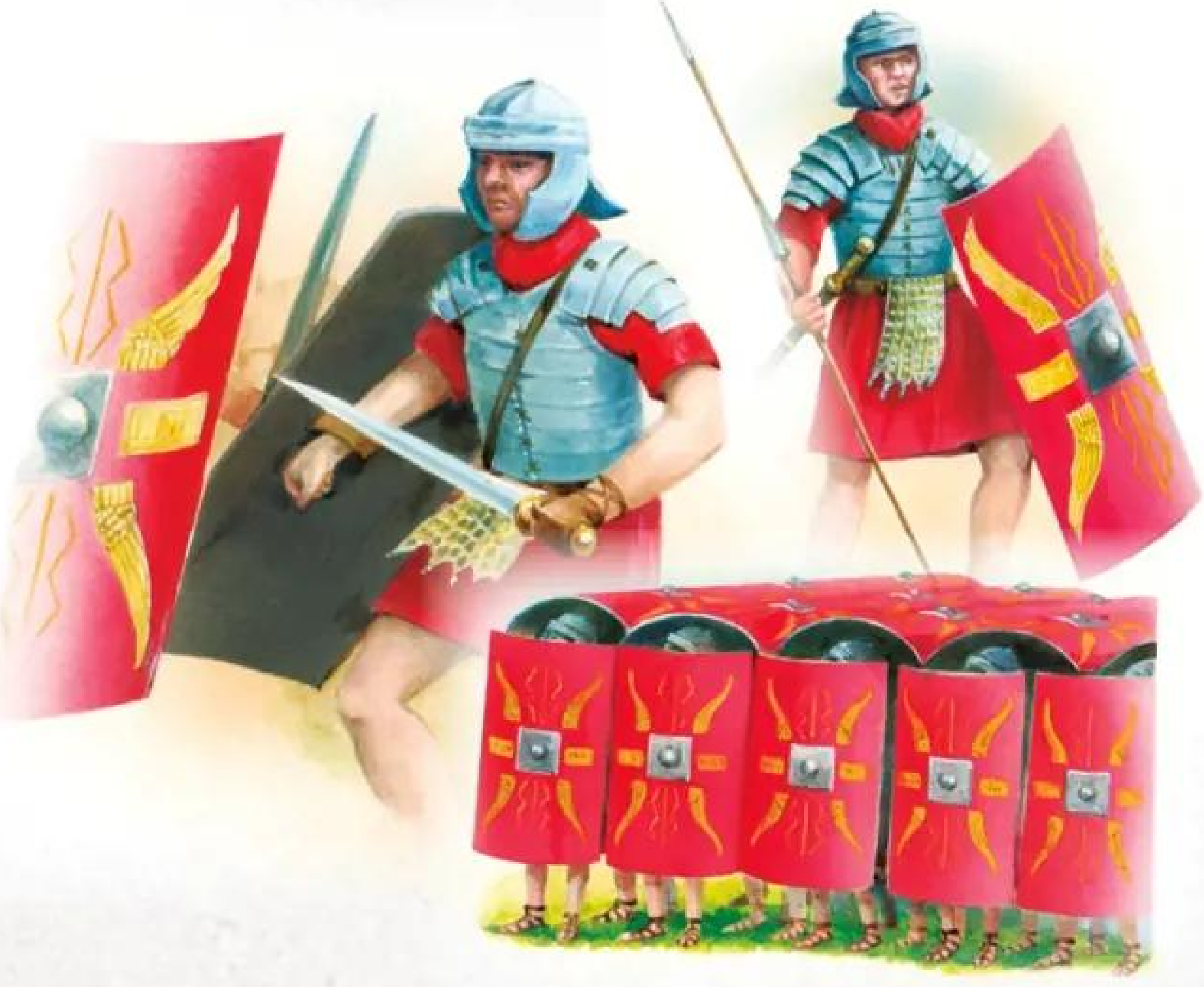
Roman armies were highly organised and supremely disciplined entities of war. Each legion numbered around 5,000 men, all trained and armed to defeat enemies from all across the vast Roman territories. The backbone of a legion was its legionaries, heavy infantry with sworn allegiance to the Senate and the people of Rome (Senatus Populusque Romanus) and later to the emperor.

However, the daily lives of these men weren't filled with glorious adventures fighting Rome's enemies but were instead governed by strict routine, endless hours of marching and yet more hours spent training.

As a legionary, you would march, work, eat, fight and rest alongside the men of your contubernium, or squad. Each contubernium contained eight soldiers, with ten contubernia making up one centuria. At the end of each day's march, after constructing the legion's fortifications for the night, each squad would set up its own tent then enjoy some precious down time. One servant was assigned to each squad, and they who would repair kit, cook, clean and carry out any general chores for the soldiers. At least one member of each squad would be assigned to guard duty throughout the night, before the camp rose at the crack of dawn and prepared to march once more.

TRAINING AND DRILLS

Officers trained their men mercilessly using techniques and combat styles developed by gladiators. Experience of the competitive and bloody contests in the arenas had made gladiator trainers experts in teaching fighters how to best their opponents. New recruits practised with wooden swords and shields, which were heavier than the equipment they would be armed with in a battle. This was intended to build up strength and stamina for the real fight. Practising on wooden stakes, recruits repeated drills to strike at the head, legs and torso areas, all while dodging and blocking as if their lives depended on it.



New recruits would have to master the pilum (javelin) and the gladius (sword), as well as battlefield formations

These re-enactors are playing the role of auxiliary cavalry, armed with spears and longer swords for cutting down the enemy

The next stage of training was the armatura, a sparring exercise that pitched two soldiers head-to-head. Wielding blunted or covered blades to avoid injury, soldiers attacked and parried one another using the same techniques learned fighting the wooden stakes. Legionaries trained in this way throughout their careers so as to maintain their skills. In fact, it was so important to the legions that buildings were constructed especially for this purpose, so practice could continue regardless of the weather. Those who underperformed during training were punished with a reduction in their rations, heavy fines or even a rough beating from an officer.

Weakness or dissent in the ranks could mean the difference between victory and defeat on the battlefield, so strict discipline was often enforced through harsh punishments. Depending on the circumstances, crimes such as theft, desertion or even falling asleep on duty could be met with a whipping, demotion or even public execution – usually by being clubbed to death. In very rare circumstances where entire units ran away in the face of the enemy, the sentence of decimation was carried out – one in every ten of the accused would be executed. The fear of such a fate was usually enough to bolster the courage of any wavering squad or centuria.

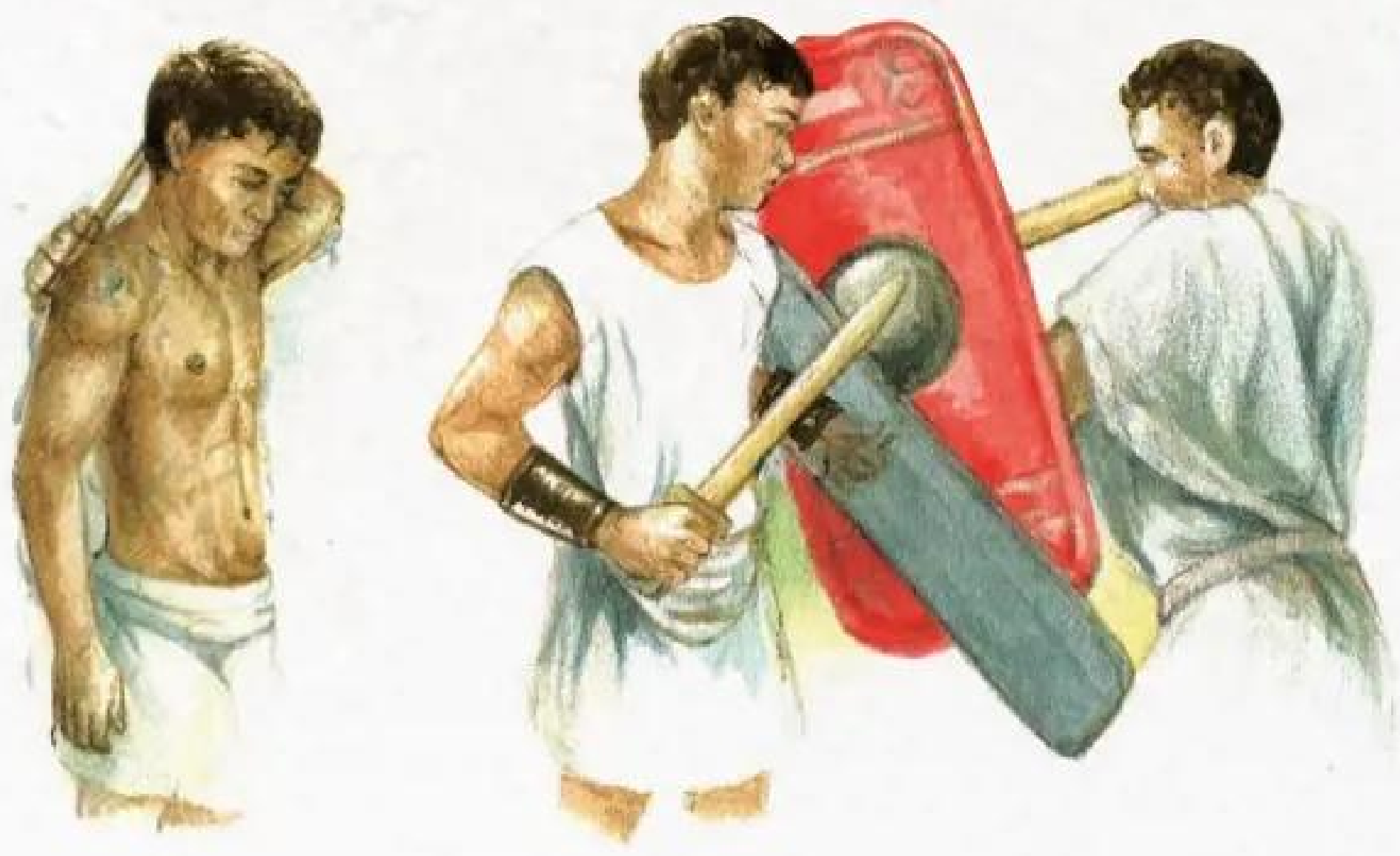
BLOOD AND COIN

A regular wage was one of the key attractions for recruits, and legionaries were the highest-paid units in the army. Through promotion and time served, soldiers could hope to receive pay-and-a-half (sesquiplicarius), and veteran troops eventually could get double pay (duplicarius). While auxiliary recruits were generally paid a little less, they had the additional lure of being granted full Roman citizenship on completion of 25 years' military service.

Anyone looking to earn a little more could seek out both wealth and glory in war. In the

A DAY IN ROME'S RANKS

Backbreaking work, relentless training and routine marches were just a few of the daily tasks facing legionaries

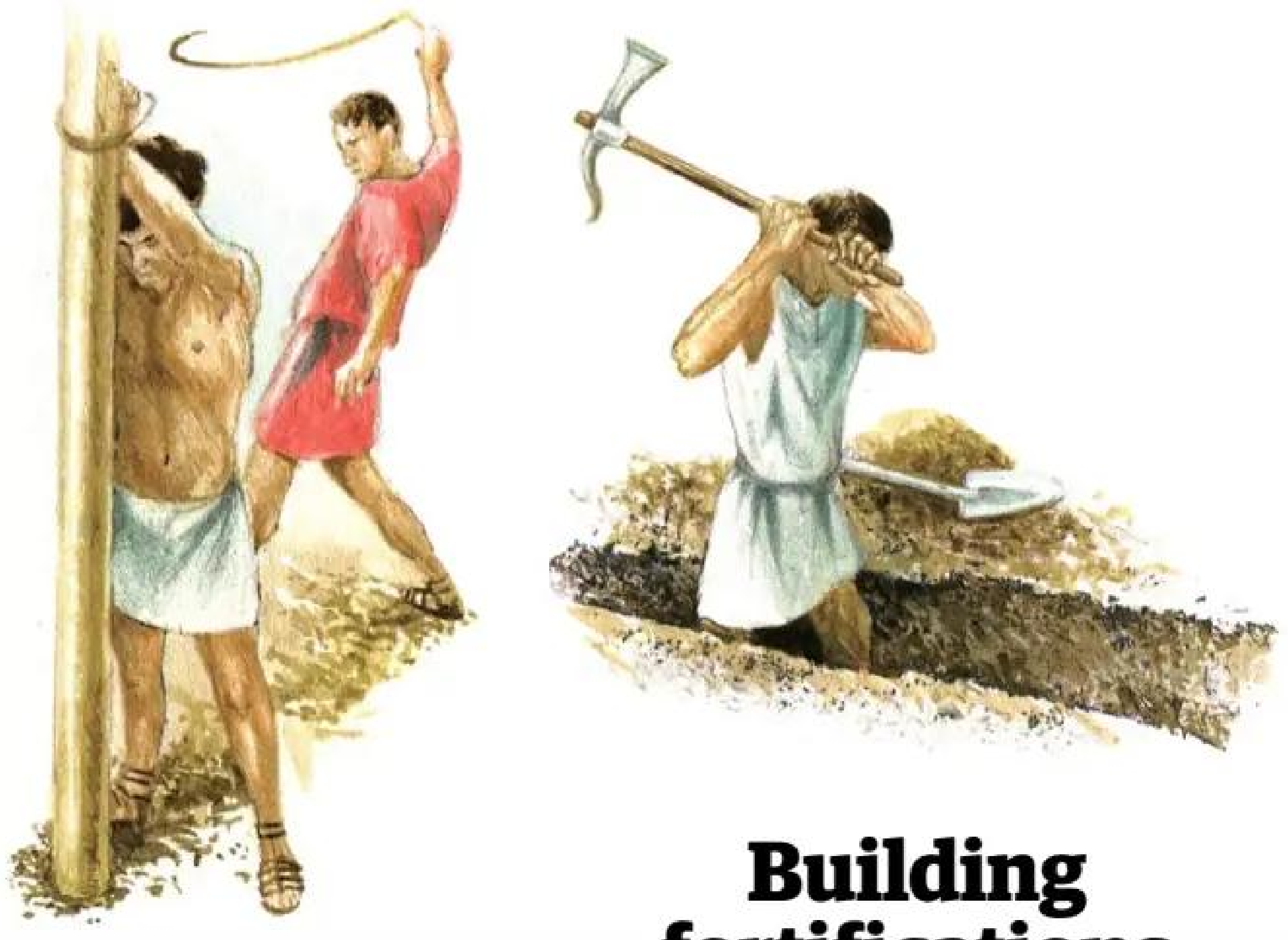


Washing

Soldiers were expected to maintain their own equipment but also their own personal hygiene during their limited free time each day. While barracks often had comfortable adjoining bathhouses, when on campaign troops would wash with whatever resources they could find.

Training

Soldiers were expected to train daily, practising for real combat with wooden swords, slings, bows and javelins. Repeating tough battlefield drills prepared soldiers mentally and physically to face the enemy for real.

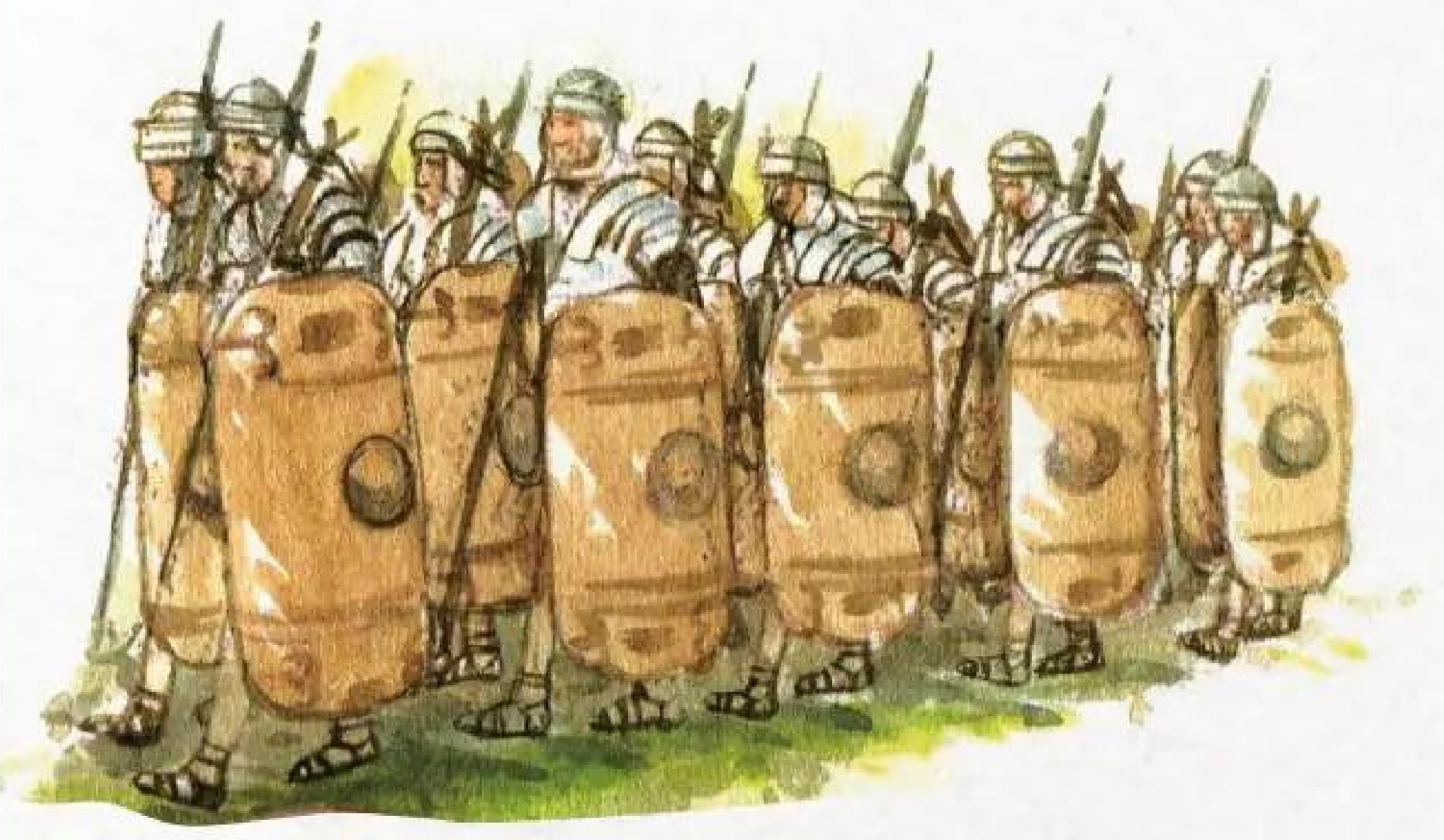


Martial punishment

Discipline was essential in the army, and breaking any rules could earn a severe sentence. Theft, desertion, disobeying orders and other crimes were often punishable by demotion, beatings, flogging or even public execution by clubbing.

Building fortifications

All soldiers would help construct a new temporary fortification at the end of each day's march, building trenches and wooden walls around the camp. This meant that no matter where the army travelled it could ensure some level of protection from enemy attacks at night.



Marching

An army would be regularly ordered to march up to nine hours per day, with each soldier carrying their equipment and rations, which could weigh up to 40 kilograms. Disciplined marching was often the first thing taught to new recruits.

aftermath of a battle, generals were known to reward particularly brave actions, or those who had received grisly wounds in the line of duty. After the Battle of Dyrrhachium (48 BCE), for example, Julius Caesar was presented with a shield that had been pierced by over 100 arrows – he rewarded its owner, a centurion, with riches and honourable promotion.

However, during campaigns men often found less honourable ways to gain wealth. After a successful conquest, generals would often allow their men to pillage and loot, enabling legionaries to fill their pockets with the spoils of war. In many extreme cases, generals used this as a way to secure the loyalty of the army and prevent possible mutinies in the ranks. Legionaries lucky to live long enough could receive a bonus of 12,000 sesterces (praemia) upon retiring or even be granted land to settle down, often within the same region in which they served.

DECLINE OF THE LEGIONS

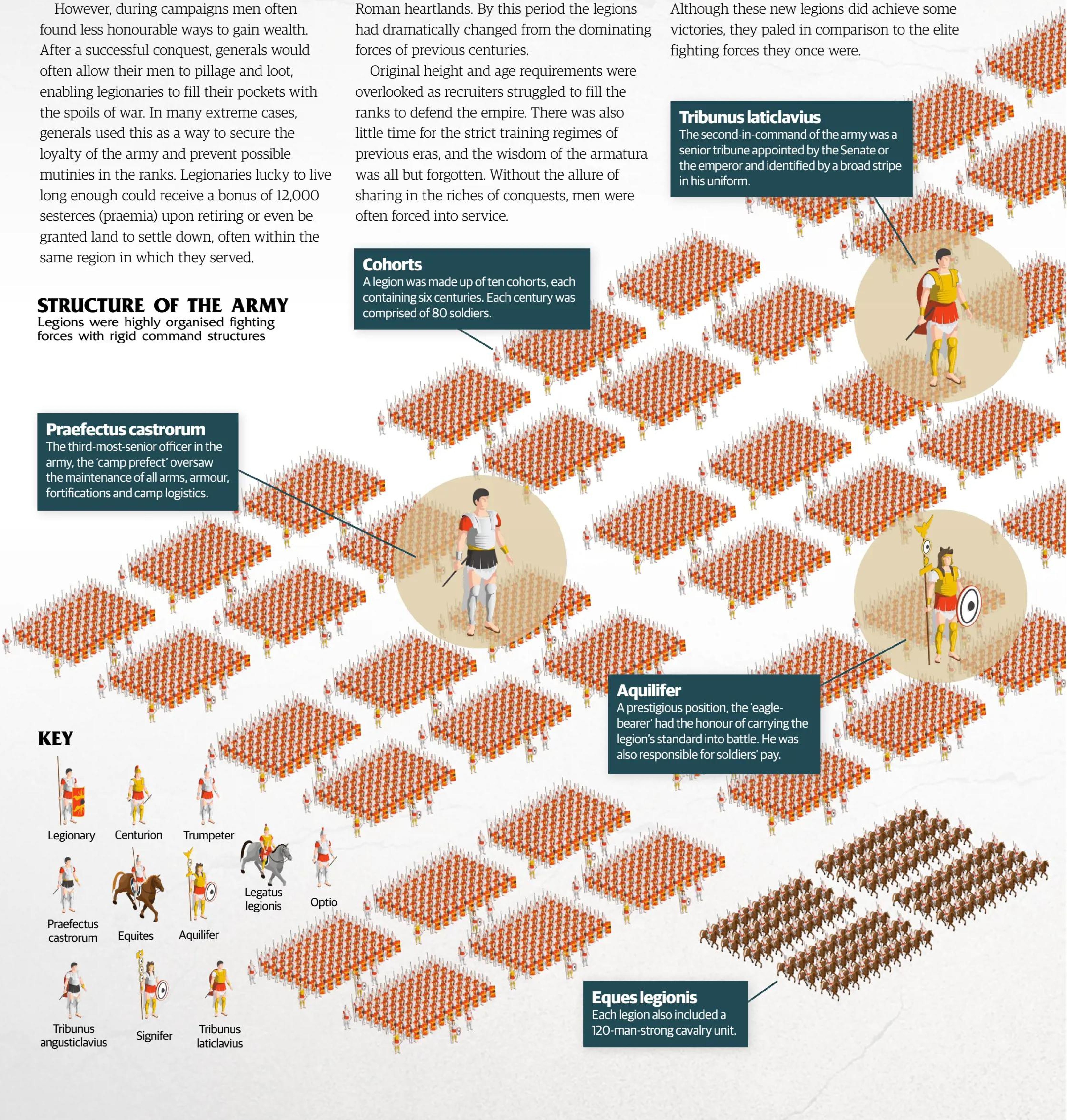
Towards the middle of the 4th century CE, the Roman Empire was past the height of its power, and several fearsome tribes – Goths, Vandals, Huns and others – began threatening its borders. Armies garrisoned at the furthest edges of imperial territory, such as in Britain, were marched back down the roads to defend Roman heartlands. By this period the legions had dramatically changed from the dominating forces of previous centuries.

Original height and age requirements were overlooked as recruiters struggled to fill the ranks to defend the empire. There was also little time for the strict training regimes of previous eras, and the wisdom of the armatura was all but forgotten. Without the allure of sharing in the riches of conquests, men were often forced into service.

By this time, non-citizens were no longer prevented from becoming legionaries, while Roman citizens were also as likely to join auxiliary units. This meant that Rome's armies were no longer filled with men from the regions close to Rome itself but from among so-called 'barbarian' territories conquered by the empire, some even from beyond its borders. Although these new legions did achieve some victories, they paled in comparison to the elite fighting forces they once were.

STRUCTURE OF THE ARMY

Legions were highly organised fighting forces with rigid command structures



Tribunus laticlavius
The second-in-command of the army was a senior tribune appointed by the Senate or the emperor and identified by a broad stripe in his uniform.

Cohorts
A legion was made up of ten cohorts, each containing six centuries. Each century was comprised of 80 soldiers.

Praefectus castrorum
The third-most-senior officer in the army, the 'camp prefect' oversaw the maintenance of all arms, armour, fortifications and camp logistics.

Aquilifer
A prestigious position, the 'eagle-bearer' had the honour of carrying the legion's standard into battle. He was also responsible for soldiers' pay.

Eques legionis
Each legion also included a 120-man-strong cavalry unit.

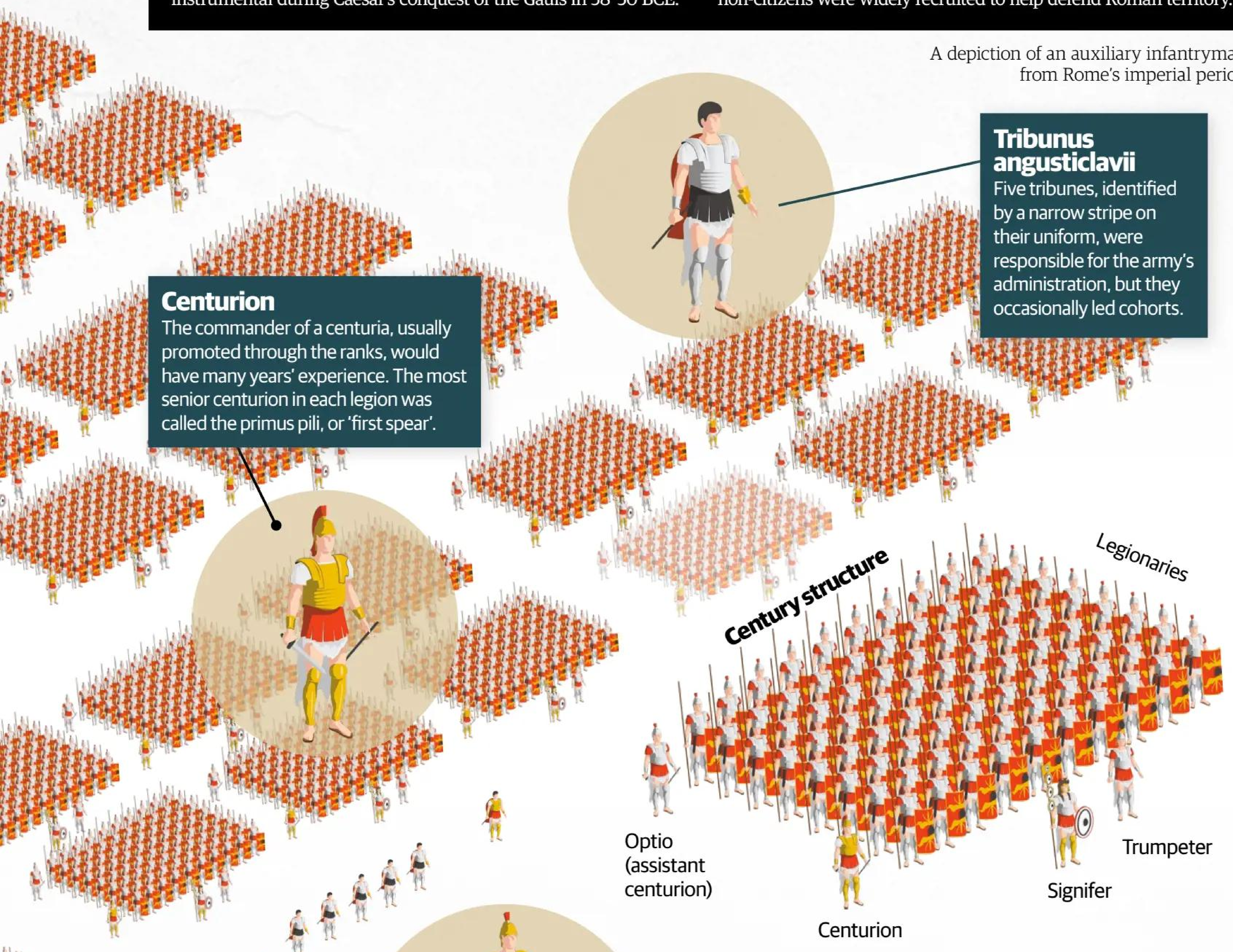
KEY

AUXILIARIES

Although heavy infantry formed the backbone of Roman armies, specialist troops such as archers, slingers and cavalrymen were also crucial on the battlefield. These units were largely recruited from conquered territories, such as Gaul, Greece, Germania and Britain. Archers from Crete, for instance, were renowned for their skill with the bow, while German cavalrymen proved instrumental during Caesar's conquest of the Gauls in 58-50 BCE.

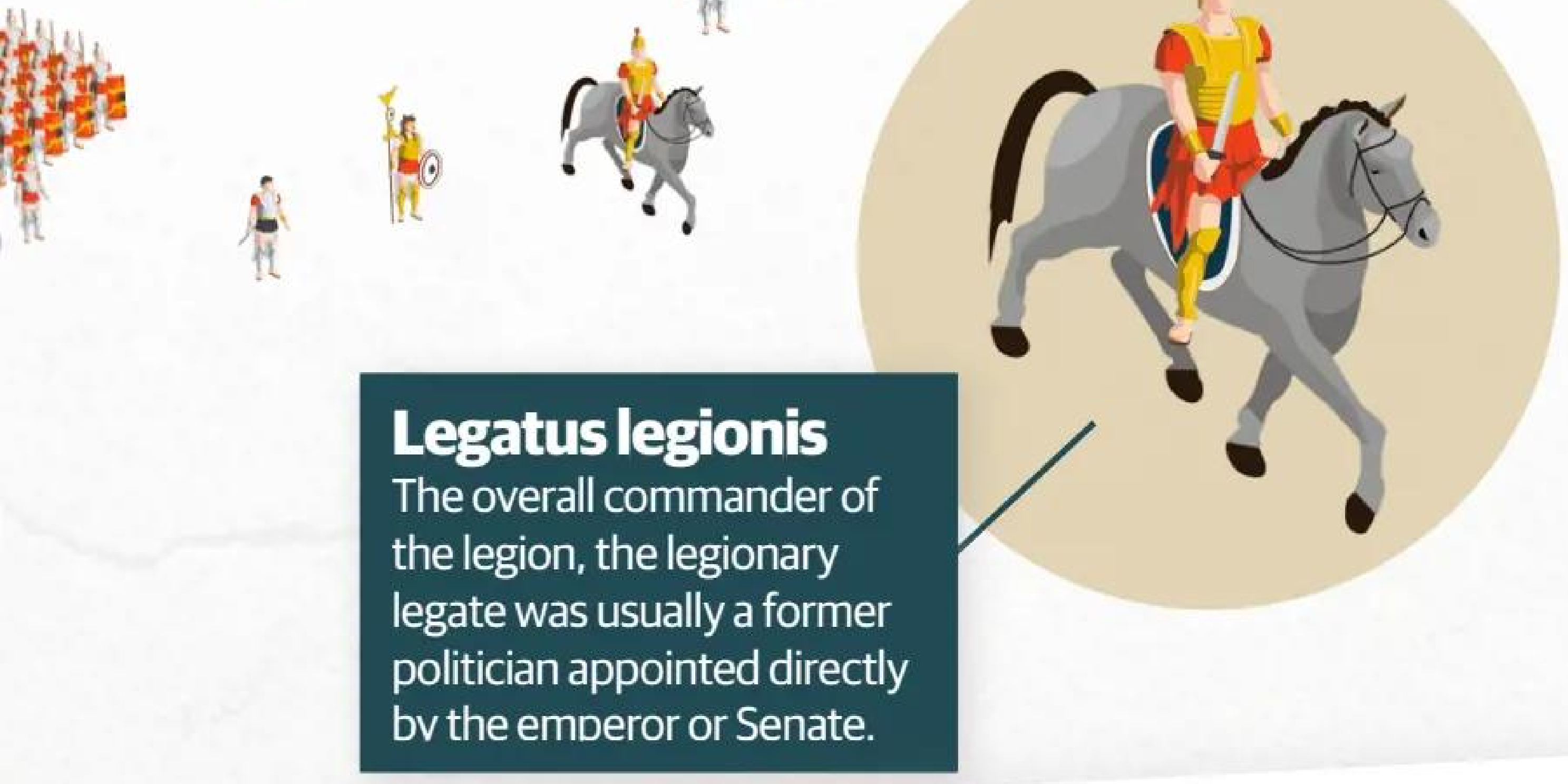
While auxiliary units were often raised and disbanded to meet the needs of a legion, the Romans became increasingly reliant on them. Unlike their legionary comrades, these men were not considered Roman citizens, but citizenship could be earned through lengthy service. As the empire began to decline, auxiliary and legionary units became almost indistinguishable. Eventually, non-citizens were widely recruited to help defend Roman territory.

A depiction of an auxiliary infantryman from Rome's imperial period



Tribunus angusticlavii
Five tribunes, identified by a narrow stripe on their uniform, were responsible for the army's administration, but they occasionally led cohorts.

Centurion
The commander of a centuria, usually promoted through the ranks, would have many years' experience. The most senior centurion in each legion was called the primus pili, or 'first spear'.



Legatus legionis
The overall commander of the legion, the legionary legate was usually a former politician appointed directly by the emperor or Senate.

ROMAN LEGION RECRUITMENT REQUIREMENTS

1 Citizenship
Only a citizen of Rome could become a legionary. Freed or current slaves were not permitted to join the ranks, although this rule was relaxed as the needs of the army changed.

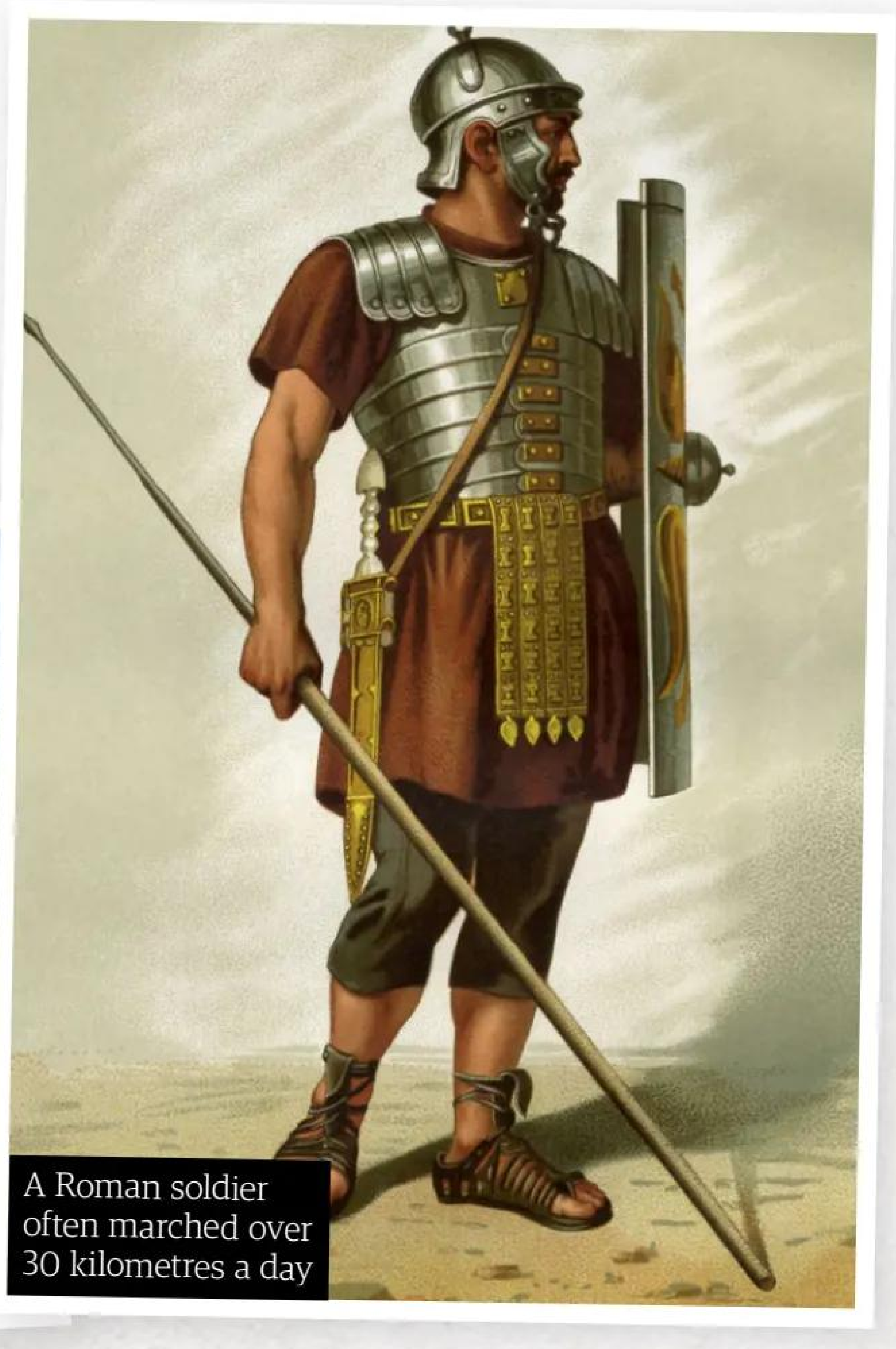
2 Height
Recruits were expected to be a minimum height of 1.72 metres, though for some roles even taller men were required. Even so, it is thought that this rule was not always strictly followed by the military recruiters.

3 Age
Boys as young as 17 could join the ranks, and men generally aged anywhere up to their mid-20s would be accepted. In desperate times, this maximum age was extended to 35.

4 Education
Although the ordinary soldier did not need any education, those wishing to gain officer posts needed basic numeracy and literacy skills.

5 Strength
Most important was the recruit's health, stamina, eyesight and strength. Soldiers incapable of carrying out the highly physical tasks demanded of them were often discharged from the army.

A reenactment shows a centuria on the march, led by a centurion, signifers and a trumpeter



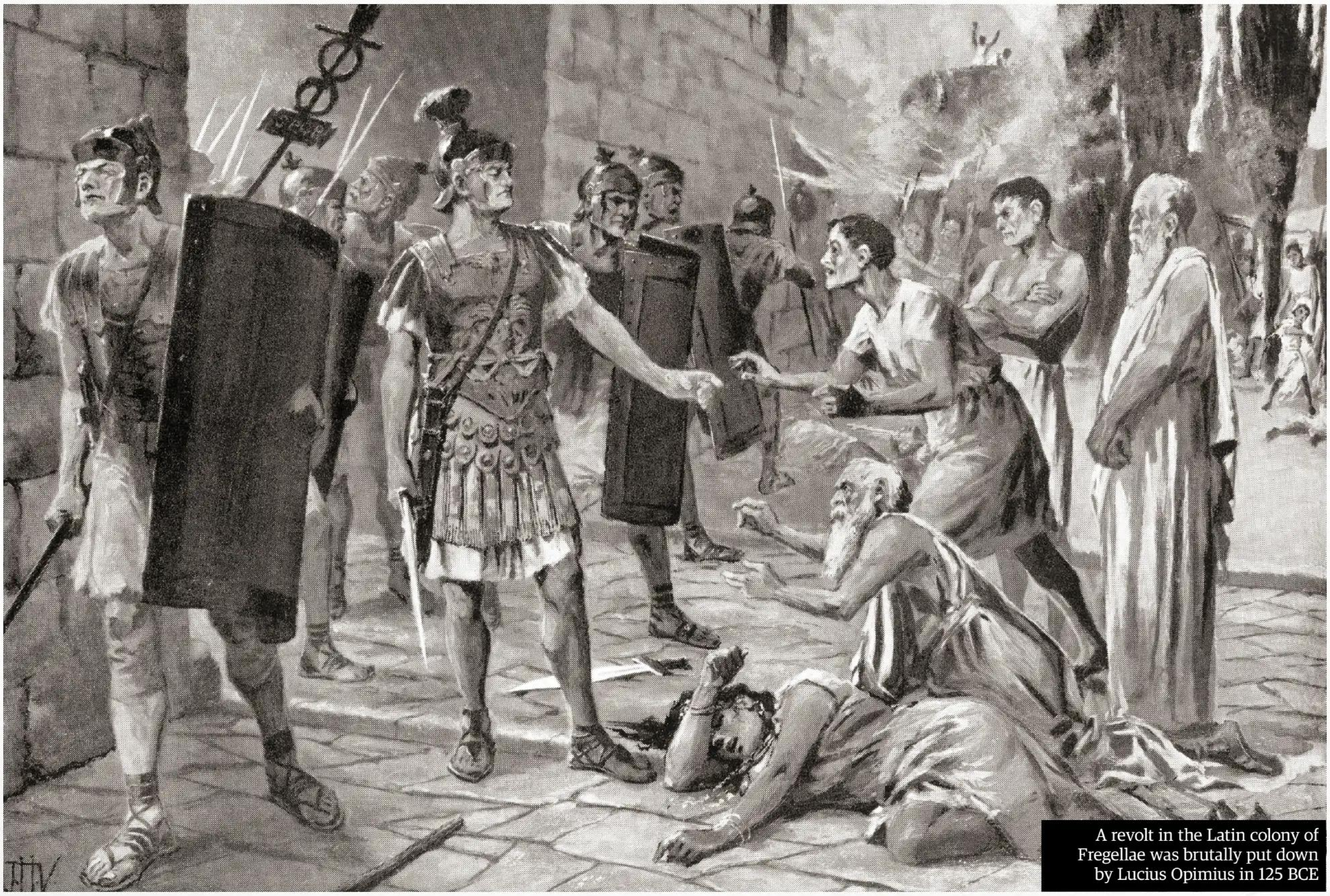
A Roman soldier often marched over 30 kilometres a day

© Getty; Illustration by Ed Crooks; Alamy

THE SOCIAL WAR

AFTER ONE PROVOCATION TOO MANY, ROME'S OPPRESSED ITALIAN ALLIES FINALLY SNAPPED, DEMANDING CITIZENSHIP BY THE SWORD

Written by Hareth Al Bustani

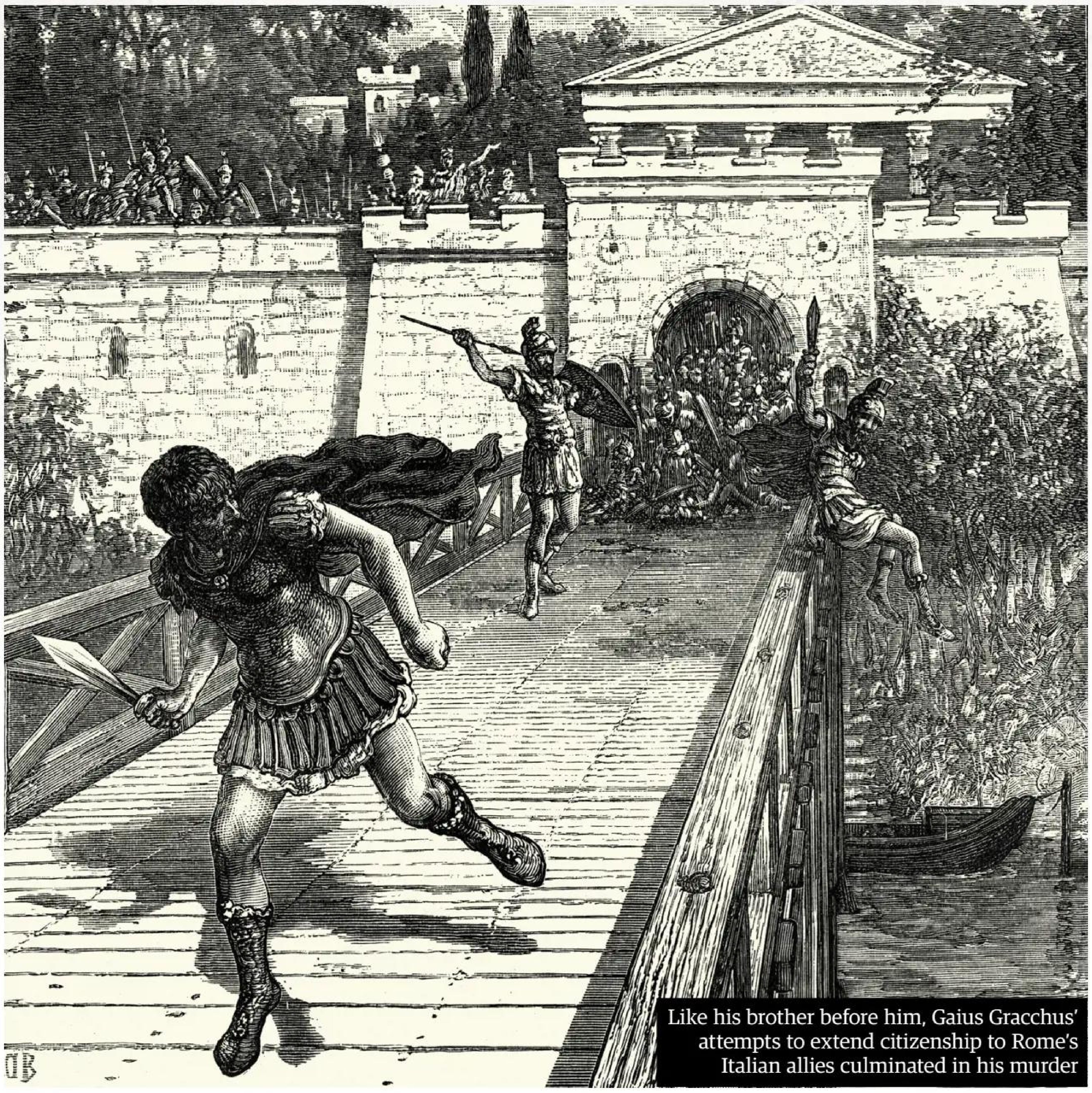


A revolt in the Latin colony of Fregellae was brutally put down by Lucius Opimius in 125 BCE

> "When Marius arrived, he caught the Italians stripping the corpses of his comrades and wiped them out"

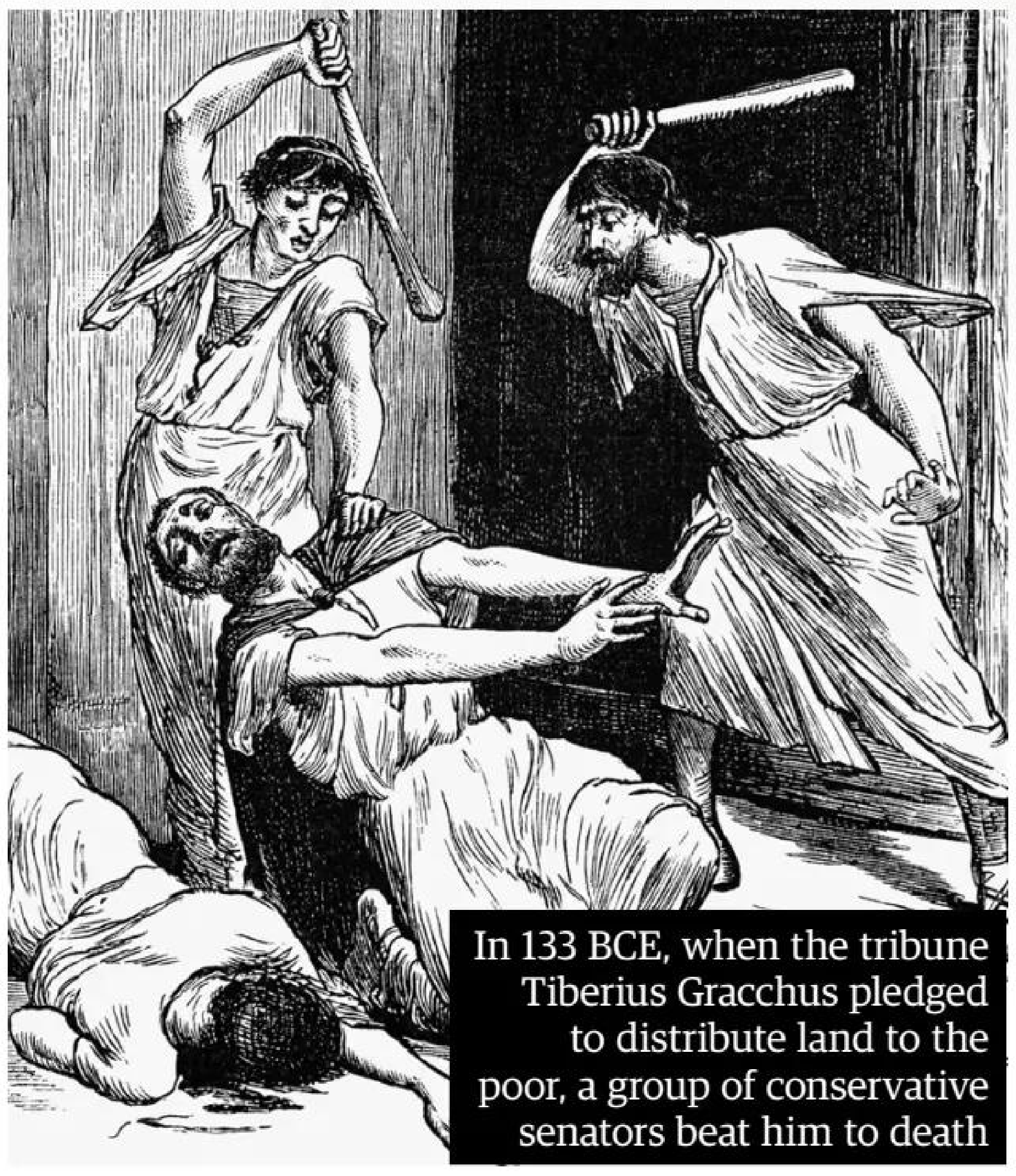
In 133 BCE, when the tribune of the plebs, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, proposed a plan to distribute land to poor Romans, a group of conservative senators beat him and hundreds of his supporters to death, hurling their bodies into the River Tiber. A decade later, Tiberius' brother, Gaius, proposed an even more radical idea; extending Roman citizenship to all Latin citizens. In a fiery speech, he recounted the story of a travelling Roman consul who had the mayor of a small town stripped naked, tied to a stake and beaten just because the local baths did not meet his wife's standards. Such was life in the Republic for Italians without Roman citizenship.

Though they spoke the same language, Rome's Latin allies were less than second-class citizens; they were not citizens at all. They had no right to vote, let alone run for office, and despite making up half of the Roman army, they received less spoils. In distant provinces like the Cycladic commercial hub of Delos, Roman and Italian traders were indistinguishable from one another. Yet, back on the peninsula, the Latin allies were treated like foreign barbarians.



Like his brother before him, Gaius Gracchus' attempts to extend citizenship to Rome's Italian allies culminated in his murder

Despite making up more than half of Rome's armies, the Italian allies enjoyed less benefits



In 133 BCE, when the tribune Tiberius Gracchus pledged to distribute land to the poor, a group of conservative senators beat him to death

Some senators felt that extending citizenship to the Italian allies was a moral and practical inevitability. Others were terrified at the prospect of diluting the voting pool. As one opponent scowled, "Don't you realise they'll take over everything?"

In 125 BCE, one of Rome's most loyal allies, the Latin colony of Fregellae, rose up in revolt. Desperate to set a precedent, the Roman politician Lucius Opimius responded with fury, razing the colony to the ground. Four years later, while serving as consul, Opimius had the rabble-rouser Gaius killed, clogging the Tiber with the corpses of his supporters. However, the cause lived on.

During the Cimbrian War, the veteran general Gaius Marius, who had dragged himself from provincial obscurity to the forefront of politics, awarded citizenship to scores of Italian soldiers for valour. So, when the consuls of 95 BCE set up an inquiry to strip citizenship from allies who were seen as having usurped it, the Latins were understandably infuriated. After yet another reformer, Marcus Livius Drusus, was stabbed to death in his home, it sent a message to Rome's allies that diplomacy was no longer an option.

The fault lines finally ruptured in Asculum. When a visiting Roman praetor insulted a group of local Picentines, they not only killed him but every Roman in the city before torturing and scalping their wives. The insurrection spread across the Italian Peninsula like wildfire.

Rome's allies defected en masse, forming a new state of their own, Italia, with their own consuls – the Marsian Quintus Pompaedius Silo commanding the northern front and the Samnite Gaius Papius Mutilus leading the south. They even minted their own coins, depicting the image of Italy, a bull, goring a wolf, the symbol of Rome. However, while some wanted to cast off the Roman yoke entirely, most simply wanted to be accepted as equals. After all, as evidenced in their coinage, produced to Roman standards, there was no denying the fact: they were Roman.

Hoping for a decisive victory, the Roman general Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo led four legions south, only to be ambushed after crossing a river by a huge Picentine army. As fighting broke out, two more armies, from the Vestini and Marsi tribes, poured onto the field, forcing Strabo to withdraw to the colony of Firmum Picenum, where he was besieged.

One of the year's new consuls, Publius Rutilius Lupus, took charge of Rome's response in the east and north, assisted by the veteran Gaius Marius and the less experienced Quintus Servilius Caepio. The other consul, Lucius Julius Caesar, meanwhile, headed south with Marius' protégé, Lucius Cornelius Sulla, to crush the mighty Samnites. However, when Caesar tried to intercept a Marsi army along the way he was promptly overpowered and forced to flee – shamefully leaving 2,000 of his veterans behind to face their deaths.

Things were not much better for Lupus' armies heading east along the Via Valeria. While Marius knew the Italian soldiers were more experienced than his new recruits, Lupus seemed to think they would flee just at the sight of the Romans. In spring, an army under the leadership of the legate Gaius Perperna was attacked while traversing the Marsi Mountains. Terrified, Perperna and his men hurled aside their equipment and ran away, leaving 4,000 of their comrades to die. When Perperna returned to Carseoli, the enraged Lupus stripped the cowardly commander of his rank and sent him to Rome with his tail between his legs.

Pressing on, Lupus and Marius split up, hoping to reunite deeper into Marsi lands. However, the overconfident Lupus was killed in yet another ambush alongside 8,000 of his men. When Marius arrived, he caught the Italians stripping the corpses of his comrades and wiped them out. Hoping to convey the gravity of the dire situation to Rome, the veteran sent the bodies of Lupus and his officers to the capital. The city declared a state of mourning, overwhelmed not just by their losses but by the shame of defeat.

Rather than sending a suffect consul to replace Lupus, the Romans instead gave joint power to Marius and Caepio – something that enraged Marius, who had hoped to lead alone. After beating back a Marsi raid, the haughty Caepio dared to order Marius to regroup with him in Carseoli. When Marius refused, Caepio was forced to proceed alone and was cut off and killed by Silo. Facing a joint Marsi-Marruncini attack, Marius masterfully lured the enemy into attacking him on ground favourable to his own forces. The Italians were forced to retreat only to smash into Sulla, who crept in behind and trapped the 6,000 rebels in a walled-off network of vineyards before hacking them to pieces.

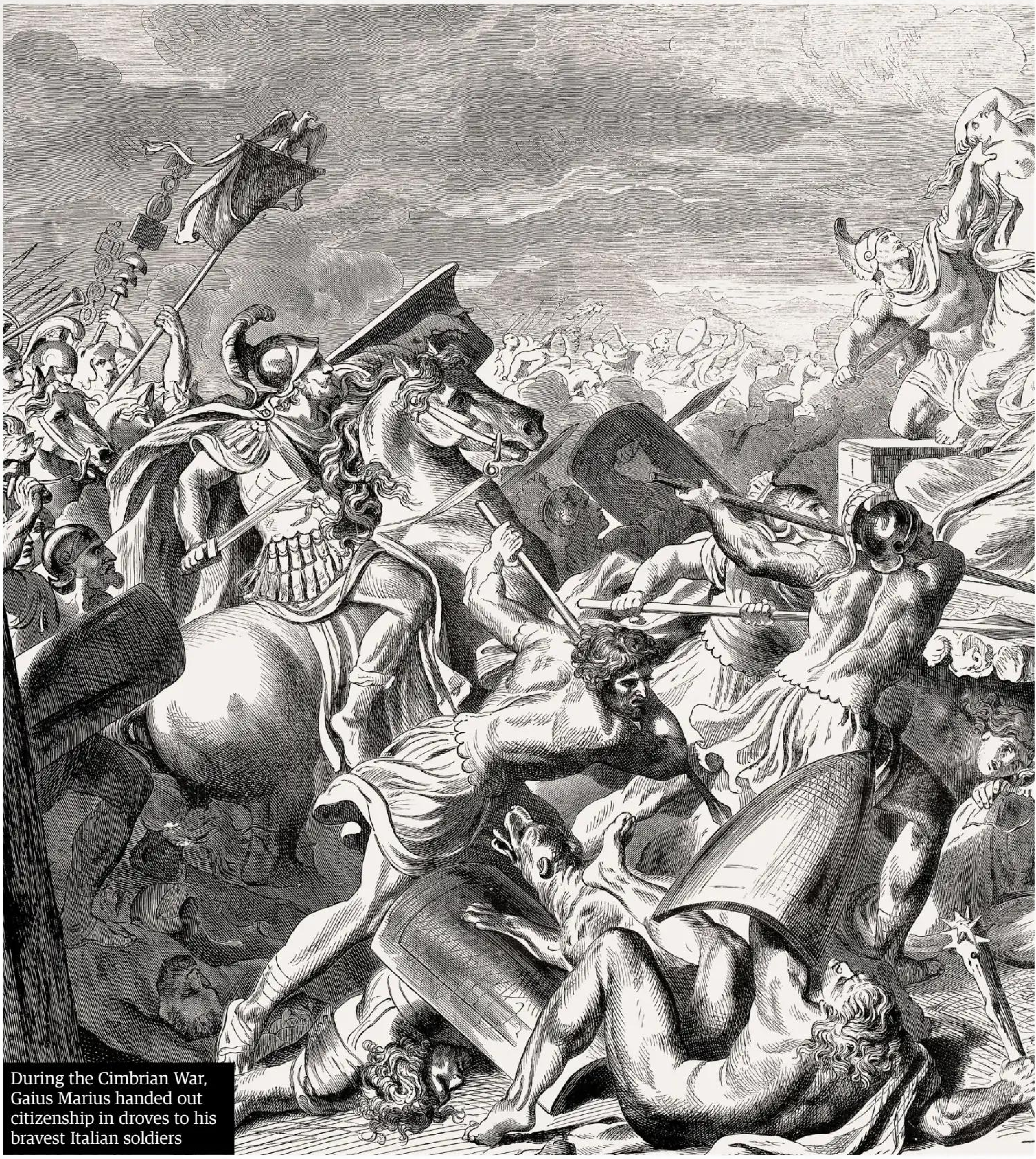
The Romans celebrated Caesar's defeat of the Samnite general Mutilus by calling off their mourning, and as the campaigning season drew to a close, Strabo delivered yet more good news, encircling and defeating his besiegers. After being hailed by his men as imperator, Caesar returned to the capital to enjoy a triumph. With the Senate desperate to divide its enemies, keenly aware that Rome was in serious danger, there was now little opposition to Caesar's final act as consul: passing the groundbreaking Lex Julia, granting Roman citizenship to any Italian city not at war with the Republic.

The tribunes followed up by passing the Lex Plautia Papia, stipulating that any Italian, no matter the status of their city, could apply for citizenship by reporting to the praetor in the capital before the start of the next campaign season. With that, the Romans took away the motive for the vast majority of their enemies, leaving just the diehard separatists up in arms.

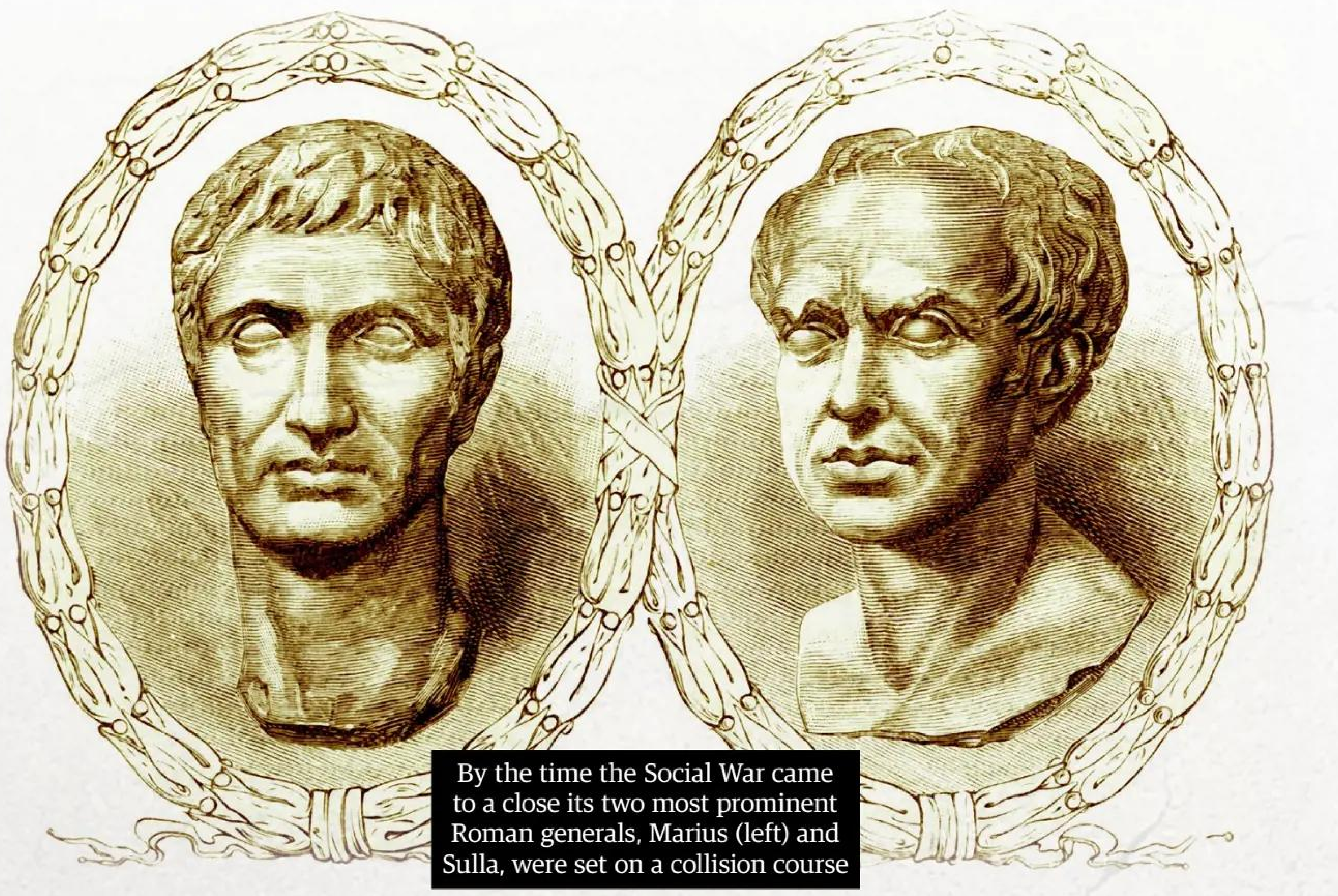
When the junior consul of 89 BCE died fighting the Marsi, Sulla was given sole command of the southern front. Eager to mop up the last pockets of revolt, he laid siege to the mighty walls of Pompeii and neighbouring Herculaneum. There, Sulla's obnoxious admiral Albinus so infuriated the Hirpini legion they stoned him to death, but Sulla dared not punish the offenders lest he alienate his allies.

Hoping to break the siege, a rebel general named Lucius Cleuntius attacked and drew Sulla away to the northeastern town of Nola – only to learn the town had shut its gates to all but Cleuntius' officers. Refusing to abandon his men, Cleuntius mounted a gruelling last stand before being killed by Sulla himself. Afterwards, Sulla's men roared, proclaiming him imperator and even handing him a Grass Crown – the rarest of honours.

Having burned his way through the Hirpini at Aeclanum, Sulla sent an army under Gaius Cosconius to march on Cannae. Crossing over the Aufidius River, Gaius crashed into an enormous Samnite army and, in a stroke of genius, led a false retreat back over the river. As the Samnites followed in hot pursuit, struggling



During the Cimbrian War, Gaius Marius handed out citizenship in droves to his bravest Italian soldiers



By the time the Social War came to a close its two most prominent Roman generals, Marius (left) and Sulla, were set on a collision course

“Marius masterfully lured the enemy into attacking on ground favourable to him”

across the river, the Romans suddenly turned and swarmed upon them, turning the river red with the blood of 15,000 rebels.

While Sulla closed in on the old Samnite capitol, Bovianum, Rufus and Strabo finally conquered the source of insurrection, Aesculum, by cutting off the city’s water. Despite the magistrates’ pleas for mercy, Strabo was livid. He ordered the execution of 5,000 of the city’s men and cast the women and children into the wilderness. Though Nola would continue to hold out until 80 BCE, Sulla returned to Rome a popular man indeed - not only appointed an auger but the senior consul for 88 BCE.

The Roman estimate that 300,000 people perished in the Social War, though most likely an exaggeration, indicates it was an incredibly bloody affair, one that had a profound impact on Roman society, immediately expanding citizenship to 1 million. One of the early proposals aimed to place these new citizens into eight new tribes who were always bound to be outvoted by the 35 tribes of the old citizens. The tribune Sulpicius Rufus had a simpler idea; to distribute the new citizens evenly among the existing tribes. However, in order to secure Marius’ support, he in turn had to pass a law that would strip Sulla of command for an upcoming lucrative campaign against the Kingdom of Pontus, freeing it up for Marius and setting the two on a collision course that would shake the capital itself.

REBEL WITH A CAUSE

The leader of the Marsi, Silo dealt the Romans a series of shocking defeats with calculated fury

Quintus Pompaedius Silo had long been a thorn in the side of Rome. The leader of the Marsi, he had once led 10,000 armed men to Rome, planning to surround the Senate and demand citizenship. He was only deterred by a supporter of his friend and advocate Drusus. During the revolt, Silo served not only as the northern consul but the very soul of the Italian movement.

During the war Silo seized the chance to avenge Drusus by taking out one of the men he held responsible for his demise, the Roman commander Caepio. According to Appian, Silo tricked the gullible general by pretending to defect, along with some slave babies he said were his own and a hoard of lead coated in gold and silver. The Marsi leader told Caepio that if he hurried, he could catch his army off guard and wipe it out. Desperate for a leg up on Marius, Caepio rushed to the supposed battlefield only to be ambushed and butchered. Silo took great glee in delivering his rival’s killing blow.

Hoping to taunt Marius into a decisive open battle, Silo mocked, “If thou art a great general, Marius, come down and fight”, to which Marius replied, “If thou art a great general, force me to”. Having retaken Bovianum from Sulla, Silo went on to try to take Apulia too but died in the process.

Though the Marsi were one of many Italian allies (shown on this rebel-issued coin), Silo was the very soul of the movement

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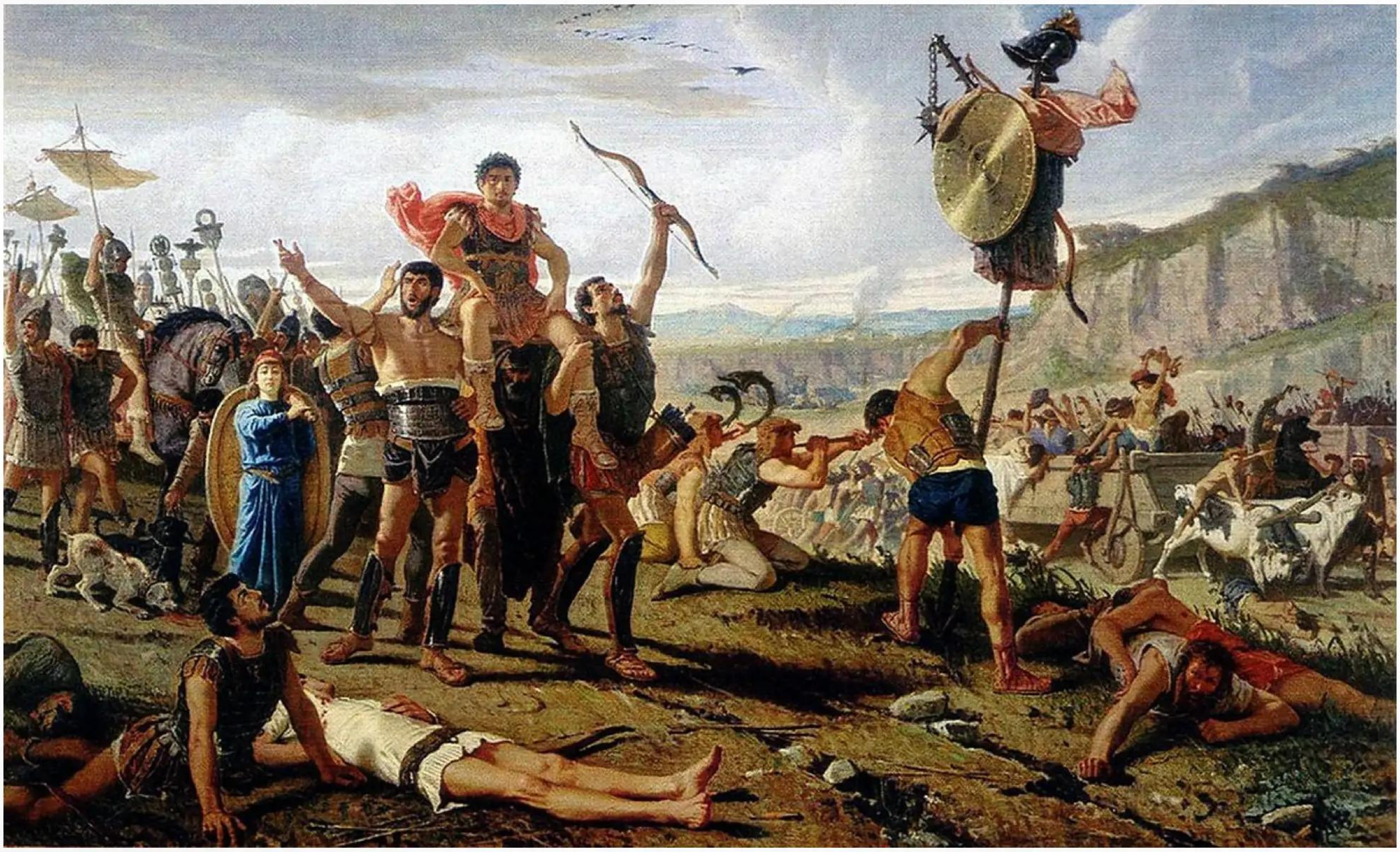
SULLA'S CIVIL WARS

THE BITTER RIVALRY BETWEEN TWO MEN THAT ULTIMATELY DOOMED THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

Written by James Horton



The great generals and politicians Gaius Marius and Lucius Cornelius Sulla stood at the centre of the whirlpool that eradicated the Roman Republic. The tale of Sulla begins with his older rival, as without Marius, Sulla would not have had the motivation nor the means to become Rome's first dictator for life.

Marius was a novus homo – or 'new man' – as he was the first of his family to rise to the top of the Senate. Reaching the pinnacle of magisterial office was especially difficult as a novus homo, but Marius wrangled an opportunity to earn significant military glory and his first consulship in the war against the Numidian King Jugurtha. The consul was the top office in Rome, held each year by two men. Marius won the consular election on the promise that he'd swiftly end Rome's war against Numidia, which had stalled under the general Quintus Metellus. After securing victory in the election, Marius set about raising new legions for his war in North Africa. However, many able and willing citizens did not meet the property requirements necessary for joining the legions. Marius asked for permission to first lower and then completely abandon the property requirements required for eligibility so that he could recruit from the vast pool of available poor. The request was granted, and in doing so the Republic slipped closer to oblivion.

Rome's ascension from small Italian city to vast, sea-straddling empire had been achieved on the back of citizen farmer-soldiers. When Rome's dominion was small, campaigning seasons would often last mere weeks or months, allowing soldiers to fight and then return home in time for the harvest. However, the larger Rome's sphere of influence became, the longer men were required to remain on campaign. Marius' reforms, which recruited the landless, allowed for the transition from a citizen militia to a professional standing army. For Rome's military ambitions this

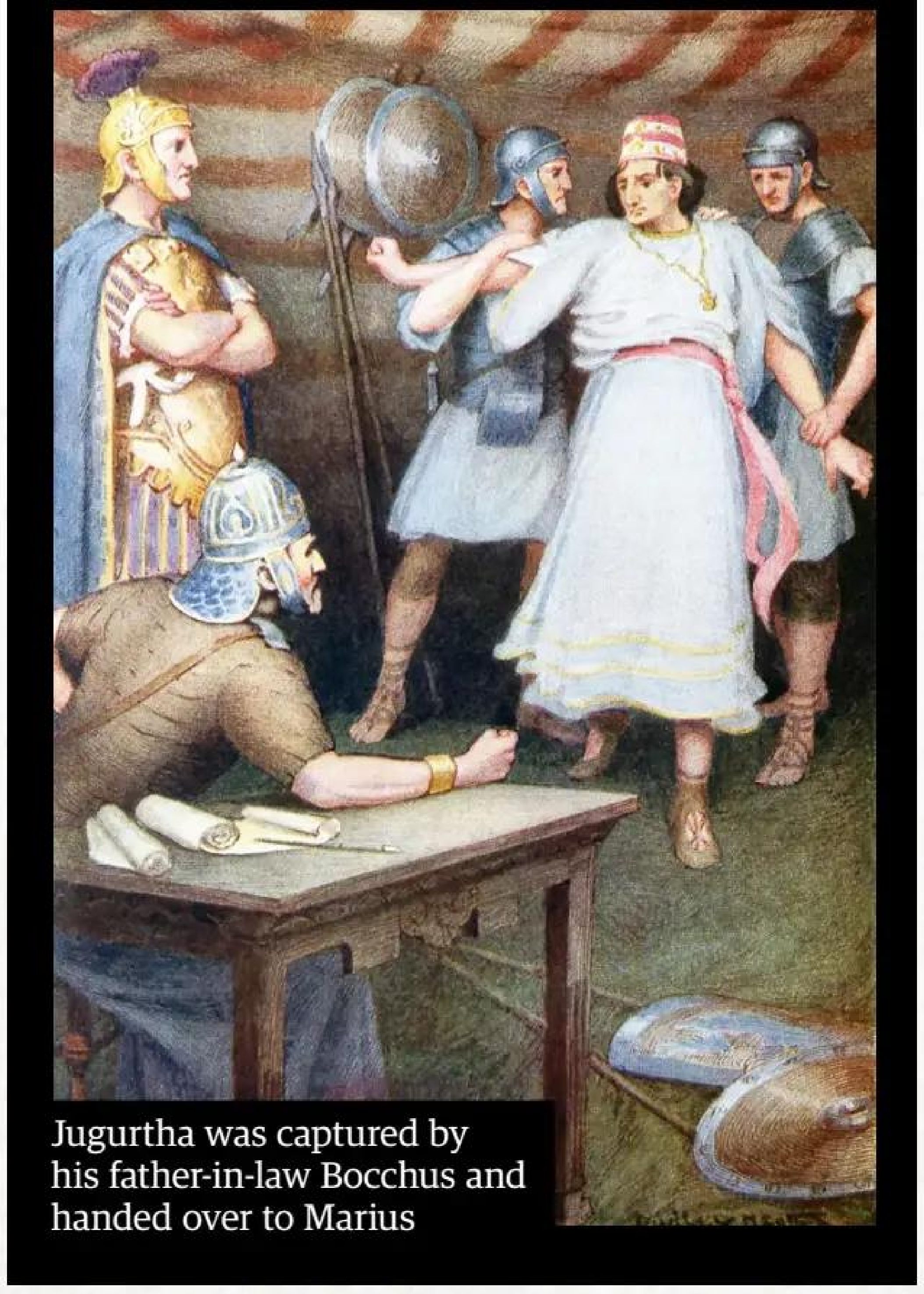
THE FALL OF JUGURTHA

A treacherous Roman campaign that spawned a feud between commander and lieutenant

When Marius arrived in North Africa with his own command, he was confident of a swift victory against Numidia. Rome was waging an aggressive war against its king, Jugurtha, in part because of rampant bribery he'd employed to ensure that Roman commanders failed to engage him in battle. The result was that the war had dragged on for far too long and the Roman populace was growing impatient. Marius thought an aggressive scorched-earth strategy would win the day but was left frustrated by Jugurtha's guerrilla tactics.

As he was eager to win swiftly by any means necessary, Marius sent his lieutenant, a young Sulla, to make a deal with Bocchus, who was Jugurtha's father-in-law. A plan was successfully hatched to lure Jugurtha to Bocchus under the pretence of an alliance. When Jugurtha arrived at Bocchus' camp he was ambushed and a Roman delegation collected him bound in chains. Without their king the will to fight deserted them and the Numidians surrendered. Bocchus was awarded a slice of Jugurtha's land for his trouble and Marius and Sulla returned to Rome. It was not the Roman way to share glory, and each man did their best to take credit for the victory. A rift emerged between the two men, one which would alter the course of the Republic's future in the years to come.

> "Marius thought an aggressive scorched-earth strategy would win the day but was left frustrated"



Jugurtha was captured by his father-in-law Bocchus and handed over to Marius

Jugurtha waged a guerrilla campaign against the Romans but was eventually betrayed into Marius' custody

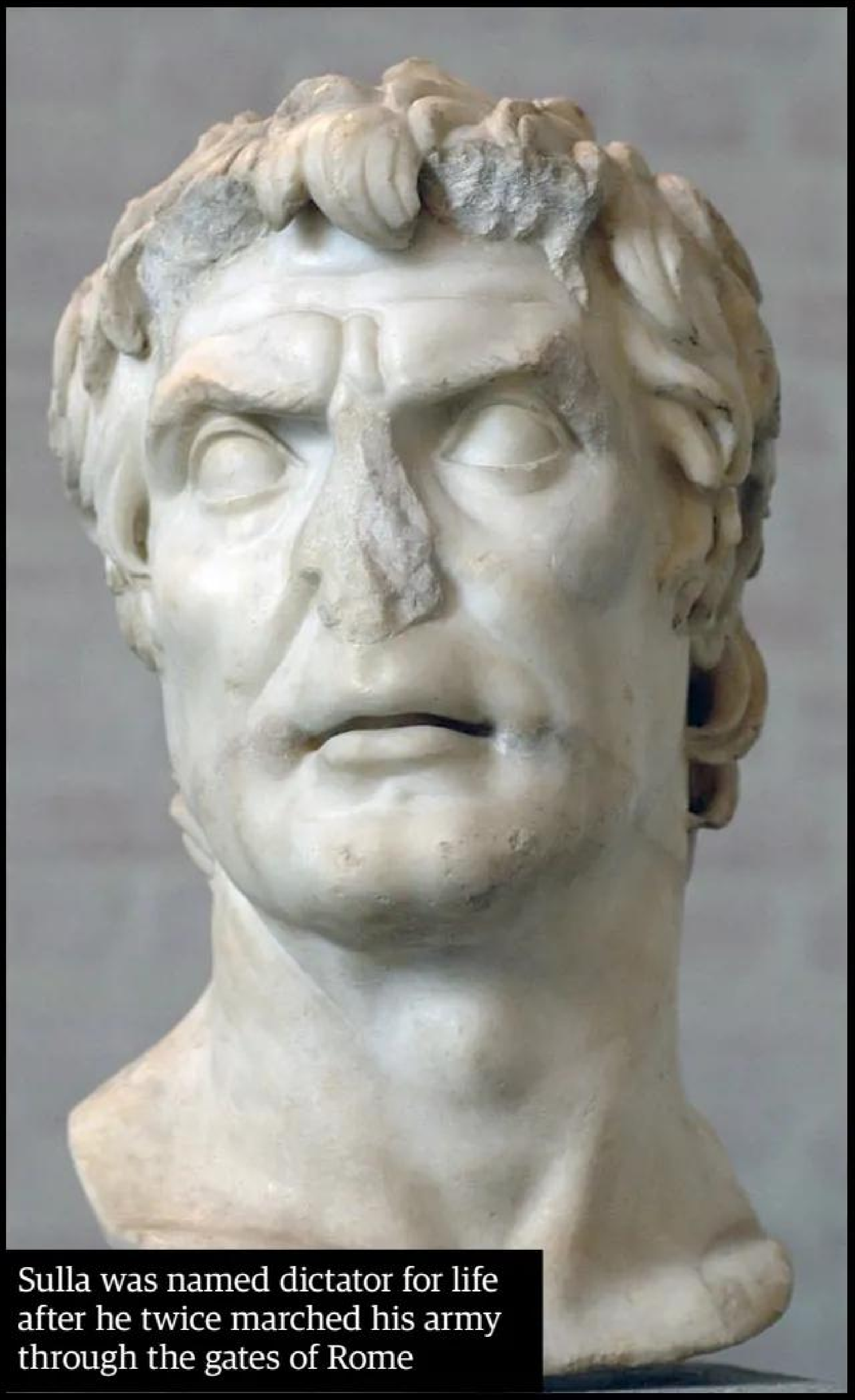
was certainly a boon, but the soldiers no longer served out of a sense of duty and to protect their own farmlands. Now the soldiers' livelihoods were reliant on their military careers, and so by extension on their commanders. The army's general offered his men booty after battle and promised to champion their rights to retirement land grants on his return to Rome. This meant that the wants of the Roman legions no longer aligned with the wants of the Roman Republic. A Roman legionnaire was loyal to his commander first and foremost, a transition which would prove incredibly dangerous.

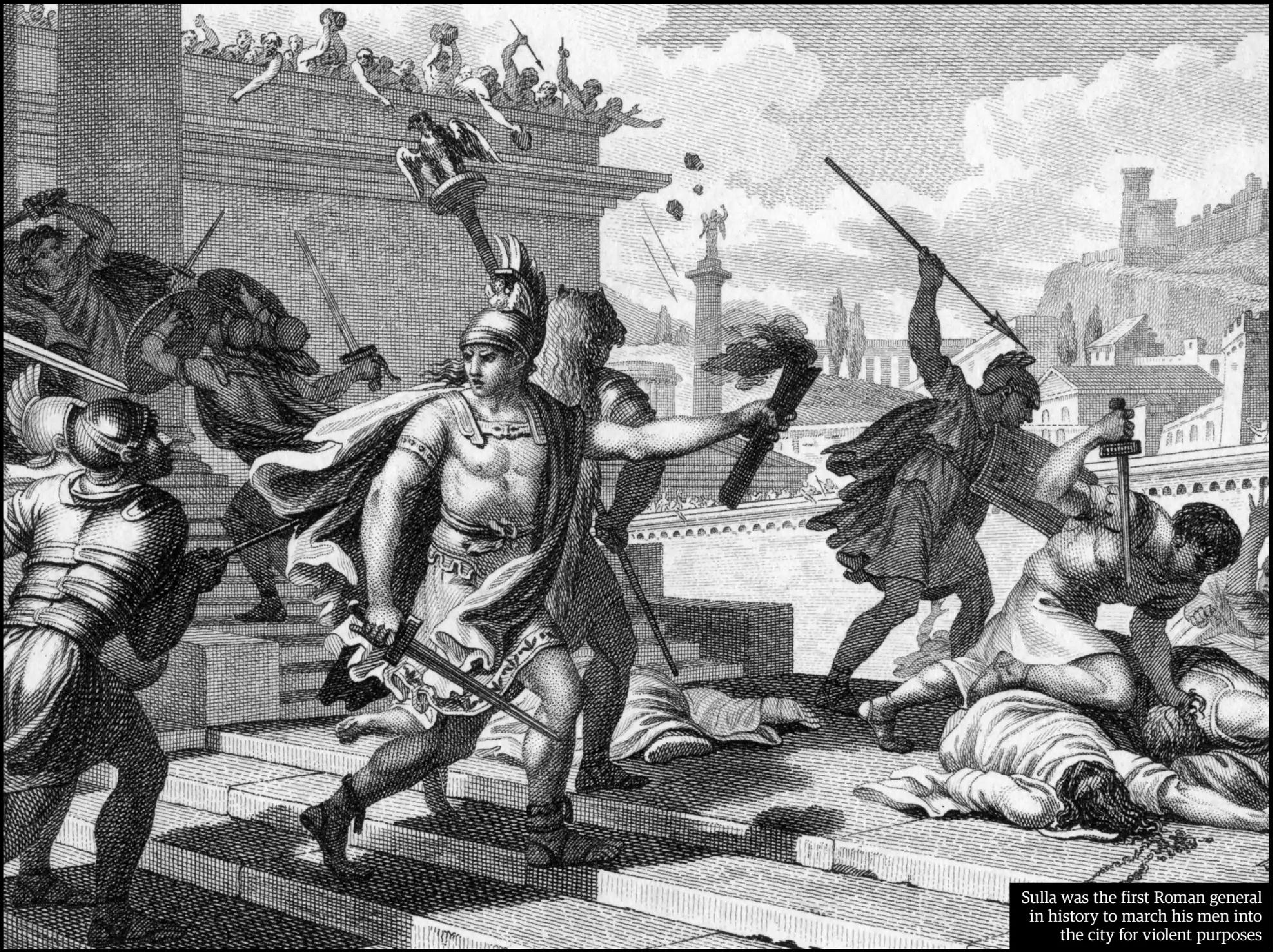
Recruiting from the poor was not the only change Marius made, and his other alterations would prove just as revolutionary. Marius abandoned the triplex acies formation that had served Rome well for centuries and instead combined his men into cohorts consisting of 480 combatants apiece. Usually ten cohorts would form a legion, and these were supported by allied skirmishers and cavalry. He also changed the equipment wielded by each soldier and to reduce the considerable baggage train that laboured behind the army as it marched had the men carry their own equipment. This caused some senators to dub the general's men 'Marius' mules'. However, carrying their own heavy packs helped reduce the baggage train, improved the men's fitness and allowed them to quickly access their tools for digging fortifications.

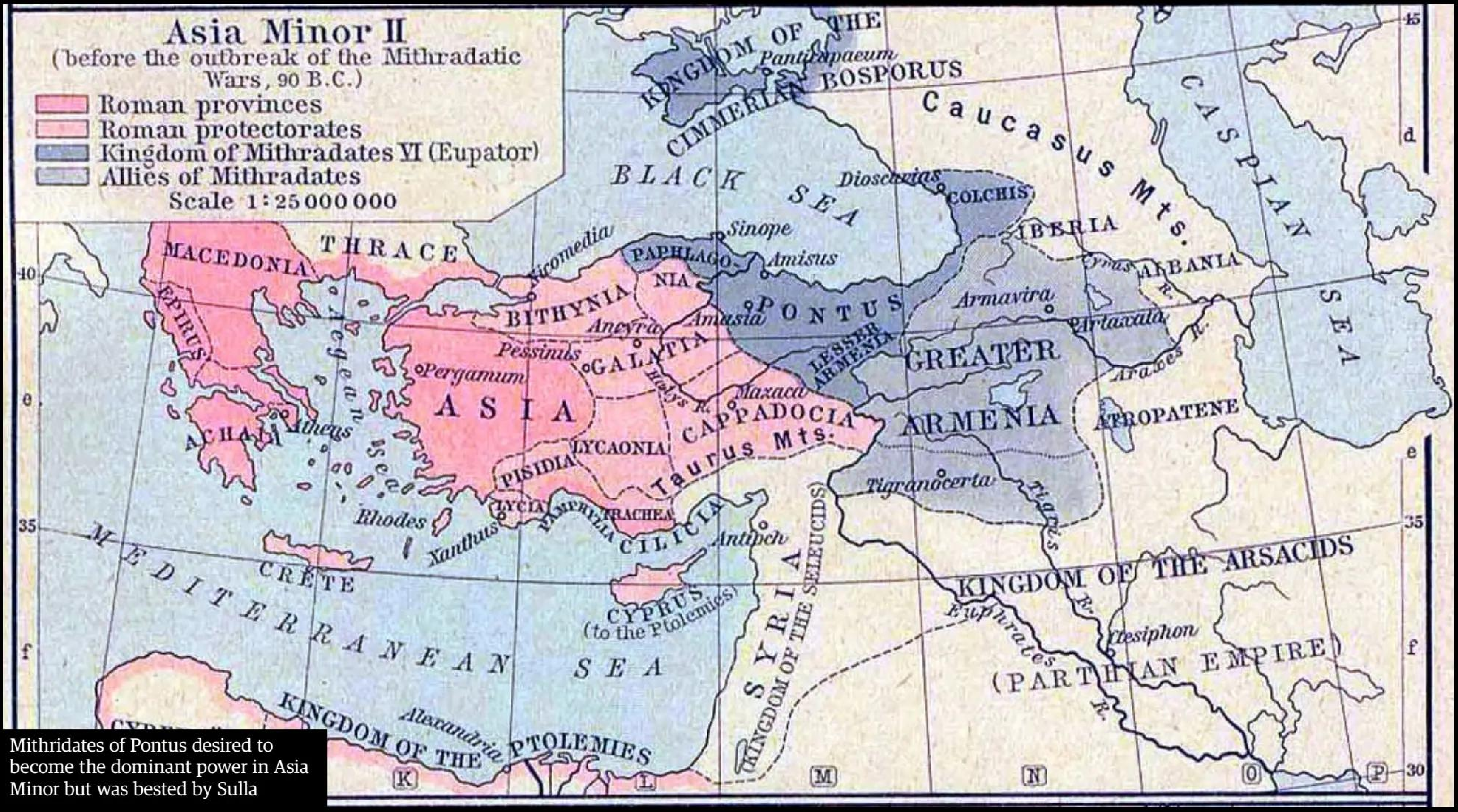
Marius' reforms would forever change the Roman legions, but even with his new and improved force he found Jugurtha difficult to bring to heel. Instead he was forced to resort to treachery to achieve victory. He sent a young lieutenant to seduce a rival king into luring Jugurtha into a trap, which the lieutenant achieved with aplomb. Jugurtha was captured and Marius returned to Rome a hero, taking full credit for the victory, much to the lieutenant's chagrin. However, much to Marius' mutual annoyance, his lieutenant spoke loudly and proudly about his role in the affair. This was the beginning of the two's souring relationship. The lieutenant's name was Lucius Cornelius Sulla.

If Sulla hoped that Marius would fall from prominence he was bitterly disappointed, as the coveted general was swiftly reinvested in a new war, this time in the north of the empire. Two Germanic tribes, the Cimbri and the Teutones, had won success against consular armies and so the people called for the great general Marius to save them. Marius eagerly accepted and accomplished the task, but the efforts took him a number of years to complete, with Sulla serving under him for a time. After the fall of the Cimbri and Teutones, Marius' celebrity was unparalleled in Rome, but it was a fame that the ageing general, now nearly 60, struggled to retain. Marius was not sufficiently adept at the dance of Roman politics to maintain his status. During the Social War that erupted in 91 BCE, when Rome waged war against its Italian allies who attempted to break away from the city, Sulla showed the people of Rome that he too was a general of high standing. The warring cities reconciled in 88 BCE; the Italian allies were granted Roman citizenship and Sulla was elected to the consulship. The old generation was making way for the new - Sulla's fame was waxing while Marius' continued to wane.

Sulla now dreamed of cementing his legacy by setting out on his own overseas campaign. Marius, meanwhile, dreamed of recapturing the glory he once had. King Mithridates of Pontus soon offered one of the men such an opportunity. The foolhardy king was attempting to establish dominion over Asia Minor and as a statement had murdered all Romans who inhabited his perceived lands. Approximately 80,000 Roman and Italian victims demanded retribution. Sulla was appointed to command the legions against Mithridates, but via a legislative loophole that was growing evermore frequent in the late


Sulla was named dictator for life after he twice marched his army through the gates of Rome


Sulla was the first Roman general in history to march his men into the city for violent purposes


Asia Minor II
(before the outbreak of the Mithradatic Wars, 90 B.C.)
Roman provinces
Roman protectorates
Kingdom of Mithradates VI (Eupator)
Allies of Mithradates
Scale 1:25 000 000
KINGDOM OF THE CIMMERIAN BOSPORUS
Panticapaeum
Caucasus Mts.
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
Dioscurias
COLCHIS
IBERIA
ALBANIA
Cyrus R.
Araxes R.
Sinope
Amisus
PAPHLAGONIA
PONTUS
Amasia
LESSER ARMENIA
Armavira
Artaxata
GREATER ARMENIA
ATROPATENE
THRACE
MACEDONIA
EPIRUS
ACHAIA
Athens
Nicomedia
BITHYNIA
Ancyra
GALATIA
Pessinus
Pergamum
ASIA
Halys R.
Mazaca
CAPPADOCIA
Taurus Mts.
LYCAONIA
PISIDIA
LYCIA
PAMPHYLIA
TRACHEA
CILICIA
Rhodes
Xanthus
Tigranocerta
Tigris R.
Antioch
SYRIA (KINGDOM OF THE SELEUCIDS)
CRETE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CYPRUS (to the Ptolemies)
KINGDOM OF THE ARSACIDS
Euphrates R.
Ctesiphon
(PARTHIAN EMPIRE)
Alexandria
KINGDOM OF THE PTOLEMIES
K
L
M
N
O
P

Mithridates of Pontus desired to become the dominant power in Asia Minor but was bested by Sulla

> "For five days Marius' men butchered with glee until Cinna had seen enough and ordered his men to bring an end to the bloodshed"

Republic, Marius had an ally switch command to him. The ally was a tribune of the plebs, an elected magistrate who was able to veto legislation and introduce votes on anything. The vote to switch command of the legions from Sulla to Marius was unconventional and clearly an abuse of power, but it remained lawful. Legally Sulla had nowhere to turn, so instead he made an unprecedented move and searched for support in his legions.

Sulla left Rome and raced to his soldiers. There he implored them to march with him to Rome, arguing that Marius would raise new legions and replace them, denying them a lucrative campaign in the East. The officers of the legions were aghast and, aside from one, resolutely refused to march on their own people. The other soldiers, however, were willing to follow their commander.

The contrasting views between the lower and upper rungs of the military highlighted the new allegiances of the common soldier, who without war would remain poor. In a cruel twist of irony, Marius' reforms had helped to forge the very military machine that would prove to be his undoing.

Sulla returned to Rome at the head of his legions while the Senate's collective jaw hit the floor in disbelief. They couldn't muster an adequate defensive force in time and so Sulla marched straight into Rome. He was the first Roman general in history to commit such sacrilege. Under force of arms Sulla had Marian allies put to death, denounced Marius – who had fled the city – as an official enemy of the state and had himself formally reinstated in the war to fight Mithridates. The general then left Rome and headed east, intent on achieving the military glory that had nearly been denied him.

With Sulla gone, his opponents wasted little time in trying to seize Rome back from his allies. Marius had fled to North Africa and had mustered a rabble army that he planned to use to mimic Sulla and march on Rome. Sulla had changed the rules of the game, and there would be no going back. The right to rule could now simply be determined by military might. An opportunistic politician, Lucius Cornelius Cinna determined Marius was his best means to reach the apex of the political ladder and so combined his forces with the old general's. The two marched into Rome and unleashed a massacre on the nobility. For five days Marius' men butchered with glee until Cinna had seen enough and ordered his men to bring an end to the bloodshed. Consular elections were then held, and as everyone who opposed Marius was now dead or fled, Marius and Cinna were duly elected.

This was a historic seventh consulship for Marius, who died just two weeks after his election. Cinna then ruled alone in Rome for several years as Sulla brought the First Mithridatic War to a close in the East. Sulla was aware of what had occurred in his absence, and after reaching peace with Mithridates he turned his legions west and marched on Rome once more. Cinna, knowing what was coming, made a thinly veiled excuse to campaign with his legions in Illyricum, which lay between Sulla and Rome. The consul was anxious to reach Illyricum before Sulla and so force-marched his men in miserable conditions. This drove some soldiers too far and they mutinied, killing Cinna on the field. As Sulla neared Italy, neither of the two men who stole Rome from him remained alive to defend it.

Instead the pro-Marian Senate elected two new consuls to do battle with Sulla, but others in the nobility could see that the momentum lay with the general and rode to join him instead. Two such individuals were a young Gnaeus Pompey and a slightly older Marcus Licinius Crassus, the men who would form the First Triumvirate with Julius Caesar in the coming decades. Pompey and

Rome made an enemy of the Sabines early in its history, as legend tells that Romans kidnapped Sabine women to mother the next generation of the fledgling city

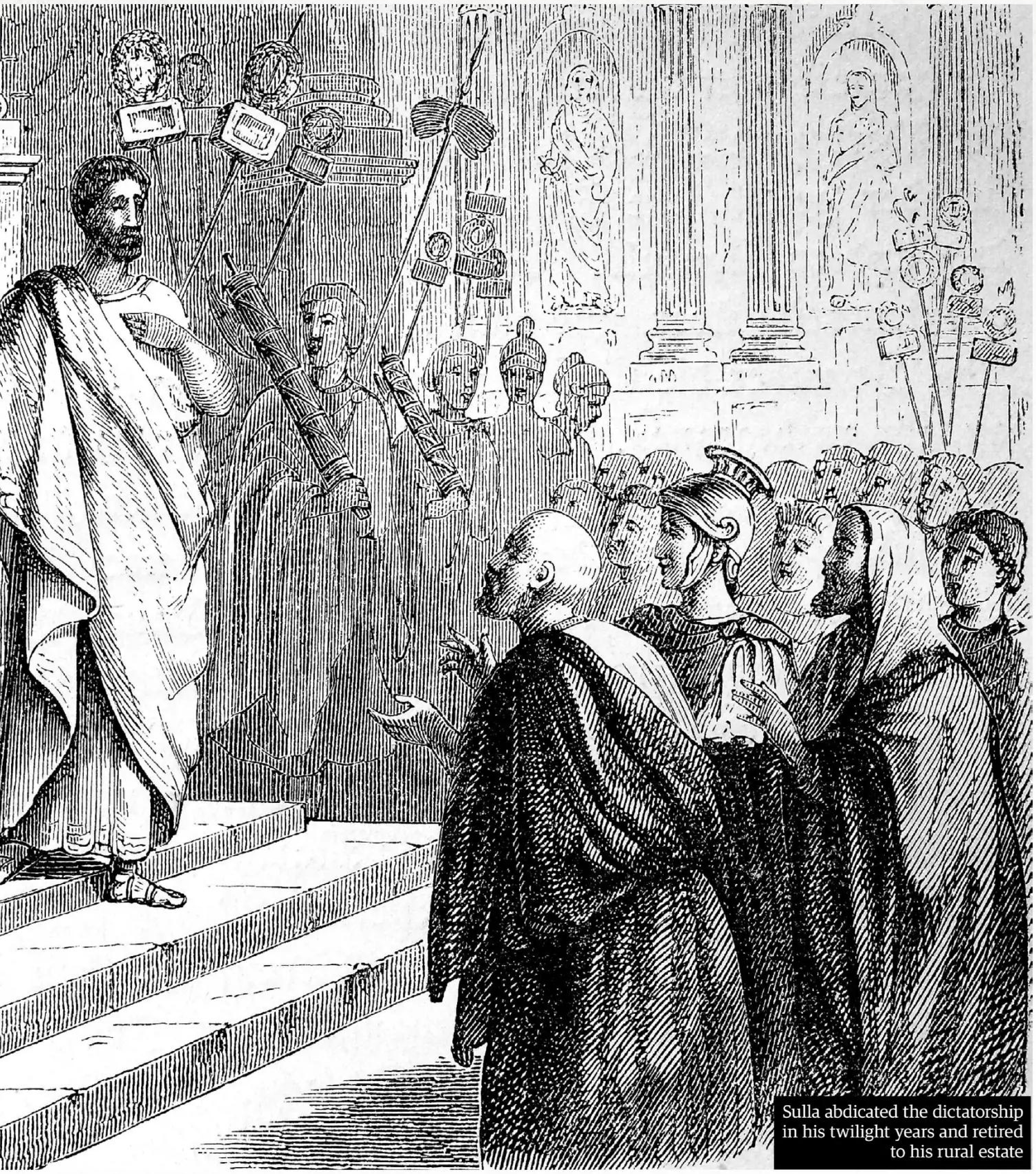
> "Sulla's advisors recommended he let the men rest, but after a meal and a few hours' reprieve he marched them into battle"

Crassus helped Sulla besiege and engage the pro-Marian forces, who were swiftly losing hope. However, an army of Samnites - who had once rivalled Rome for regional control of Italy - made a charge at Rome. They were successful in drawing Sulla, as the general force-marched his army to the Colline Gate that lay on the periphery of the city. Sulla's advisors recommended that he let the men rest, but after a meal and a few hours' reprieve Sulla had them form up and march into battle.

As the Sun's glow moved toward the horizon and deepened to a blood red, Sulla's left flank came under severe pressure. Sulla personally charged to the flank and tried in vain to rally the men and urge them forward. He was unsuccessful and by nightfall his forces had been pushed back all the way to their camp. The battle seemed a failure, but unbeknown to Sulla, Marcus Licinius Crassus, who had been placed in charge of the right flank, had broken the Samnite line. He sent word to Sulla requesting supplies, and the news reinvigorated his troops, who rejoined the fight.

Victory outside Rome sealed Sulla's ultimate victory in the war, and, unlike his first coup, this time he was set to remain in the city. He was appointed dictator in perpetuity, an endless term of absolute power. Sulla moved to eradicate all those who opposed him and his allies and posted lists of Roman nobles whose heads could fetch a reward. These proscriptions contained around 1,500 names of Roman aristocrats who were both real and imagined enemies of the Sullan regime. Many men, sometimes with their wives and children, were murdered simply for their wealth and property. It was a grizzly affair, and thousands of nobles were killed over the course of several months.

Once the dust had settled, Sulla set about wielding his power to ensure that no one could repeat his actions. He wasn't blind to the threat to the Republic born from his behaviour, namely in the precedent he had set by showing the current generation of Romans that absolute power could be seized with force.



Sulla abdicated the dictatorship in his twilight years and retired to his rural estate

That Gaius Julius Caesar was one such young noble speaks to the rightfulness of Sulla's fears.

To protect the Republic moving forward, Sulla introduced legislation aimed at limiting the powers of magistrate positions and encouraging conventional career paths. He formalised the cursus honorum, the ranks of office a politician climbed on their way to the consulship. In Sulla's version a man would have to hold several obligatory junior ranks before becoming eligible for the consulship, and he had to wait ten years before serving in the same role again. High-ranking magistrates who wielded imperium were also sent to the provinces after their year of office, denying them a chance to build a threatening power base in the city. Sulla also crippled the power of the tribunes of the plebs (the same office that had stolen his command for Marius) and decreed that tribunes were ineligible to serve at any higher magisterial rank. This dissuaded ambitious politicians from applying.

When he felt his work was done, Sulla surprised everyone by relinquishing power and resigning from the dictatorship. He served as consul the following year then retired to his estate, leaving a message that advocated the rule of democracy in the dictator-shaped chasm he voluntarily stepped away from.

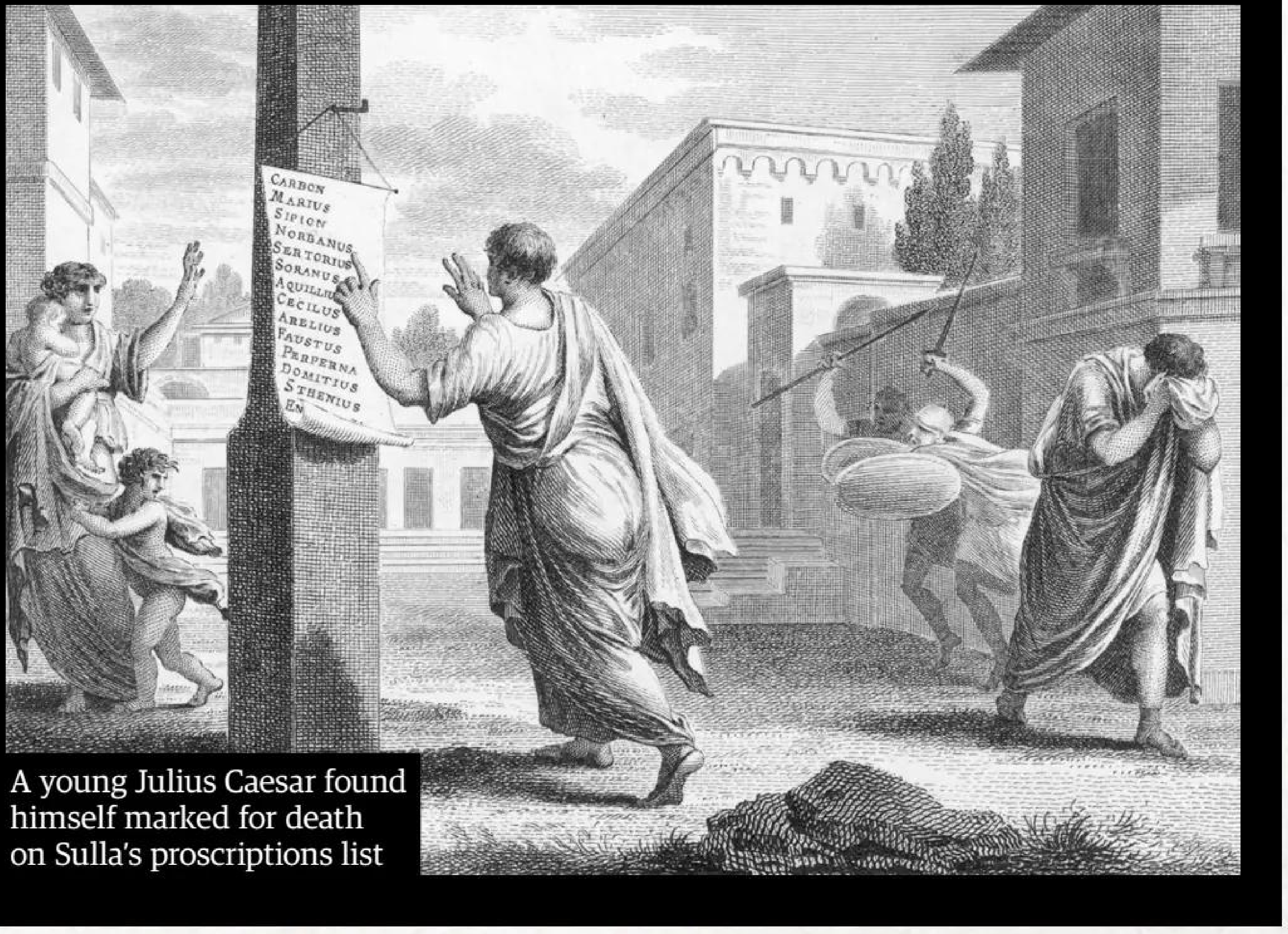
Unfortunately for Sulla's legacy, his attempt at championing democracy would be forgotten. His precedent of violence, however, would not be. Marius' military reforms, including the recruitment of the poor, were still in effect, and so the loyalty of the soldiers to their general and not the state would remain. Despite his laws, Sulla's actions had fixed the Roman Republic on the path to annihilation. From the ashes of the civil wars to follow emerged the Principate, with the once-treasured idea of democratic rule a forgotten dream never to emerge in ancient Rome again.

HUNTED

How the most famous Roman in history found himself on Sulla's proscription list

For much of the late Republic, Roman politicians were divided into two broad factions. The first were the Optimates, staunch conservatives who championed the rights of the ruling class. The second were the Populares, who instead championed the rights of the people. Sulla was an Optimate and Marius and Cinna Populares. A young and ambitious Gaius Julius Caesar, at this time a teenager, threw his lot in with the latter faction. It was a decision that almost cost him his life.

Marius was married to Caesar's aunt Julia. This affiliation may have swayed the young Caesar's political views and may have helped him enter the good graces of Marius' consular partner, Cinna. The two leading men of Rome took a shine to Caesar and nominated him for the prestigious religious role of flamen dialis despite his modest years. Caesar also married Cinna's daughter, Cornelia, an act that would ensure his name was placed on the proscriptions list upon Sulla's return to Rome. Caesar was forced to go into hiding but adamantly refused to divorce his young wife. This defiance irked Sulla, but after months of pleading on his behalf the dictator agreed to remove Caesar's name from the proscriptions list. The general never trusted the boy, however, warning that, "In this Caesar there is many a Marius."



A young Julius Caesar found himself marked for death on Sulla's proscriptions list

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SPARTACUS

RISING FROM THE DEPTHS OF OBSCURITY, THIS IS THE STORY OF HOW ONE MAN DEFIED THE ROMAN REPUBLIC AND LED A SOCIAL UPHEAVAL THAT STILL ECHOES THROUGH HISTORY

Written by Dom Reseigh-Lincoln

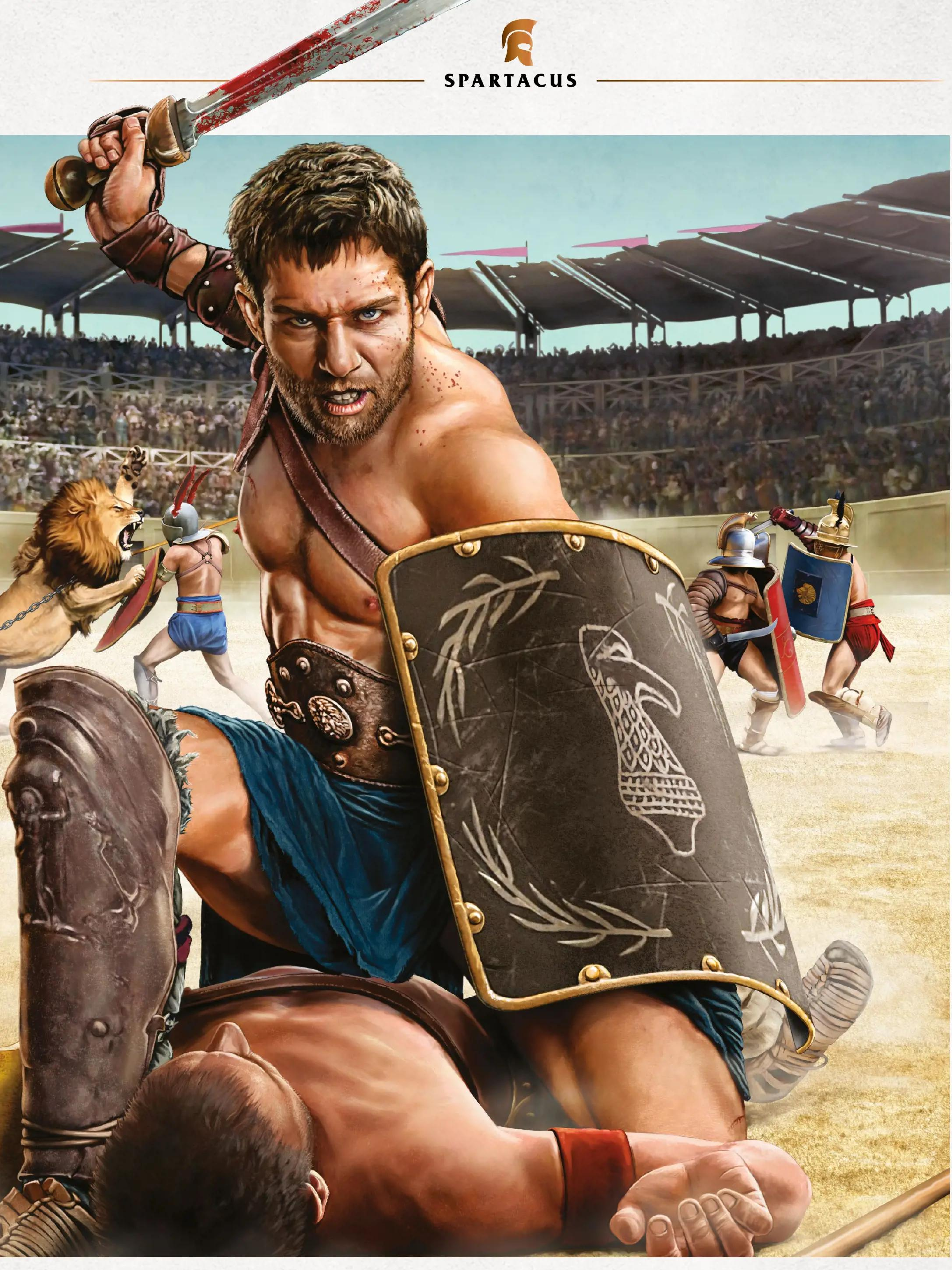
The amphitheatre is full to capacity, the crowd shouting excitedly with every clash of steel. Below the braying citizens, two men circle one another, each taking careful steps on the blood-splattered sand. One wears a grated mask fused to a curved helmet along with a pair of leather greaves, a gladius (short sword) twirling in each hand. Dimachaerus is their name for him. His opponent has a short sword in one hand and a parmula (small triangular shield) in the other. He's wearing a similarly shaped helmet, but his has a plume of dyed horse hair sticking from the top. Thracian is his chosen class, one famed for its lithe and versatile warriors. Both are licked with cuts and bruises, their chests heaving from ten minutes of brutal, well-matched combat.

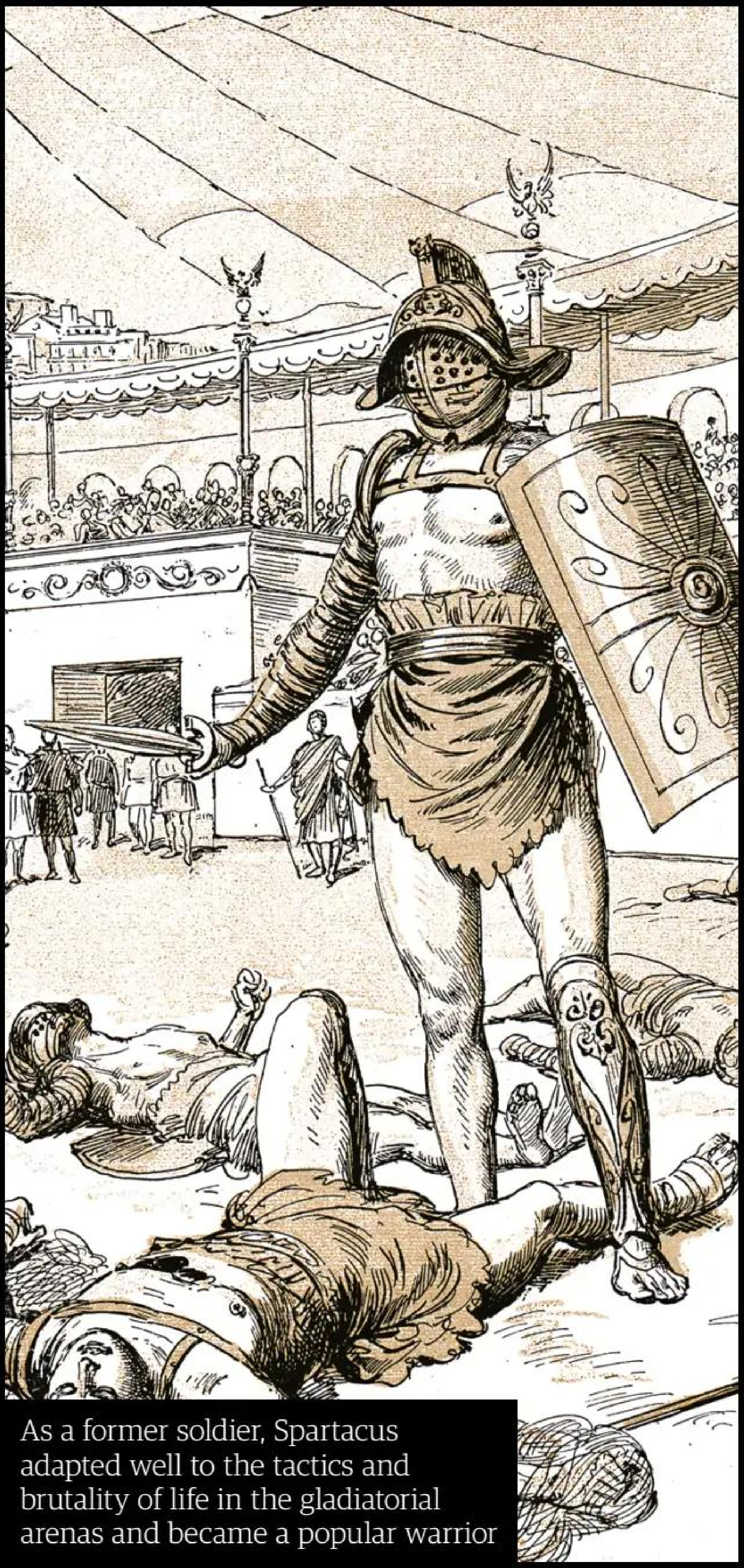
Time slows as the gladiator of the dimachaerus class leaps forward, both blades swinging in wide circles above his head. The Thracian drops to one knee, spins on the ball of his foot and drags his gladius across the tendons behind the dimachaerus' left knee. The man grunts and drops to the dirt. The crowd is alive again, screaming for blood – this fight, unlike most gladiatorial encounters, would end in someone's death. The Thracian raises his gladius above his head and drives it down, plunging the blade into his opponent's heart. He steps away from the body and raises his arms to the crowd, giving them the fairy-tale vanquisher their imaginations crave. The arena begins to boom with the sound of a single name chanted in unison: Spartacus.

Night has fallen and a cool breeze flits through the sleeping quarters of the gladiatorial school in Capua. The man they sometimes call the Thracian sits atop his bunk and lets the breeze cool the beads of sweat on his skin. His body still aches from the duel and he's been stretching his muscles for over an hour now. Old military habits die hard, it seems. He'd been a soldier once, a long time ago. Had he deserted? Had he defied an order and been bound to slavery for insubordination? It has been so many years, so many duels and so many nights of hunger and uncertainty ago that even he can't remember any more. His days as a novicius (novice) are long behind him but, like all his fellow gladiators, every time he steps into the arena he accepts the chance of damnati ad gladium – that he could be sentenced to execution by sword if he loses his match. As long as he can wield a blade he still has some control over his fate, but no matter how many he entertains he is still just a commodity, just a slave.

For 500 years the Roman Senate – the political hub of the Republic – had relied on the influx of new bodies from territories claimed in its name to serve as slaves, but as the state became divided with civil rivalries and political infighting, military expansion began to slow and Rome tightened its hold on its already dwindling servile population. Those slaves that chose to run were hunted down and punished severely to remind the rest that Rome did not look kindly on deserters of any kind. Crucifixions, in all their grisly theatre, were a common sight, and so by the year 73 BCE, the atmosphere among the serving class was growing tenser with every passing moment. They had gone to war with their masters twice before and failed, but with the Roman legions stretched thin across the Republic, if such an

> "The defiant gladiators escape the school where they had been taught not just how to kill, but how to kill to ensure the Roman mob were entertained"





As a former soldier, Spartacus adapted well to the tactics and brutality of life in the gladiatorial arenas and became a popular warrior

uprising were to happen again, the slaves might just have a chance to change the very face of the civilised world.

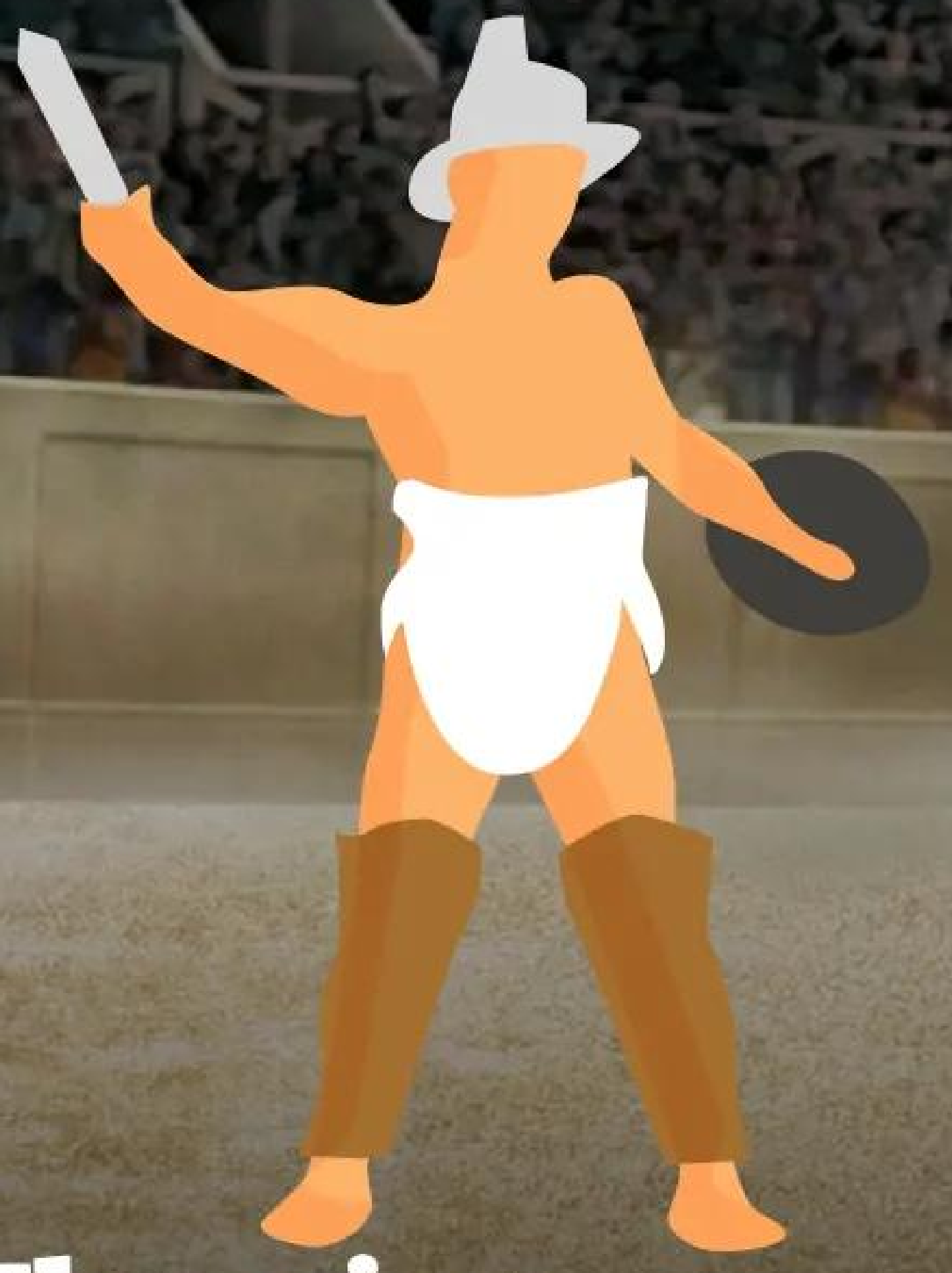
As the Roman summer draws to a close, a plot is forming within the cramped confines of the gladiatorial school in Capua, the main city of the Campania region in southern Italy. While its owner, Lentulus Batiatus, dreams of a contract that takes him to the capital, entertaining the political cream of the crop with his slave warriors, his most popular fighter is hatching a plan to escape. Over the many years he's fought and lived at the amphitheatre Spartacus has grown close to two other slaves, Crixus and Oenomaus. The three know that gladiators have escaped before, but their brands make their true nature undeniable - if they were to escape, it had to be part of a united force that couldn't be easily hunted down.

However, Spartacus' plan to escape has been compromised: someone has leaked it. There is no time to concoct another scheme; they have to act now. Spartacus breaks free from his quarters, frees Crixus and Oenomaus, and together they unlock as many of the cages as they can before the school's privately employed guards realise what's happening. Soon the arena is filled with screams and shouts and the familiar noises of men fighting to the death as Spartacus breaks into the eating quarters and uses the knives and forks in there as weapons. Some of the gladiators refuse to join the escape, too indoctrinated by their servitude to even contemplate such an act. In under half an hour the arena belongs to the rebels, a cart carrying new gladiatorial weapons ripped apart and used to arm the uprising. Now equipped with the blades, spears and tridents that had once been symbolic of their enslavement, the defiant gladiators escape the school where they had been taught not just how to kill but how to kill to ensure the Roman mob were entertained.

As the uprising sweeps across the region, it swallows settlement after settlement. With more and more slaves joining their cause the number of rebels swells from less than 100 to almost 5,000. Slaves from all over the region were suddenly upping and leaving their masters, buoyed by a confidence that they could seek a life free of servitude in Spartacus' defiant stand against the Republic. Spartacus, Crixus and Oenomaus decide to make camp in the safest place within marching distance, Mount Vesuvius.

Back in Rome, the Senate is furious at this new rebellion taking place a mere 193 kilometres from the capital. At this point they aren't unduly worried though, and the Senate dispatches the praetor Gaius Claudius Glaber along with a contingent of 12,000 men with the task of putting down this insolent rebellion. Glaber and his forces arrive in a matter of days but choose not to attack, instead setting up a blockade and sealing the rebel camps in. Glaber intends to starve them out. The rebels don't even try to attack,

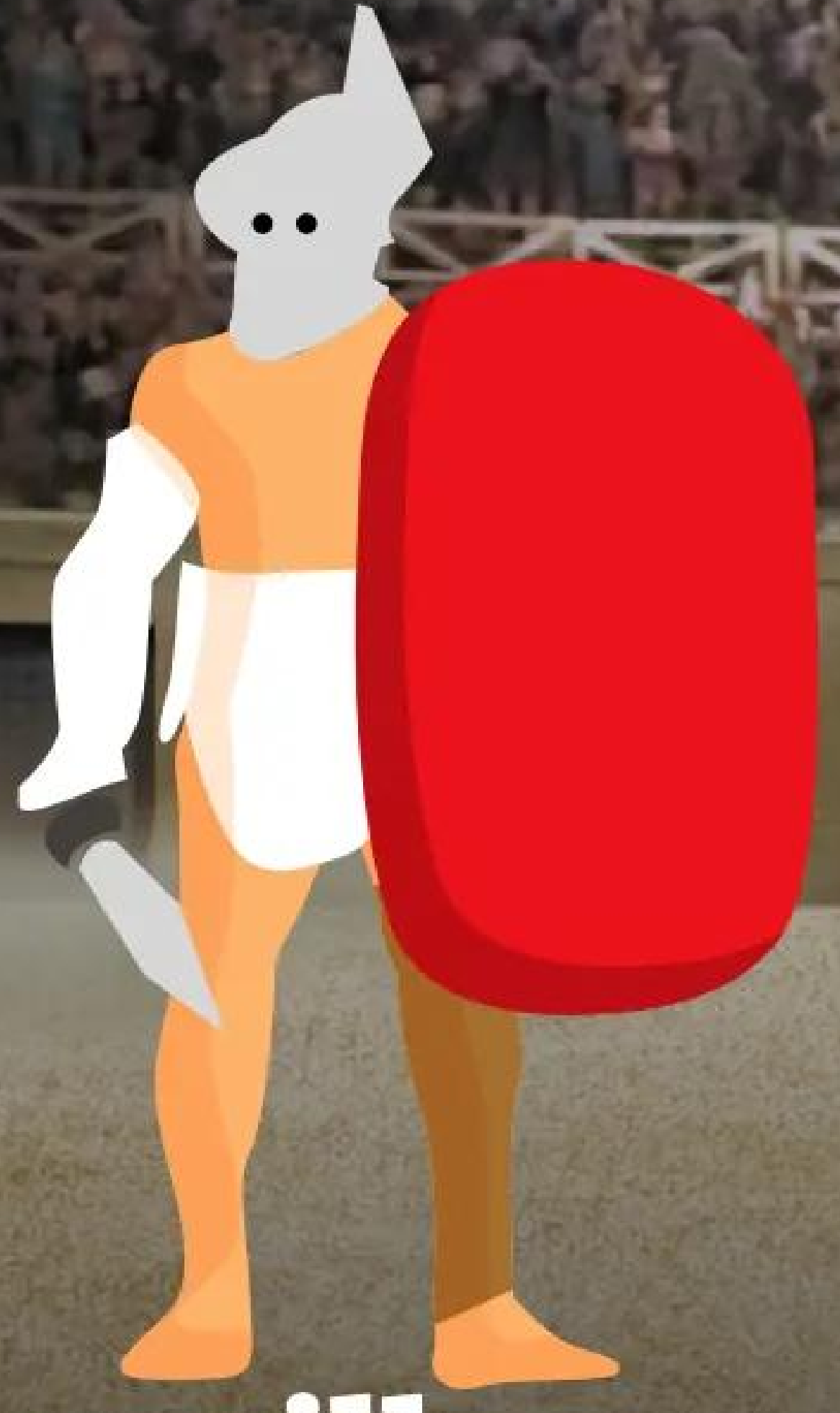
GLORIOUS GLADIATORS DISCOVER EIGHT DIFFERENT CLASSES OF DEADLY FIGHTERS



Thracian

- » WEAPONS: **SHORT SWORD, TRIANGULAR SHIELD**
- » STRENGTHS: **AGILE WARRIOR**
- » WEAKNESSES: **RANGED ATTACKS**
- » MOST LIKELY TO WIN AGAINST: **LAQUERIUS, VELITUS**
- » WOULD STRUGGLE AGAINST: **MURMILLO**

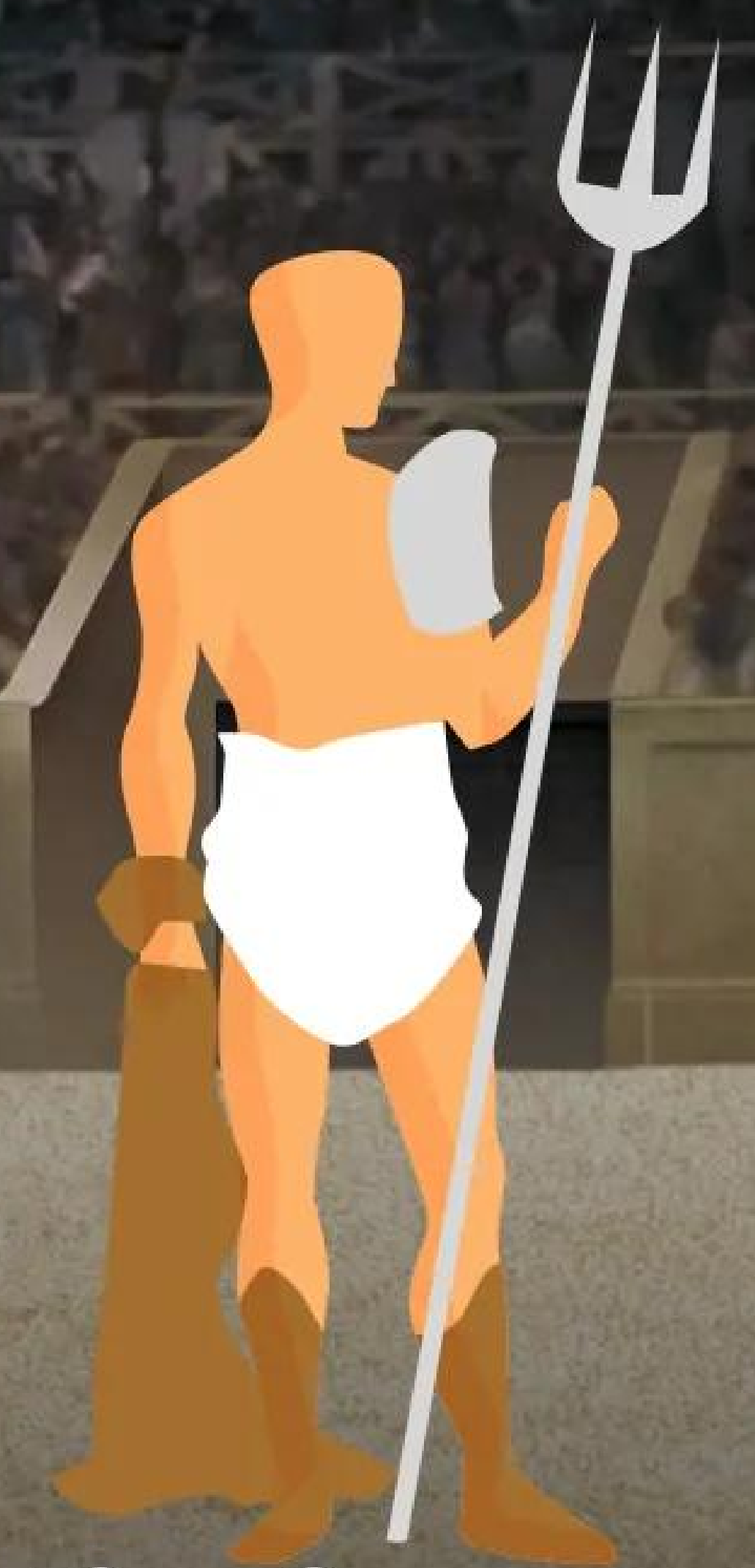
Did you know?
The Thracian's sica was a smaller version of the falx. It would often be used to swing into an opponent's unprotected back, which would often end the contest there and then.



Murmillo

- » WEAPONS: **SWORD, SQUARE SHIELD**
- » STRENGTHS: **WELL EQUIPPED WITH A LARGE SWORD AND SHIELD**
- » WEAKNESSES: **SUSCEPTIBLE TO AGILE ATTACKS**
- » MOST LIKELY TO WIN AGAINST: **LAQUERIUS, VELITUS**
- » WOULD STRUGGLE AGAINST: **DIMACHAERUS**

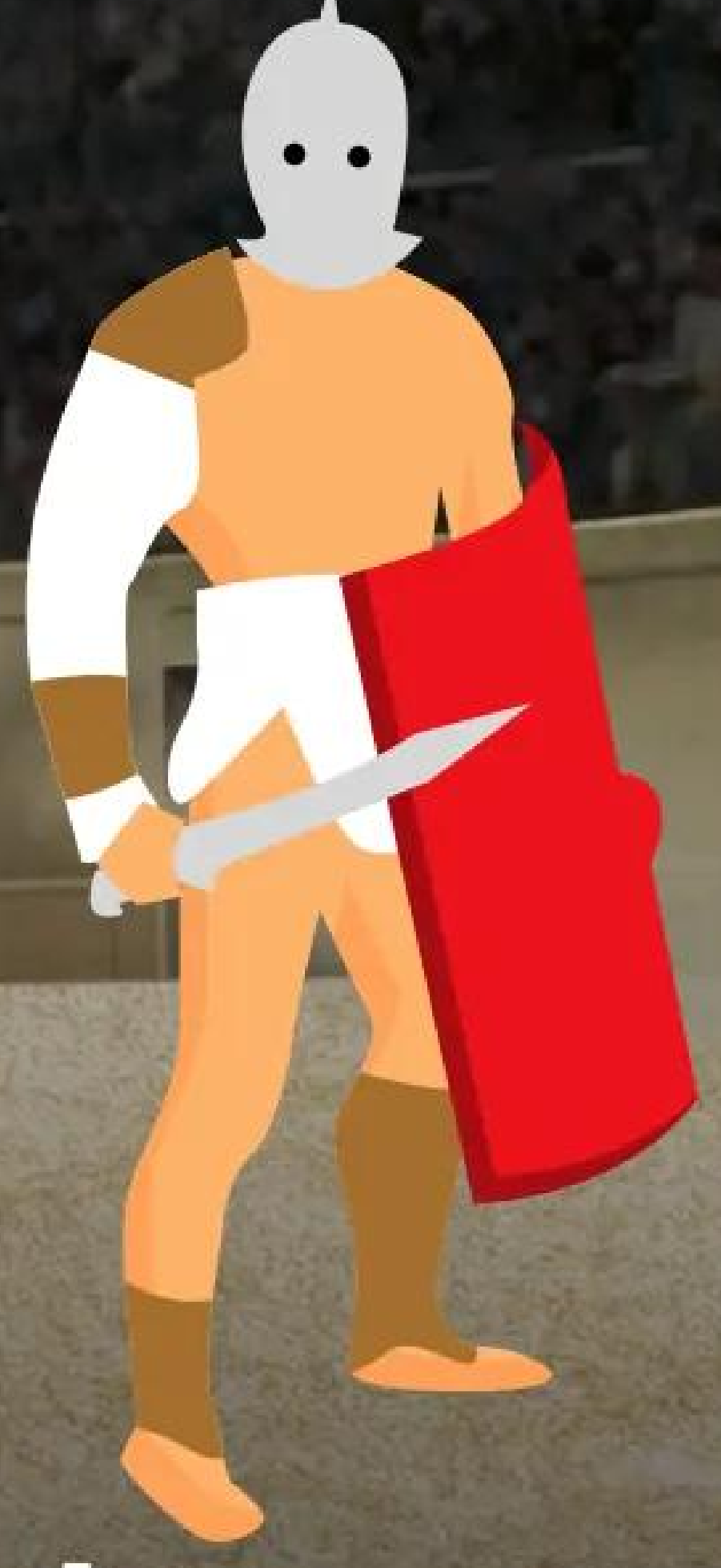
Did you know?
The Murmillo class was introduced to replace the similarly slow and powerful Gallus discipline. It favoured strong warriors.



Retiarius

- » WEAPONS: **RETE (WEIGHTED NET), FUSCINA (TRIDENT)**
- » STRENGTHS: **AGILITY, RANGED ATTACKS**
- » WEAKNESSES: **LITTLE TO NO ARMOUR**
- » MOST LIKELY TO WIN AGAINST: **SECUTOR, MURMILLO**
- » WOULD STRUGGLE AGAINST: **SAMNITE, THRACIAN**

Did you know?
Due to their lack of armour - some wore nothing but a loincloth - many viewed the retiarius as the lowliest of classes.



Secutor

- » WEAPONS: **GLADIUS, DAGGER**
- » STRENGTHS: **HEAVILY ARMOURED**
- » WEAKNESSES: **SLOWER THAN MANY OTHER CLASSES**
- » MOST LIKELY TO WIN AGAINST: **SAMNITE**
- » WOULD STRUGGLE AGAINST: **RETIARIUS**

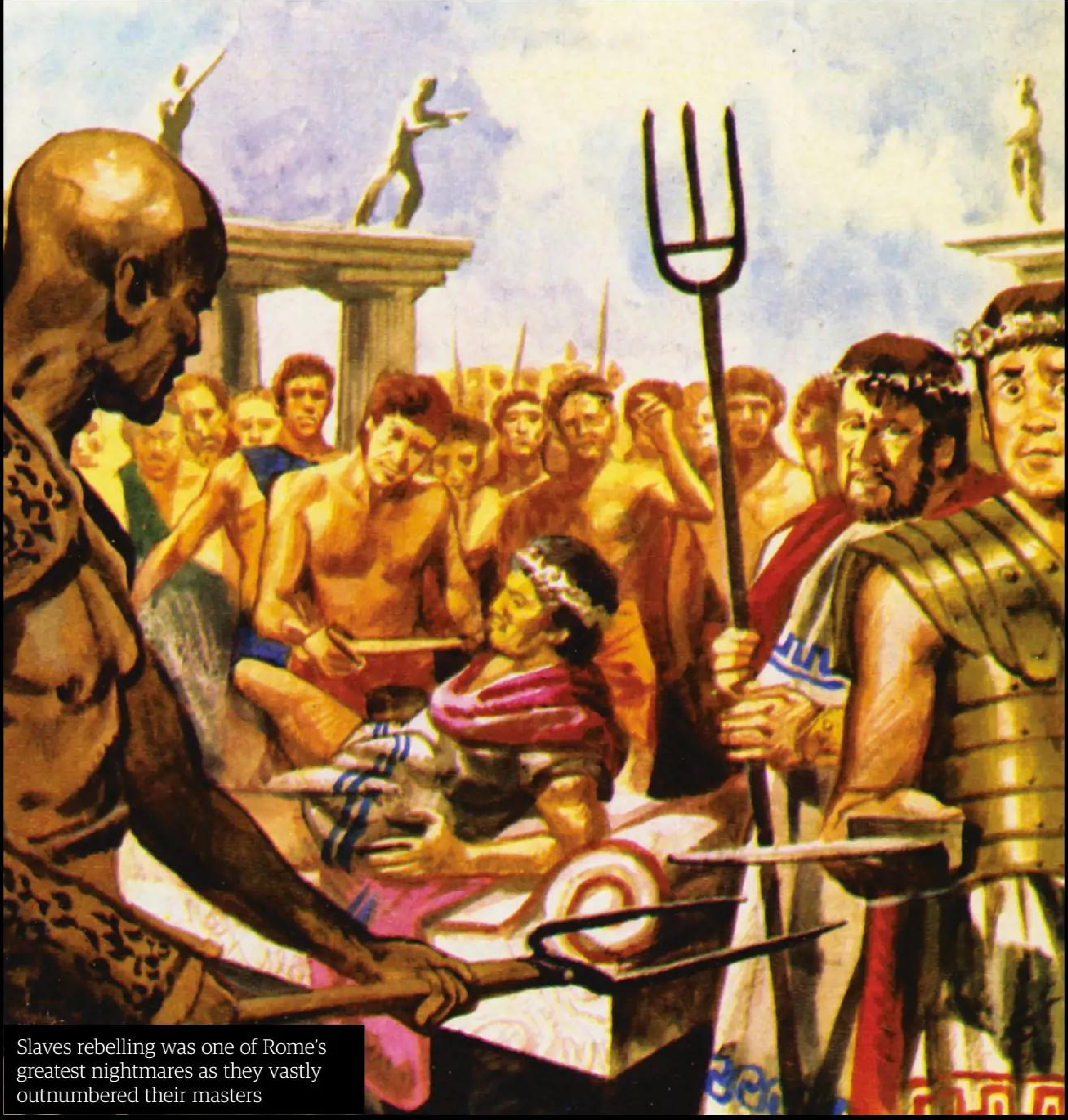
Did you know?
Secutor, with its anti-trident and anti-net armour, was a class designed to fight the more agile Retiarius class.

> "Drenched in blood on the front line, Spartacus leads the charge into the legionnaires"

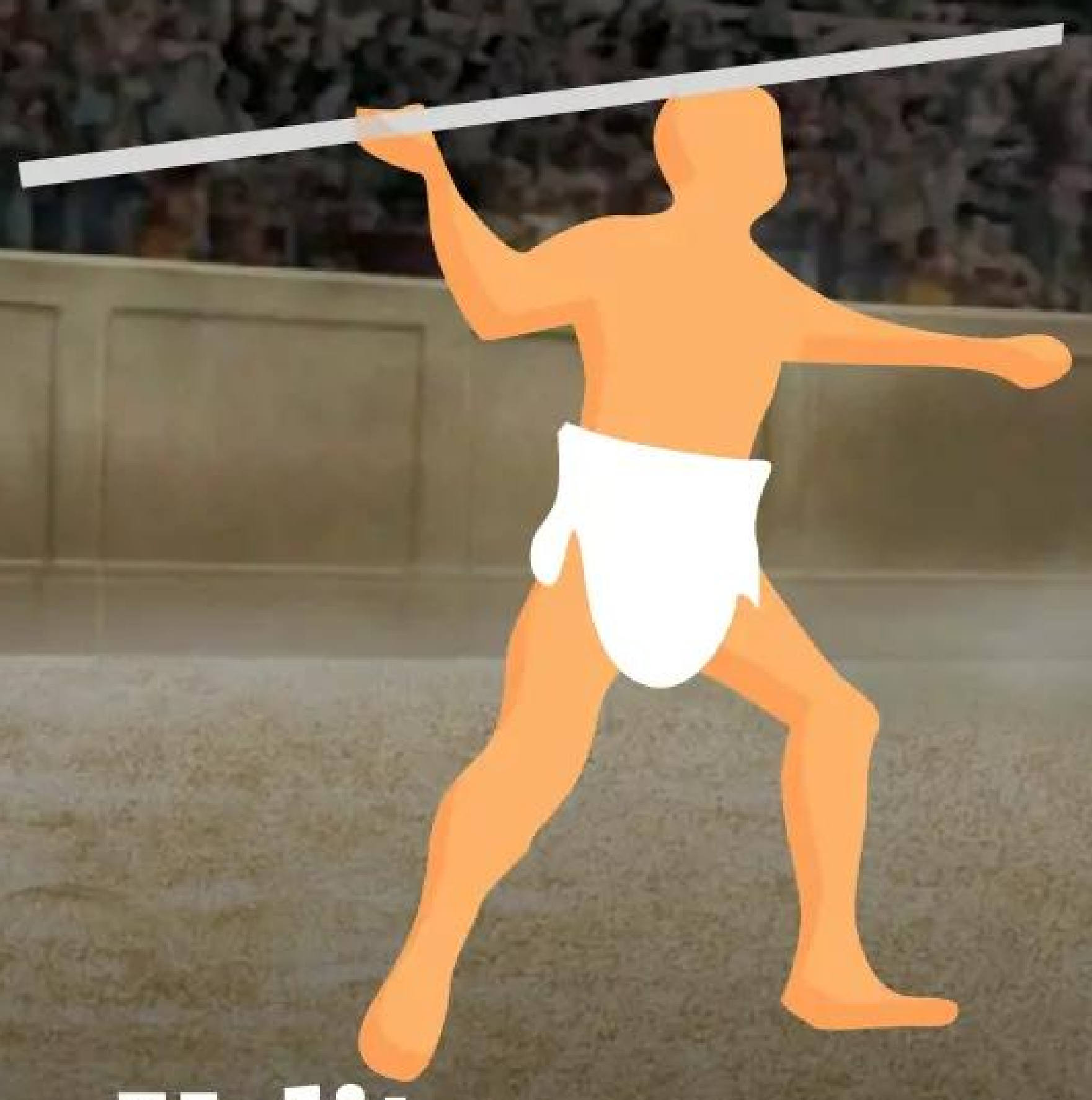
leading the Roman praetor to believe his task will be an easy one. Unbeknown to Glaber, Spartacus and his troops use vines from the volcano's trees to rappel down the side of the mountain. Having crept through the cover of darkness, Spartacus and a contingent of around 500 warriors attack the Roman siege-makers in a flanking manoeuvre. In a matter of minutes most of Glaber's contingent is wiped out.

It isn't long before news of Glaber's humiliation reaches Rome. Without delay a second contingent, twice the size of Glaber's, is sent out under the command of fellow praetor Publius Varinius. The praetor chooses to split his forces before reaching Vesuvius, planning to besiege the camp from three sides. Spartacus' army is ready though; they know this land and use guerrilla tactics to wear Varinius' men down until a final attack by the Romans ends in another victory for the rebels.

By the winter of 72 BCE, Spartacus' forces are spreading far and wide across the Italian



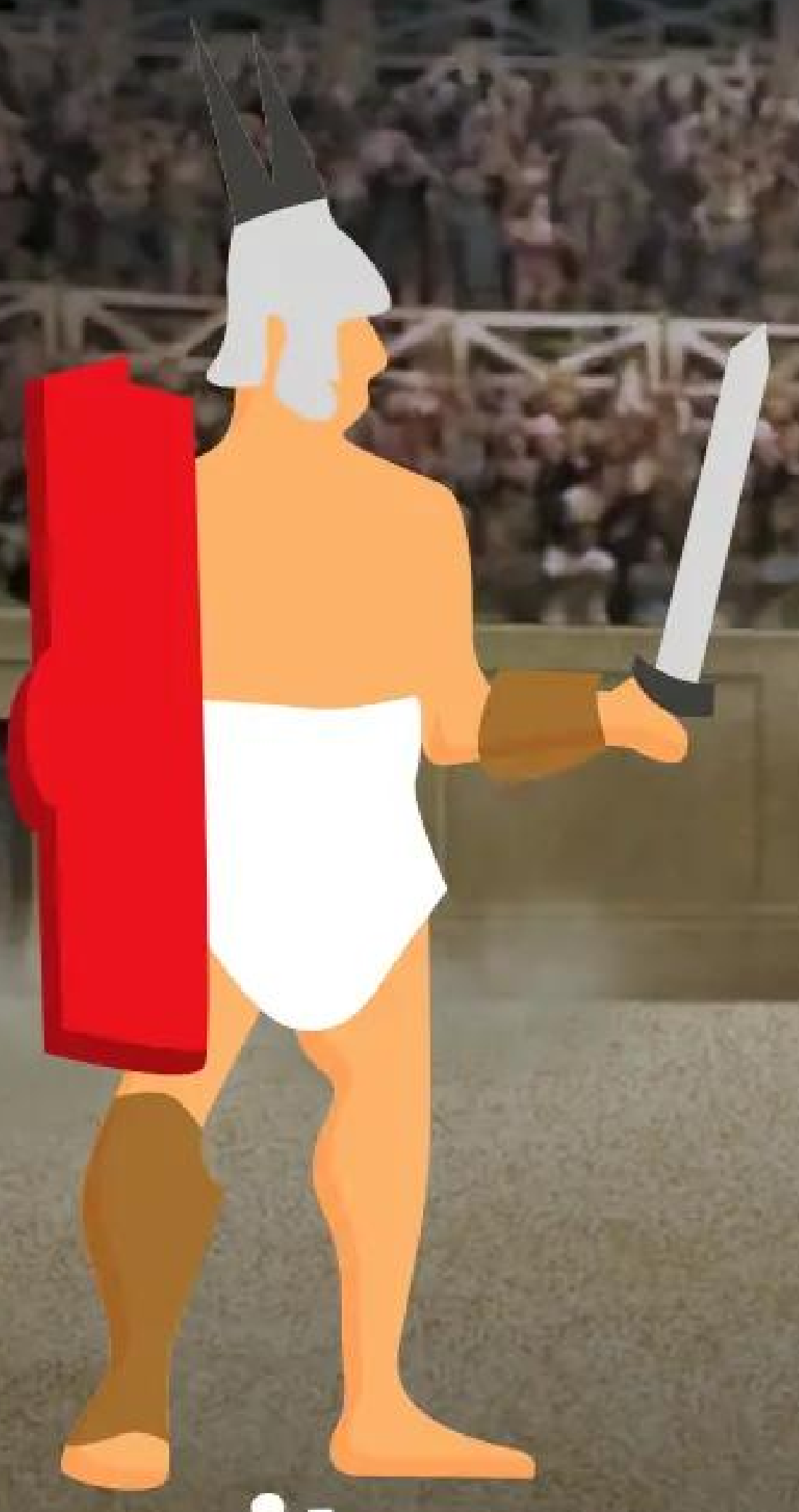
Slaves rebelling was one of Rome's greatest nightmares as they vastly outnumbered their masters



Velitus

- WEAPONS: **SPEAR**
- STRENGTHS: **SPEED, MOBILITY, RANGED ATTACKS**
- WEAKNESSES: **LIGHTLY ARMOURED**
- MOST LIKELY TO WIN AGAINST: **DIMACHAERUS**
- WOULD STRUGGLE AGAINST: **EVERYBODY**

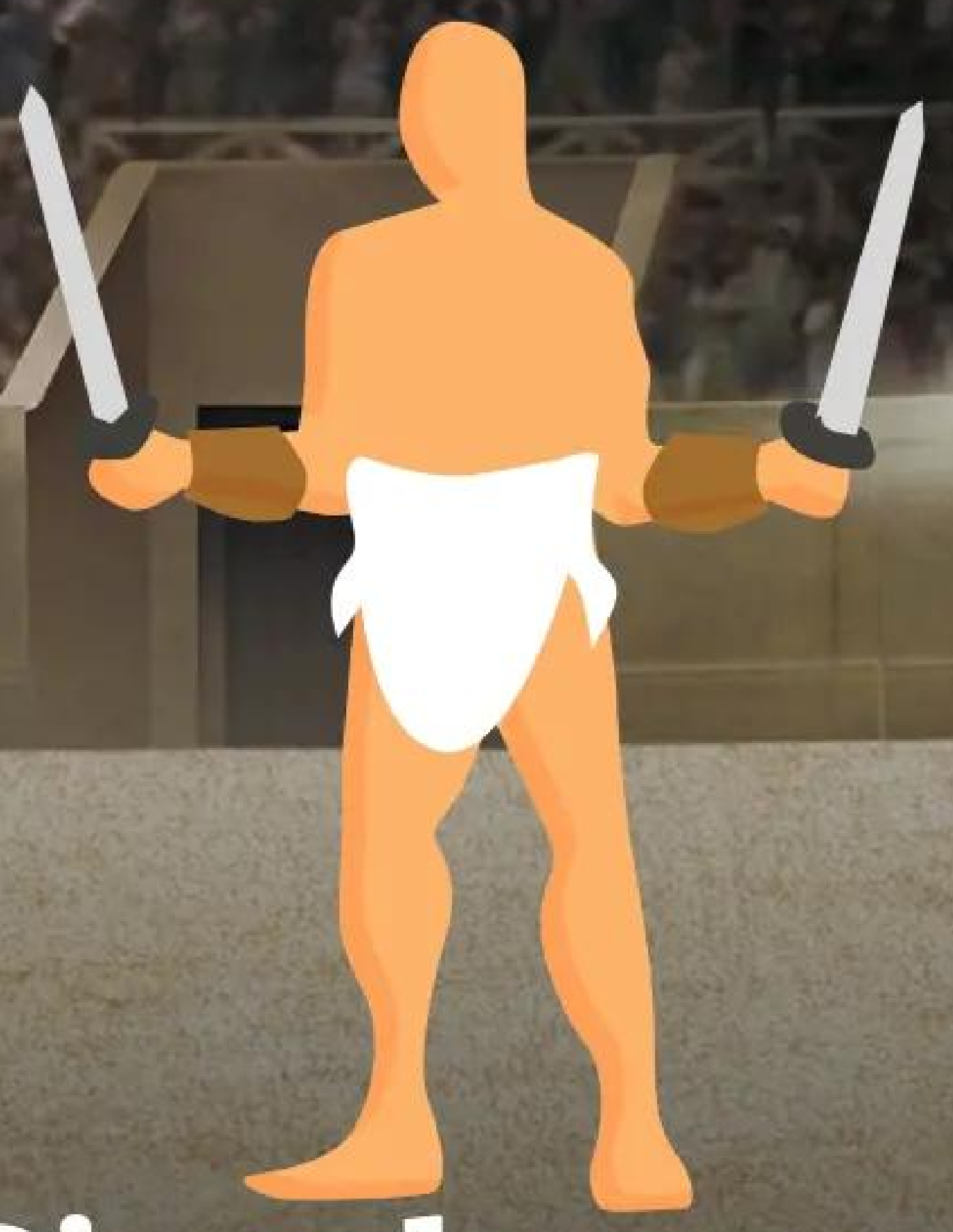
Did you know?
Gladiators fighting as the Velitus class were not seen as good prospects. They usually fought in groups against one or more chariots and didn't normally last long.



Samnite

- WEAPONS: **SHORT SWORD, SHIELD**
- STRENGTHS: **ALL ROUNDER**
- WEAKNESSES: **ABDOMEN AND LEGS (UNARMOURED)**
- MOST LIKELY TO WIN AGAINST: **THRACIAN, SECUTOR**
- WOULD STRUGGLE AGAINST: **RETIARIUS**

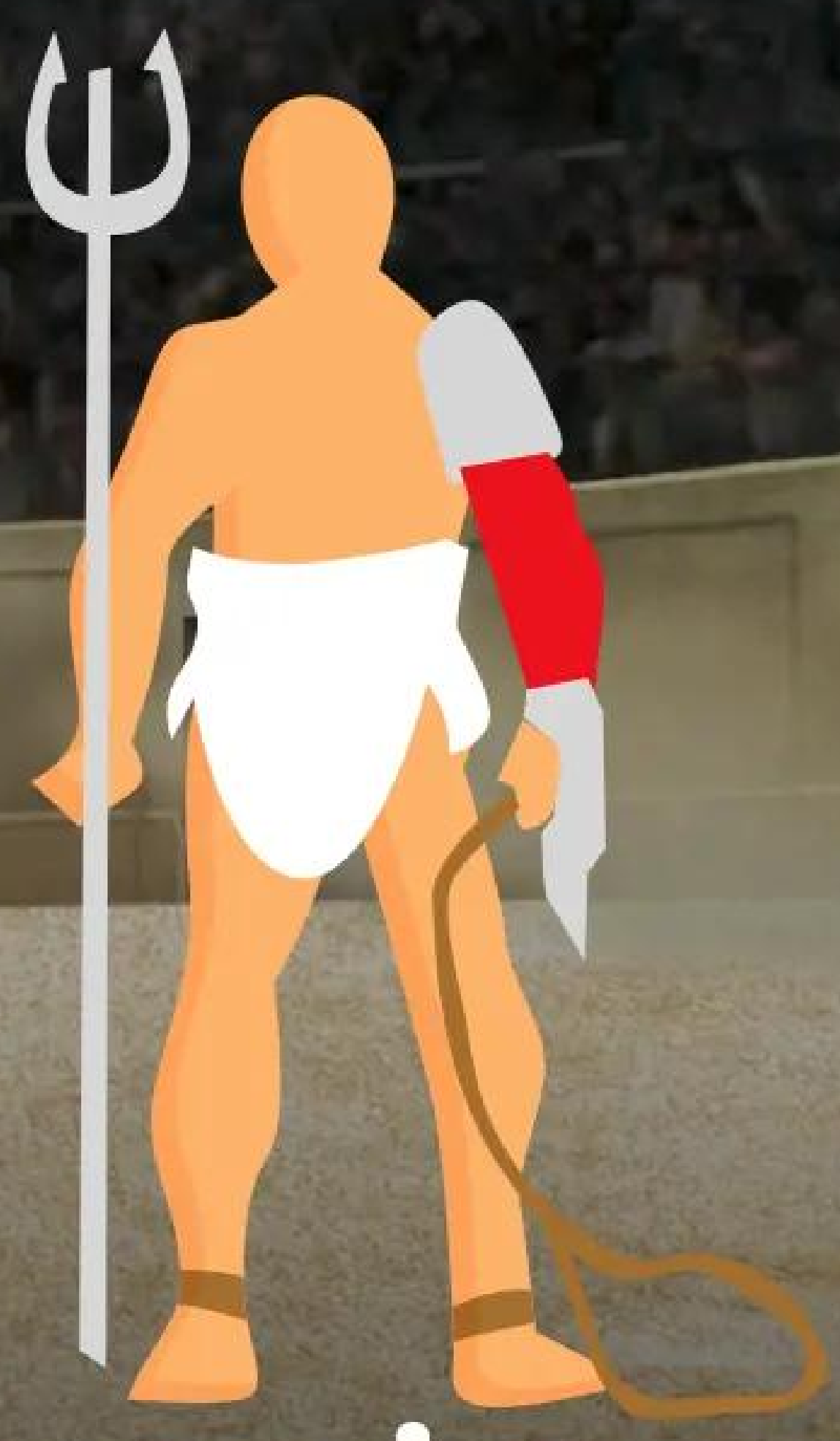
Did you know?
The Samnite class fell out of favour when Samnium (the previously defeated enemy who provided the inspiration for the class) returned as an ally to Rome.



Dimachaerus

- WEAPONS: **DUAL SWORDS**
- STRENGTHS: **SKILLED IN CLOSE-QUARTERS COMBAT**
- WEAKNESSES: **LIGHTLY ARMOURED**
- MOST LIKELY TO WIN AGAINST: **LAQUERIUS**
- WOULD STRUGGLE AGAINST: **THRACIAN**

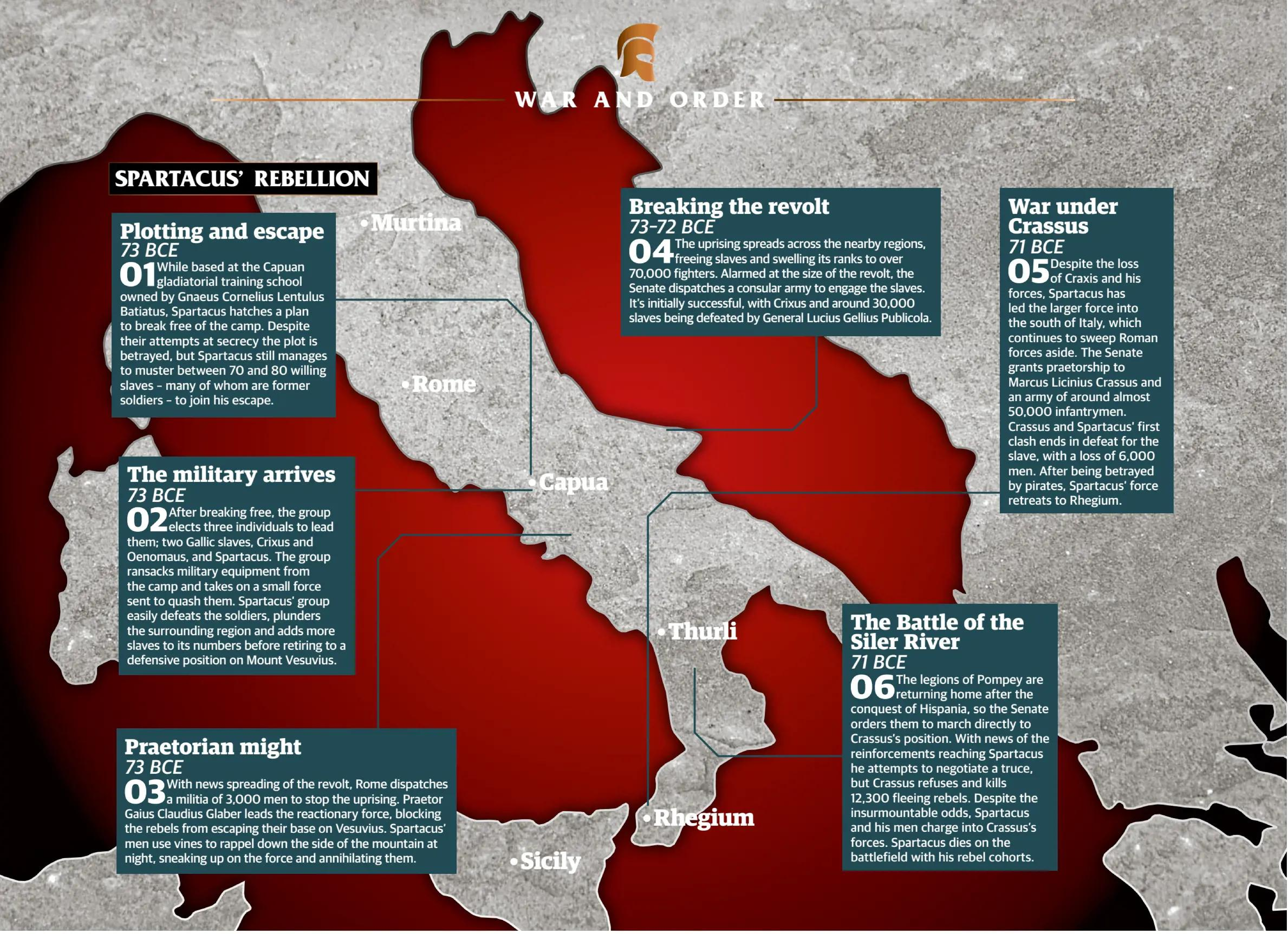
Did you know?
In the *Spartacus* TV series, the producers chose to have Spartacus himself favour this particular gladiatorial style despite evidence suggesting he was a Thracian.



Laquerius

- WEAPONS: **NOOSE, TRIDENT**
- STRENGTHS: **ABLE TO DISARM OPPONENTS**
- WEAKNESSES: **OPEN TO RUSH ATTACKS**
- MOST LIKELY TO WIN AGAINST: **VELITUS**
- WOULD STRUGGLE AGAINST: **SAMNITE**

Did you know?
Some historians have speculated that the Laquerius class was actually a form of jester who came into the arena to mock great battles of old.



SPARTACUS' REBELLION

Plotting and escape

73 BCE

01 While based at the Capuan gladiatorial training school owned by Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Batiatus, Spartacus hatches a plan to break free of the camp. Despite their attempts at secrecy the plot is betrayed, but Spartacus still manages to muster between 70 and 80 willing slaves – many of whom are former soldiers – to join his escape.

The military arrives

73 BCE

02 After breaking free, the group elects three individuals to lead them; two Gallic slaves, Crixus and Oenomaus, and Spartacus. The group ransacks military equipment from the camp and takes on a small force sent to quash them. Spartacus' group easily defeats the soldiers, plunders the surrounding region and adds more slaves to its numbers before retiring to a defensive position on Mount Vesuvius.

Praetorian might

73 BCE

03 With news spreading of the revolt, Rome dispatches a militia of 3,000 men to stop the uprising. Praetor Gaius Claudius Glaber leads the reactionary force, blocking the rebels from escaping their base on Vesuvius. Spartacus' men use vines to rappel down the side of the mountain at night, sneaking up on the force and annihilating them.

Breaking the revolt

73-72 BCE

04 The uprising spreads across the nearby regions, freeing slaves and swelling its ranks to over 70,000 fighters. Alarmed at the size of the revolt, the Senate dispatches a consular army to engage the slaves. It's initially successful, with Crixus and around 30,000 slaves being defeated by General Lucius Gellius Publicola.

War under Crassus

71 BCE

05 Despite the loss of Craxis and his forces, Spartacus has led the larger force into the south of Italy, which continues to sweep Roman forces aside. The Senate grants praetorship to Marcus Licinius Crassus and an army of around almost 50,000 infantrymen. Crassus and Spartacus' first clash ends in defeat for the slave, with a loss of 6,000 men. After being betrayed by pirates, Spartacus' force retreats to Rhegium.

The Battle of the Siler River

71 BCE

06 The legions of Pompey are returning home after the conquest of Hispania, so the Senate orders them to march directly to Crassus's position. With news of the reinforcements reaching Spartacus he attempts to negotiate a truce, but Crassus refuses and kills 12,300 fleeing rebels. Despite the insurmountable odds, Spartacus and his men charge into Crassus's forces. Spartacus dies on the battlefield with his rebel cohorts.

heartland, enveloping the towns of Thurii, Nola, Nuceria and many more. With two military successes to its name and with news of the revolt spreading across the region, Spartacus' rebellion now totals over 150,000 slaves. Hundreds of camps litter the plains of Campania, their food reserves restocked from the towns and settlements they now control. By now, Spartacus' uprising has also bisected into two separate forces – one mainly consisting of Thracians and other slaves and the other commanded by Crixus and Oenomaus. The force under Spartacus' two allies is essentially a Celtic army bolstered by Gaulish slaves, and so it pushes further into the Appelines with many of its number hoping to find a new freedom in Gaul itself.

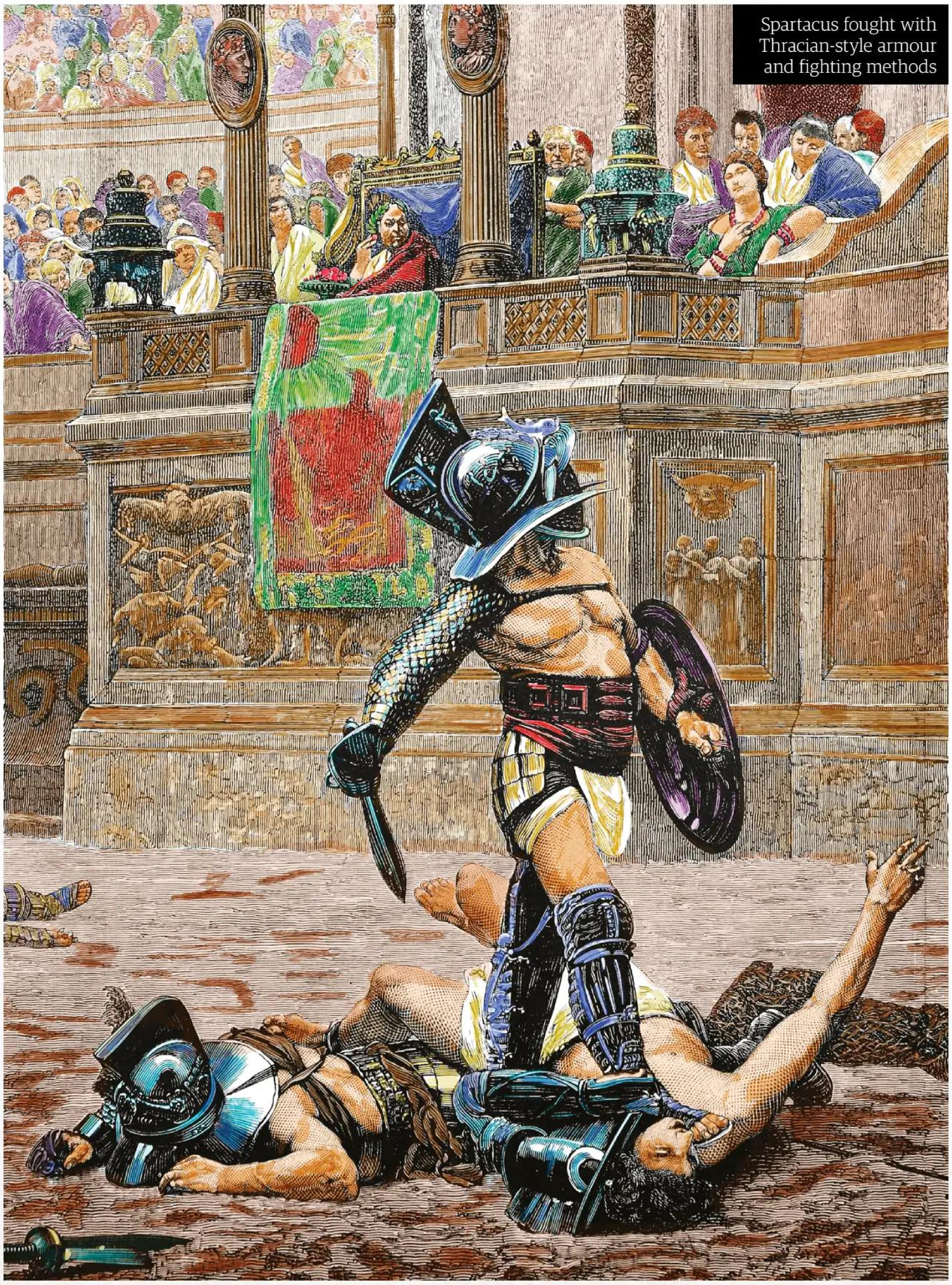
With a great deal of Rome's military might consigned to putting down another rebellion in Hispania (modern-day Spain), the Republic musters what forces it can from its disparate military. Finally realising the gravity of the situation, the Senate chooses to combine the forces of two its most revered generals, Lucius Gellius Publicola and Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Clodanius to make an army of around 50,000 legionnaires. The gladiator army is now split into two groups with around 30,000 troops under the command of Crixus, but the bulk of the rebellion remains with Spartacus. Realising that this division can be used to their advantage, Lucius Gellius' legions ambush Crixus' legion in the foothills of Mount Garganus. The Gaulish slaves fight for their lives, but the discipline of Gellius' men wins out and the smaller rebel army is slaughtered, along with both Crixus and Oenomaus. It is the rebellion's first loss.

Gellius' legions now have a taste for blood. They turn their attentions to Spartacus' army as it heads toward Cisalpine Gaul. Before Gellius' forces can reach Spartacus, though, Lentulus' legions attempt to trap him in the narrow paths of the Appelines. However, Spartacus rushes into Lentulus' forces head-on and destroys them outright. He even captures 300 legionnaires and has them executed as a message to Gellius and Rome itself. Gellius' 30,000-strong army arrives a few days later and clashes with Spartacus' larger force in the mountain range. Drenched in blood on the front line, Spartacus leads the charge into the legionnaires and inspires his fellow rebels to overcome the disciplined soldiers. When the brutal battle is done, the rebel army sends a wounded Gellius and a handful of survivors back to Rome as a reminder that these former slaves will not be brought to heel so easily.

By the spring of 71 BCE it seems the Senate needs a miracle to defeat Spartacus – it comes in the form of Marcus Licinius Crassus, one of the most successful and revered generals of the entire Republic. The Senate grants him full praetorship and a combined army of six legions. With an army of around 40,000 legionnaires, Crassus marches toward the remaining rebel forces. Crassus is a hardline general, a brutal leader who executes any rebels he finds and treats his own men with as much disdain, not hesitating to use decimation with

> "Spartacus sends a handful of survivors back to Rome as a reminder that these former slaves will not be brought to heel"

The remains of the arena in Capua where Spartacus would have fought as a gladiator



Spartacus fought with Thracian-style armour and fighting methods

THREE SLAVE REBELLIONS

Spartacus' uprising wasn't the only rebellion to rock the slave trade and 'civilised' society

Zanj Rebellion

AL-JIBAL
AL-'IRAQ
AL-AHWAZ
Iraq and al-Ahwaz during the Zanj rebellion, 869-883 A.D.

869–883

At its height, the Abbasid Caliphate (one of three powerful Islamic states that controlled much of the Middle East and Asia between 750 and 1517) had one of the biggest slave populations in the world. The Zanj Rebellion, which comprised a number of smaller uprisings that eventually solidified into a single national conflict, saw 500,000 captives rise up against their masters in a violent confrontation that eventually led to the formation of an independent state within Egypt. However, the Abbasid armies eventually regrouped and crushed what was left of the uprising soon after.

Haitian Rebellion

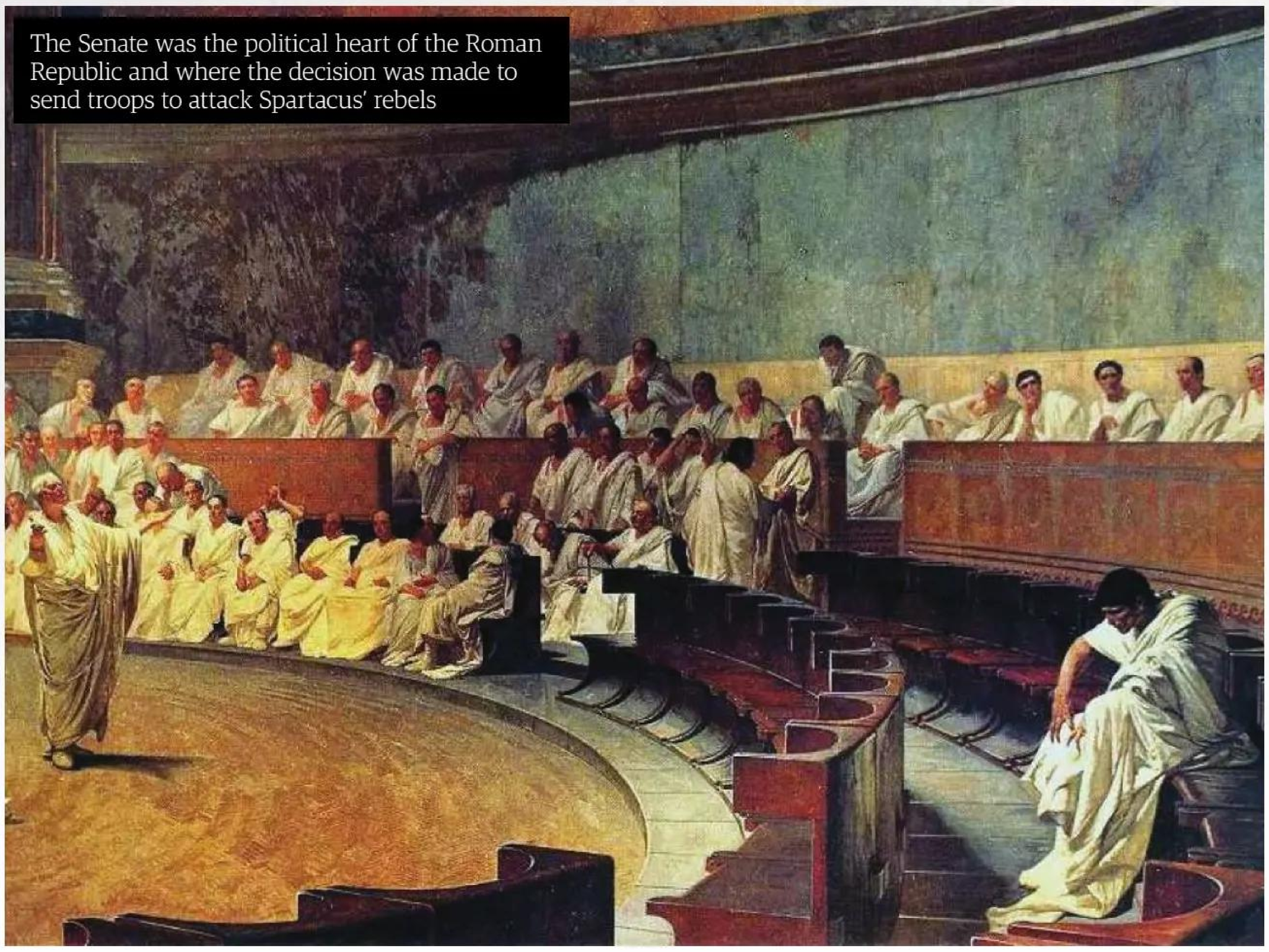
21 APRIL 1791 – 1 JANUARY 1804

Toward the end of the 1780s, Saint-Domingue was the most profitable possession controlled by France. It produced a staggering 60 per cent of the world's coffee and around 40 per cent of all sugar reserves, but it did so by working its slaves to death (the mortality rate far exceeded the island's birth rate). Inspired by the shock waves of the French Revolution, an uprising was concocted by freeman and military genius François-Dominique Toussaint Louverture. After almost 13 bloody years the French were driven off the island and the Republic of Haiti was established.

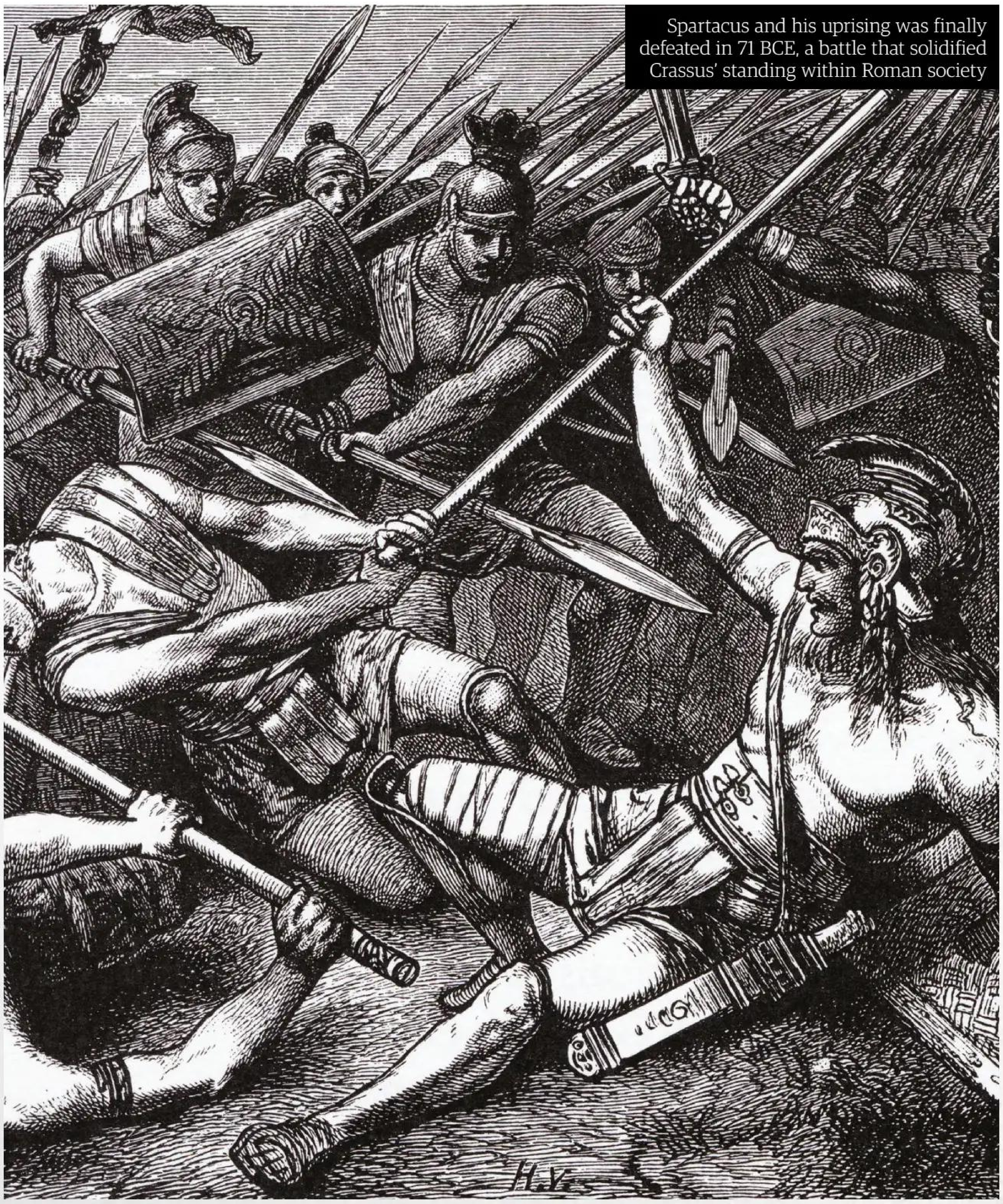
Second Servile War

104–100 BCE

Taking place 28 years after the First Servile War ended, this uprising, led by a slave leader named Tryphon, grew to such a size that it took considerable military might on the part of the Republic to bring it to heel. The revolt broke out when most of the slave population on the island of Sicily walked out on their masters. Refusing to return to servitude, the slaves formed into a force of around 2,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry. Despite its considerable presence, the consul general Manius Aquillius eventually put the rebellion down.



The Senate was the political heart of the Roman Republic and where the decision was made to send troops to attack Spartacus' rebels



Spartacus and his uprising was finally defeated in 71 BCE, a battle that solidified Crassus' standing within Roman society

THE COST OF REBELLION

Breaking the law could be fatal for slaves

Crucifixion

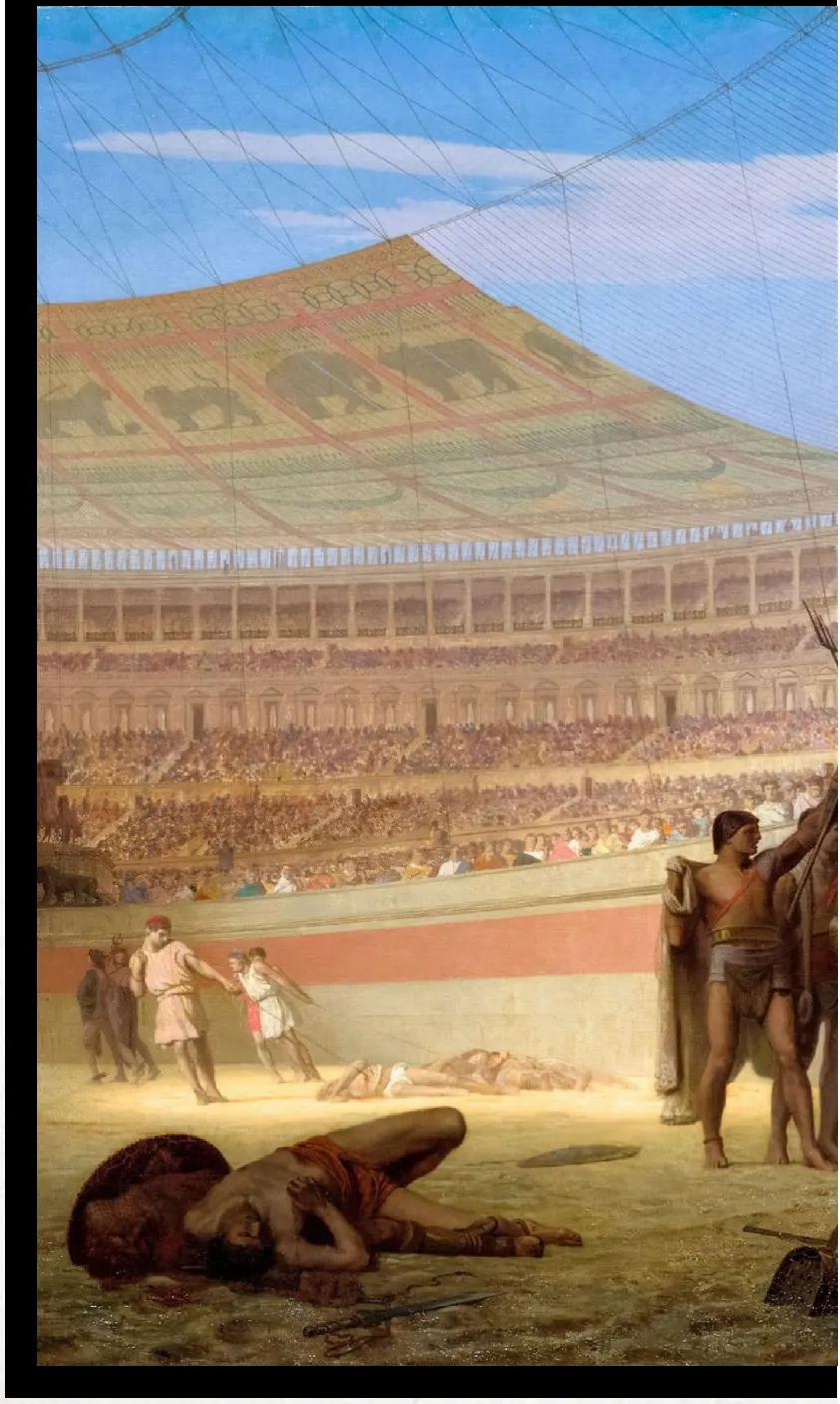
Up until the rule of Emperor Constantine – who eventually outlawed the cruel practice – a slave could be crucified for even the most menial of crimes, such as disrespecting a high-ranking member of society. Despite the fact that nails were driven through the feet and wrists, crucified slaves almost always died of asphyxiation as their joints began to separate.

Broken bones and branding

Those slaves who chose to run away from their servitude did not face death, but they did find themselves punished in a way that would remind them of their failed attempt at freedom: broken bones. It was common for legs, arms and feet to be broken, along with the branding of the word 'fug' (an abbreviation of 'fugivitus' or 'runaway'). Branding was also used for slaves who were sold into rural subjugation. These were usually individuals deemed too destructive and rebellious for life in the cities.

Execution of a household

Despite the considerable deficit in slaves toward the collapse of the Roman era, Roman citizens were terrified of uprisings among the serving class, so only the most severe of punishments were sought. If any slave assaulted or killed their master the entire serving household would be murdered, one by one.



POPULAR MEDIA & MYTH

Why has Spartacus' story endured throughout history?

While his uprising was ultimately defeated like those in the previous two Servile Wars, his actions as a general and a defier of authority have immortalised Spartacus as a universal symbol of rebellion. He has been embodied by future rebel leaders (the Haitian Revolution's leader François-Dominique Toussaint Louverture was nicknamed the 'Black Spartacus' by his enemies), portrayed as a hero in popular media (Stanley Kubrick's *Spartacus* film and the popular Starz TV series to name but two examples), and his name is used by a slew of sports teams. Bulgaria in particular, the modern-day site of Spartacus' supposed birthplace, openly celebrates him as a national hero. However, some theories suggest that Spartacus was not a single man at all but in fact a cabal of individuals who knew that in order to defy the Republic they needed one figurehead who would inspire the people and strike fear into the heart of authority. This theory is plausible, but sadly we will never know for certain.

Kirk Douglas played Spartacus in the 1960 Oscar-winning film of the same name

> "Those slaves that chose to run were hunted down and punished severely to remind the rest that Rome did not look kindly on deserters"

his own troops following murmurs of tiredness or insubordination. Decimation (which means 'removal of a tenth') involved a section of the army drawing lots in groups of ten; the other nine, usually by stoning or clubbing, would kill the soldier that loses. Crassus is unlike anyone Spartacus has ever faced.

Before Crassus and Spartacus meet for the first time, Spartacus defeats two of Crassus' allies in Picenum, tearing their legionnaires to shreds as they attempt to outflank the rebel army. As Crassus' forces approach, Spartacus attempts to show humility and barter a truce with the Romans. Crassus, sensing weakness, immediately attacks, his extremely disciplined soldiers carving into Spartacus' men. The rebels soon battle back but Crassus' forces are relentless – Spartacus realises this is not an enemy to be underestimated so orders his troops to retreat. In a matter of minutes 6,000 rebels are dead, with few losses inflicted on Crassus' own legions.

Spartacus then decides to lead some of his forces over the Mediterranean Sea into Sicily. This large island had once seen a vast slave uprising of its own decades before, and Spartacus is counting on the considerable servile population to revolt and join his cause. He makes a deal with a band of local pirates to transport 2,000 of his men onto the isle, but – if the ancient historian Plutarch is to be believed – the pirates instead take the payment and abandon the rebel forces to the Roman legions closing in behind them.

As the weeks roll by Crassus' forces relentlessly pursue Spartacus through Lucenia, slowly wearing the rebel army down in small battles and skirmishes. The tide is now turning in the favour of the praetor, and Spartacus knows it. The slave-turned-rebel-leader sends his forces into Rhegium, but Crassus builds fortifications on the border, cutting off the Thracian's supply lines. By the summer of 71 BCE the momentum behind the revolt is fast dissipating, and with reinforcements arriving in the form of the legions of Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (Pompey), the great Roman general and future consul, the end looms for Spartacus.

Hearing of the approach of the Pompey legions, Spartacus tries to broker another truce, but Crassus once again refuses to parlay with the rebel general. At the news that another attempt at peaceful resolution has failed, a portion of the rebel army breaks away and flees into Petulia. A large consignment of Crassus' legions peels away and pursues them. With a lashing storm boiling on the horizon, the legionnaires catch the terrified former slaves, butchering over 12,000 of them.

Spartacus' own forces arrive to find the consignment of legionnaires standing in a field covered with their fallen brothers. The Thracian engages the soldiers, but Crassus' main army arrives soon after. Despite bringing the small military force to heel, Spartacus knows the real danger is behind him. He turns the full force of his army around and meets Crassus' men head on. They fight with all the fearlessness of true warriors and gladiators, but the larger force of the praetor begins to slowly wear Spartacus' men down.

From across the battlefield the Thracian, exhausted from years of constant fighting and leadership, spies Crassus. Sat atop his horse, the general watches the rebel force fall apart from the safety of his personal guard. Spartacus never reaches Crassus, and his men are utterly routed. As the last breaths leave his body he witnesses his brothers being cut down, the dream of freedom and defying the mighty Roman Republic dying with them.

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CAESAR

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Obsessed with power and all its trappings, three very different men formed a pact that would prove to be the Republic's undoing

116 The Gallic Wars
In need of a military triumph to further his ascent, Caesar ruthlessly suppressed the formidable Gauls with cunning and cruelty

120 The Battle of Alesia
The battle that would settle the fate of Gaul witnessed Caesar at his most brilliant

124 Caesar vs the Senate
With one ally dead, the other now against him and a fearful Senate demanding he step down, Caesar looked doomed in early 49 BCE. And then he did the unthinkable

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Lover to great men, mother to a doomed son and owner of a cursed dream, Cleopatra's final years shook the known world

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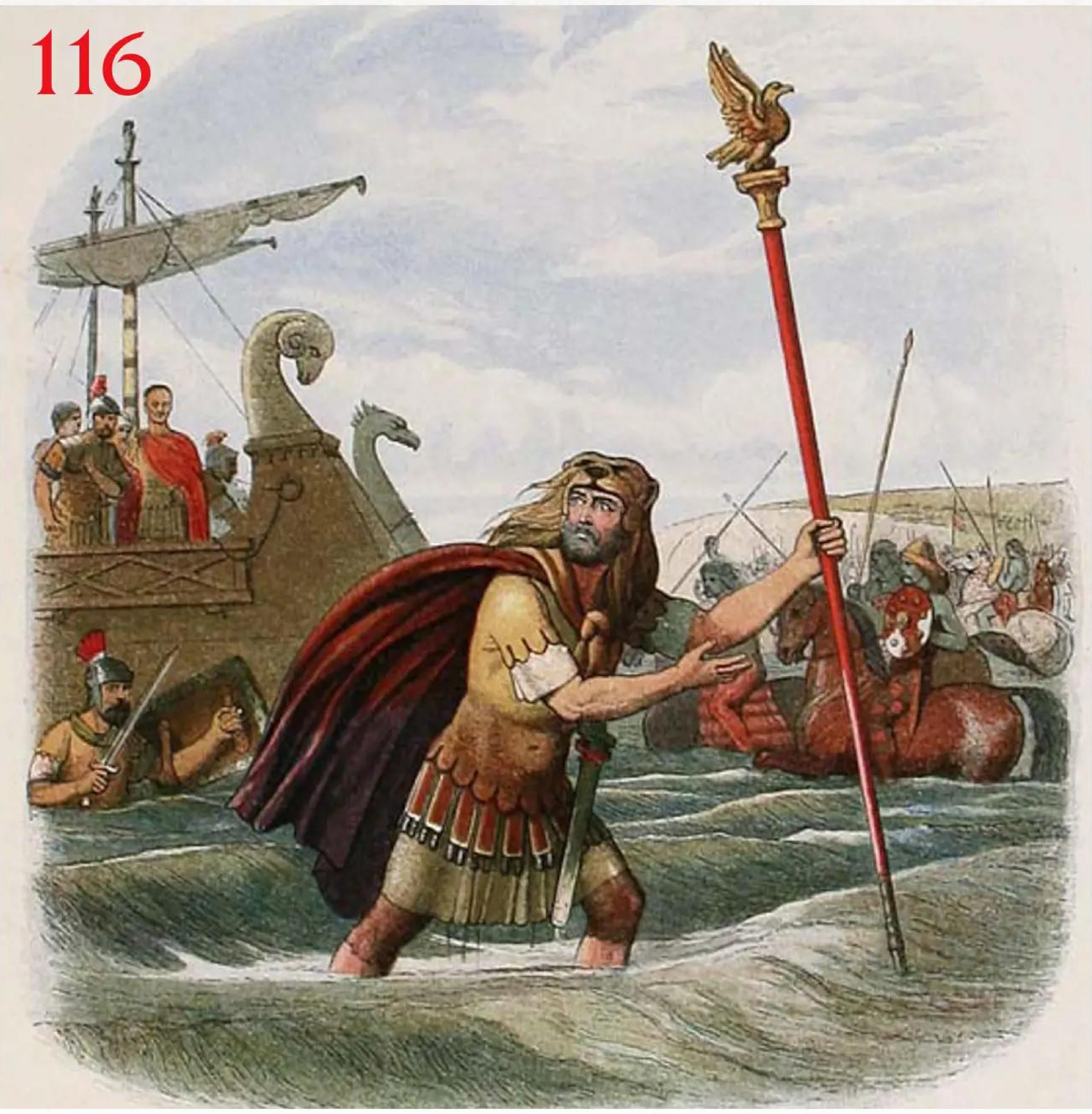
The ultimate fate of Rome would be decided in the waters of Actium

144 Empire state of mind
With his adoptive father dead and his enemies vanquished, Augustus faced a life of healing and defending a wounded Rome. He would in time become her greatest ruler



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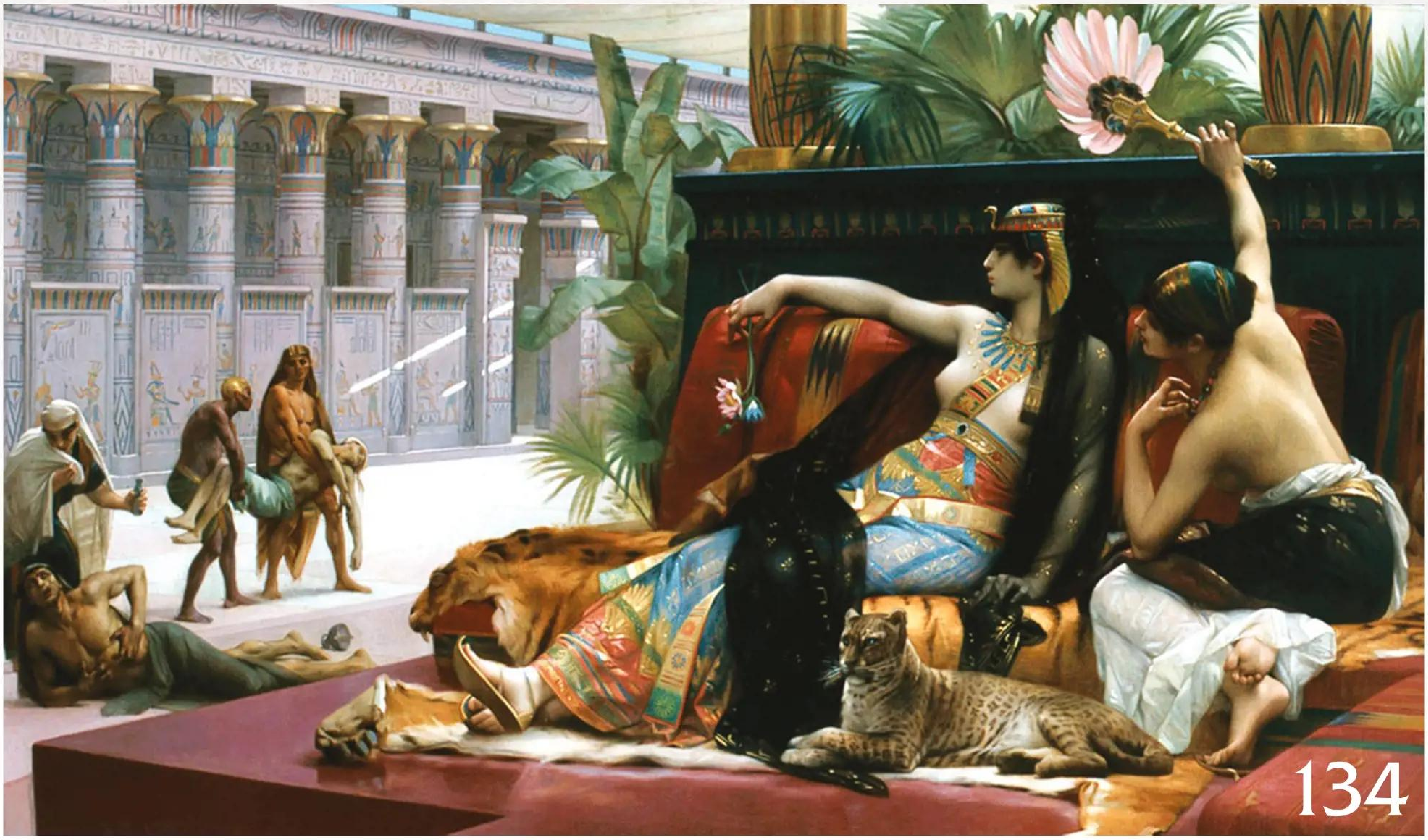

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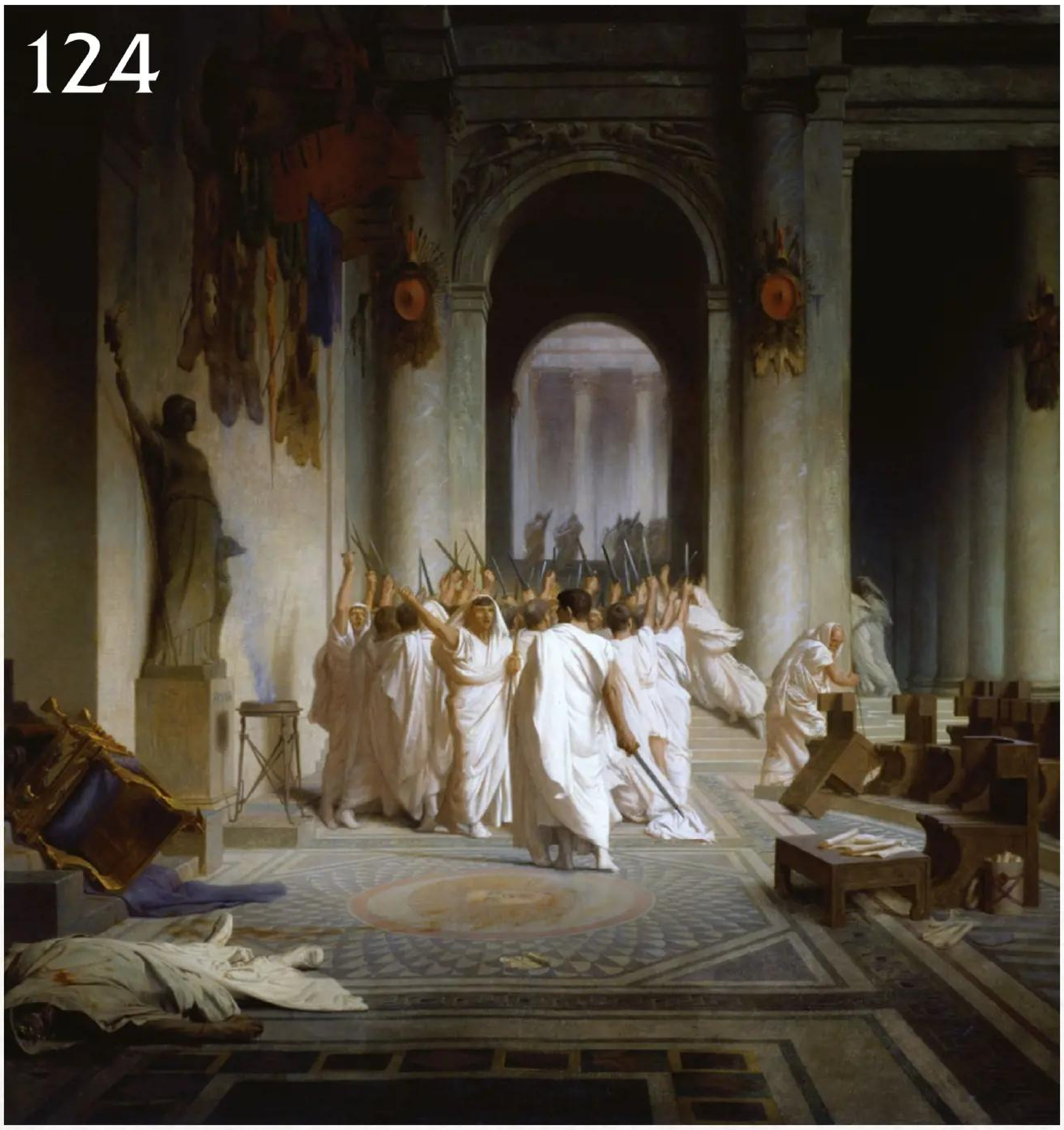

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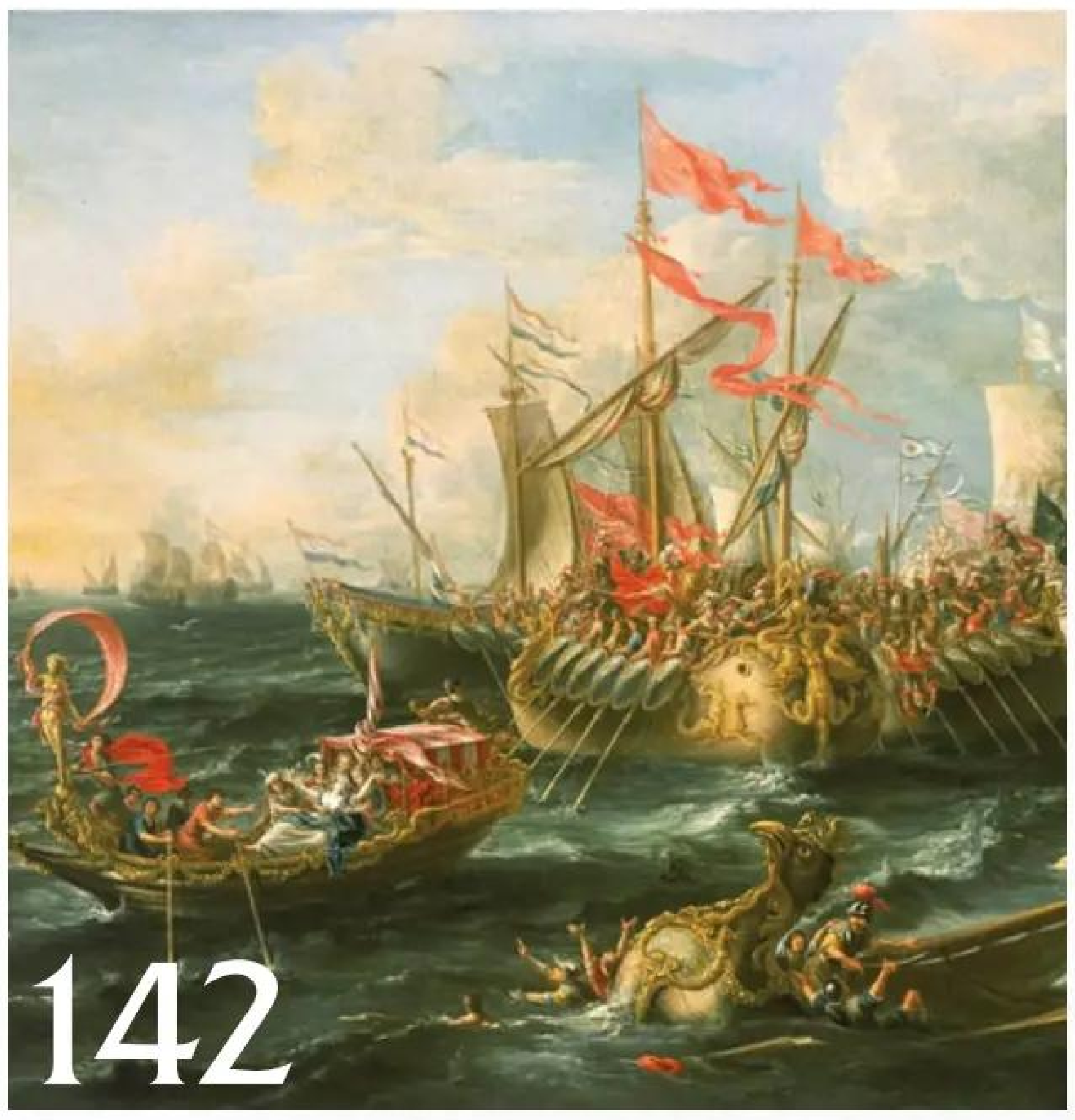

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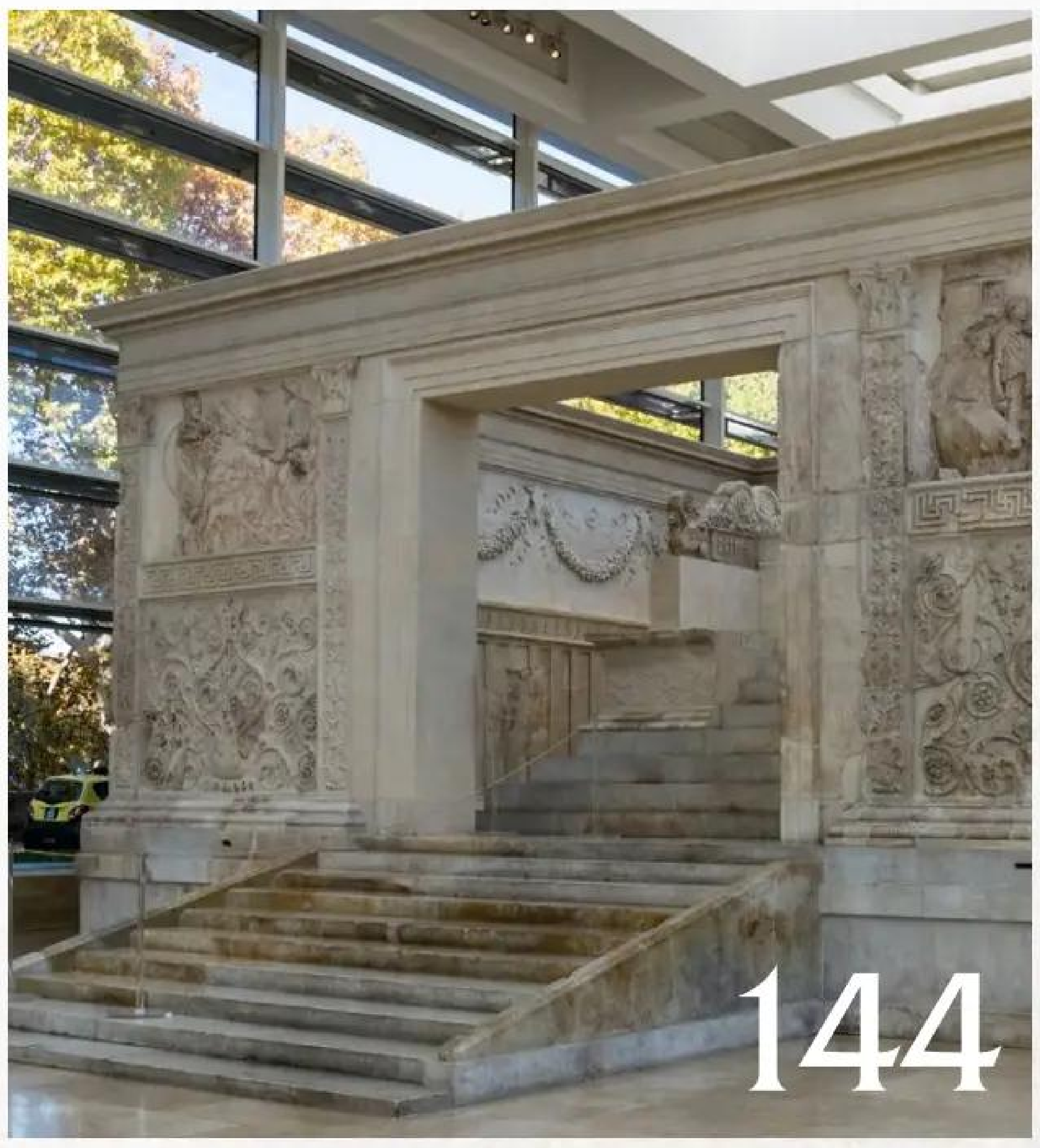

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CAESAR AND THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE

THE POLITICAL ALLIANCE THAT TRANSFORMED JULIUS CAESAR INTO AN UNSTOPPABLE JUGGERNAUT

Written by James Horton

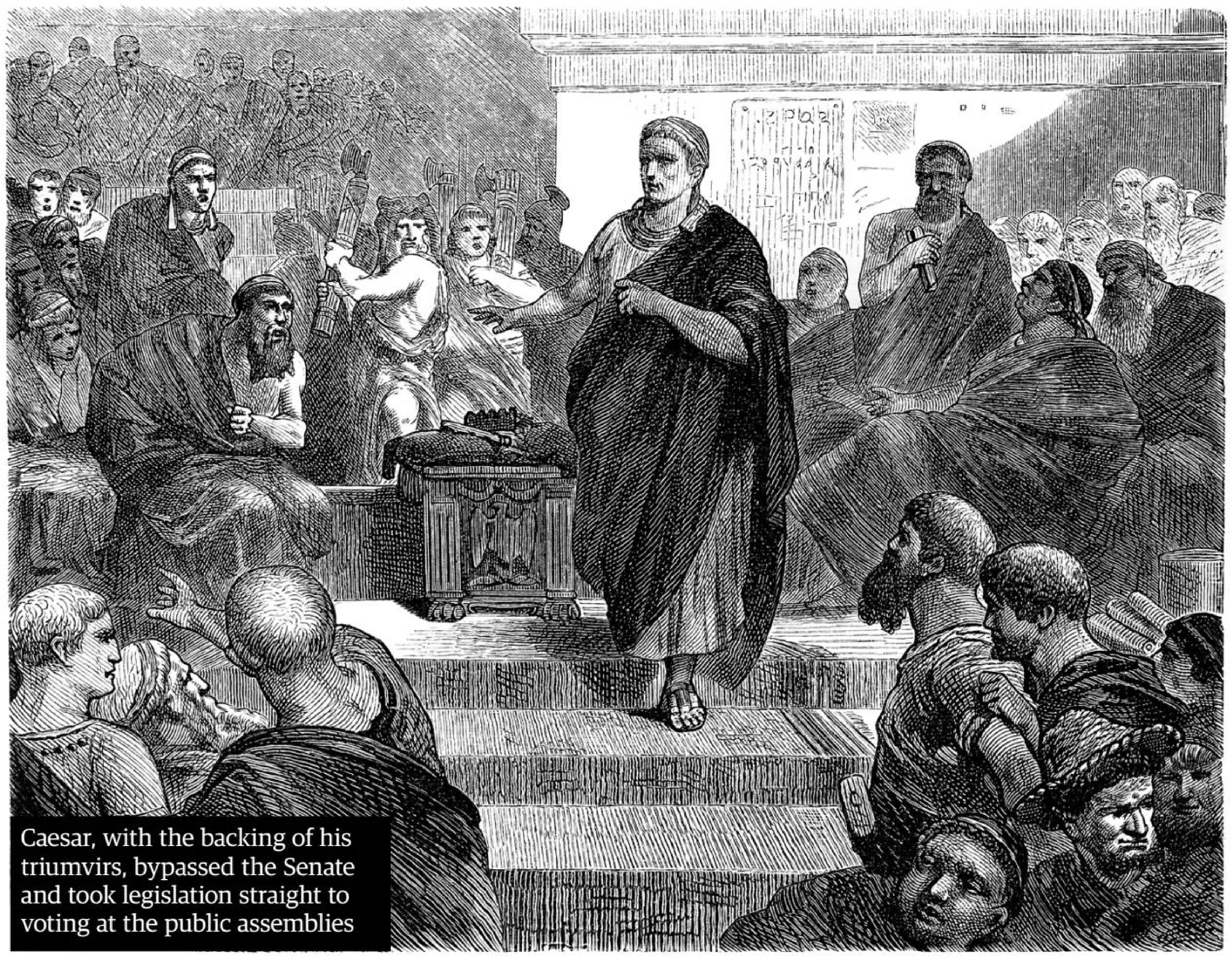
Gaius Julius Caesar was born around 13 July 100 BCE by today's calendar. Caesar's clan, the Julii, were one of the oldest noble houses in Rome, but by this time his branch had lost their place at the heart of the Republic. As such, rather than living on the prestigious Palatine Hill, which overlooked the Roman Forum where the Senate met for debates, Caesar grew up in the distant Subura district close to slum housing. This proximity to the commoners of Rome likely fuelled Caesar's affinity to the populares movement, which championed the rights of the people, much to the annoyance of conservative senators.

Lucius Cornelius Sulla captured Rome in 82 BCE, upon which democracy was suspended as he was appointed dictator. At the age of just 18 Caesar found his name marked for execution on Sulla's proscription list as the young man had refused to divorce the daughter of Cinna, Sulla's bitter enemy. Caesar was forced to flee Rome and go into hiding until the dictator begrudgingly withdrew his name, but Caesar wisely opted to not provoke Sulla further and remained away from the city until the dictator's death.

After some overseas adventures involving a siege, a king and some pirates, Caesar returned to Rome around 74 BCE, earned a nomination to the college of pontiffs and won election to his first rank on the cursus honorum – the ladder of offices climbed by senators who sought to rule the Republic. Caesar's first senatorial post was as a military tribune, which meant acting as a senior officer in the legion. We do not know for certain where Caesar served, but he was likely attached to the staff of Marcus Licinius Crassus, who was waging war against Spartacus and his slave army in Italy as part of the Third Servile War.

Crassus, who at this time was around 40 years old, had supported the opposite side to Caesar in Sulla's Civil Wars. Crassus' father and one of his brothers had died during the purges committed by Sulla's enemies shortly after they captured Rome. Crassus' property was seized and he fled to Spain, sheltering in a cave with two slave girls for company until Sulla returned from his military campaigns in the East. Crassus then eagerly joined Sulla as he marched on Rome and helped him win a key battle at the Colline Gate.

Although Crassus was overlooked for military honours after Sulla's victory, he was able to replenish and then substantially increase his wealth under the dictatorial regime. The unfortunate souls who found themselves on the proscriptions list forfeited the rights to their property, and Crassus was all too eager to buy everything at the reduced market value. His ruthlessness did not end at the nobility, as he also established a fire-fighting service of slaves but would only deploy them if the owner of a burning house agreed to sell the property to him for a huge discount. If they refused the firefighters would leave, the house would be left to burn, and the owner would be left with nothing. Crassus' concept of wealth was steadily warped to the point where he believed a man could not call himself rich unless he was able to raise an army out of his own pocket. Crassus himself certainly met and surpassed this requirement.


Caesar, with the backing of his triumvirs, bypassed the Senate and took legislation straight to voting at the public assemblies

> "At the age of just 18 Caesar found his name marked for execution on Sulla's proscription list"

The martial Romans, however, did not value wealth as much as they did military glory. Crassus had once won a notable victory for Sulla, but this was at the expense of fellow Romans. The war against Spartacus' formidable slave army, however, which had already bested several Roman armies in pitched battles, offered Crassus a chance to gain the legitimate military prestige he craved. In 71 BCE, Crassus managed to bring the tiring slave army to battle and won a crushing victory, capturing 6,000 slaves and having them crucified along the Appian Way that connected Capua and Rome. However, Crassus was left bristling after a remnant slave force of a few thousand fled north and straight into the legions of Gnaeus Pompey. Pompey's men cut down the slaves with ease and then the young general had the audacity to claim that he'd ended the slave revolt. Crassus and Pompey camped their armies outside Rome and stared at each other. Recognising the sensitive position Rome found itself in, it was determined that the two men should be duly elected to the office of consul – the two co-rulers of Rome during their term of office – for the following year. The two disagreed on almost everything and their consulship predictably produced little of value.

Pompey had led a staggeringly unconventional career. His childhood hero, Alexander the Great, had inherited a veteran army from his father at a young age and used it to forge the greatest empire in the known world. Pompey himself enjoyed a proto-version of his hero's, having inherited the loyalty of his late father's legions after spending time with them on campaign. Pompey, like Crassus, was a keen follower of Sulla and used the legions at his disposal to fight for him in the civil war. After this victory - at a time when Pompey had no formal authority and was still too young to be elected into office – he was sent to deal with rebels in Sicily and North Africa. Pompey acquitted himself well and returned to Rome a hero. He was not yet 30 years old and yet wrote to the Senate asking to be granted pro-consular imperium to fight the anti-Sullan rebellion in Spain. Pro-consular

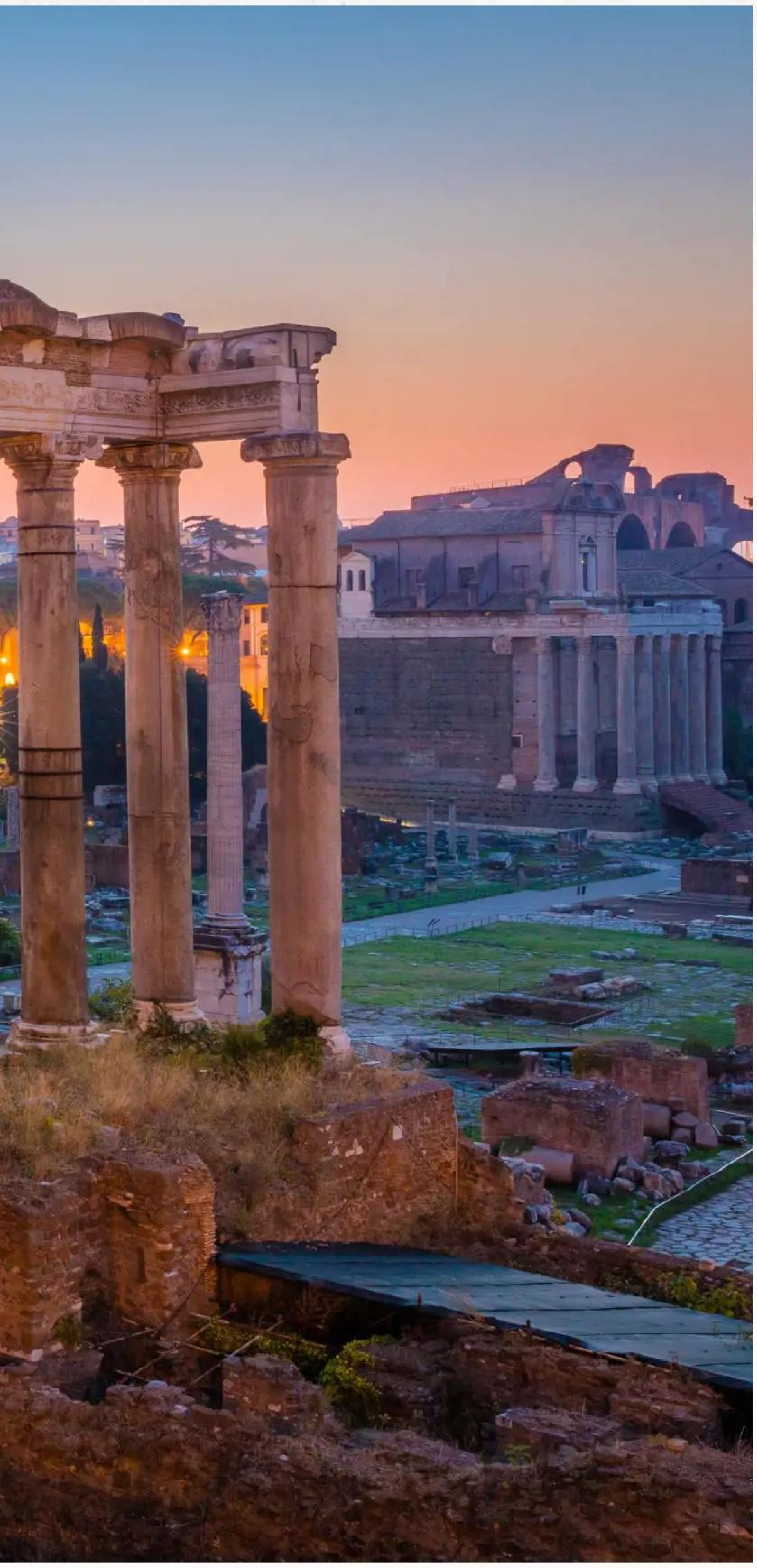
As pontifex maximus Caesar lived nearby to the Roman forum - the nexus of the Republic

positions were formally only offered to politicians who had served as consul, but Sulla relented and granted Pompey's wish.

On his arrival in Spain Pompey found an opponent far greater than any of those he'd faced before in Quintus Sertorius. The experienced rebel general used guerrilla tactics to evade, stall and chip away at the legions facing him. However, the great commander could not be everywhere at once, and Pompey and his colleagues slowly bested Sertorius' lieutenants and wrested back control of Spain. The effort took several years, but eventually Sertorius was killed by an ambitious lieutenant whose skills at treachery far surpassed his ability as a general. Pompey met the lieutenant in battle and crushed him. It was a fortunate end to a protracted campaign, and the young general grew luckier still as he strolled back into Italy and collided with a fleeing body of slaves. Pompey swatted them aside and earned a consulship for his trouble.

But the great general's career was just getting started. After his underwhelming consulship with Crassus, Pompey busied himself with mopping up the pirate menace in the Mediterranean in lightning speed, the efforts only taking him three months. The acclaim earned from this accomplishment helped Pompey steal command of the Eastern legions fighting in the Third Mithridatic War from another great general in Lucius Lucullus. Lucullus had won a crushing victory over Mithridates but his war effort had since stalled due to the army threatening to mutiny. This gave Pompey and his allies room to agitate for his withdrawal and replacement. The Senate agreed, and Pompey stormed into Pontus and finished off Mithridates with ease. He then wheeled his army south and went on a great

As aedile Caesar accumulated a staggering debt by spending lavishly on public works



CATO THE YOUNGER

The beacon of republication virtue and Caesar's fiercest political rival

Caesar was cut from a different cloth to many Romans who came before him. He appealed to the good will of the common people rather than the stodgy senators and dressed to stand out from the crowd. Cato the Younger was, in many ways, the antithesis of Caesar. Just a handful of years younger than his flamboyant senatorial colleague, Cato walked the forum barefoot, ate sparingly and championed the rights of the traditional ruling class. He was a conservative republican with every fibre of his being. As such the two men hated each other, setting them on a collision course that would culminate in Caesar's Civil War. Cato opposed Caesar at nearly every political stage. Cato filibustered Caesar's request to stand for the consulship in absentia by talking all day in the Senate until the meeting was adjourned. This forced Caesar to surrender a celebratory triumph he'd been awarded and walk straight into Rome to claim office. Cato then helped ensure that Caesar's consular colleague was one Marcus Bibulus, who fought Caesar's legislation at every turn. When the First Triumvirate was revealed Cato spat in disgust, rightly seeing that the three men could threaten the Republic. Thus Cato set his sights on prising Pompey away from his fellow triumvirs, a task which he'd achieved by 50 BCE.

Cato the Younger was a staunch conservative and fierce rival of Julius Caesar

sweep of awe-inspiring conquest. Pompey first marched into Syria, displaced the warring remnants of the Seleucid Empire and annexed the country as a province of Rome. He then kept going, capturing towns and cities along the coast before installing a puppet leader on the throne of Judea. Pompey returned from the East with an enormous fortune and mammoth amounts of prestige.

While Pompey was in the East capturing vast new territories, Caesar was in Rome building his political career. The famous phrase Caesar uttered as he crossed the Rubicon, "The die is cast", reveals a prominent gambling element to his character. This aspect was on full display as Caesar climbed the ranks of the cursus honorum throughout the 60s BCE. Caesar spent liberally and far beyond his means when sponsoring festivals, entertaining guests and bribing voters. Bribery was rampant in the late Republic, but Caesar was brazen in his application, aiming to achieve office no matter the cost. The rank of aedile, which entailed responsibility for the public buildings of Rome, was an optional step on the cursus honorum, but Caesar saw the post as an opportunity to garner appreciation from the Roman population. He spent vast sums on public projects and accumulated a huge debt on the promise that he would one day earn a high office and repay his creditors. One of his benefactors was Marcus Crassus, who saw immense promise in the rising noble.

> "Bribery was rampant in the late Republic, but Caesar was brazen in his application"

After serving as aedile, Caesar's gamble began to pay off, as he was elected to the high priesthood of pontifex maximus. The prestigious appointment was for life and came with a property situated much closer to the Forum. Caesar built on this success by winning election to serve as a praetor, the second highest office in Rome. After this term he spent some time in Spain as a provincial governor and won victories against neighbouring tribes, rewarding him financially and increasing his popularity back in Rome.

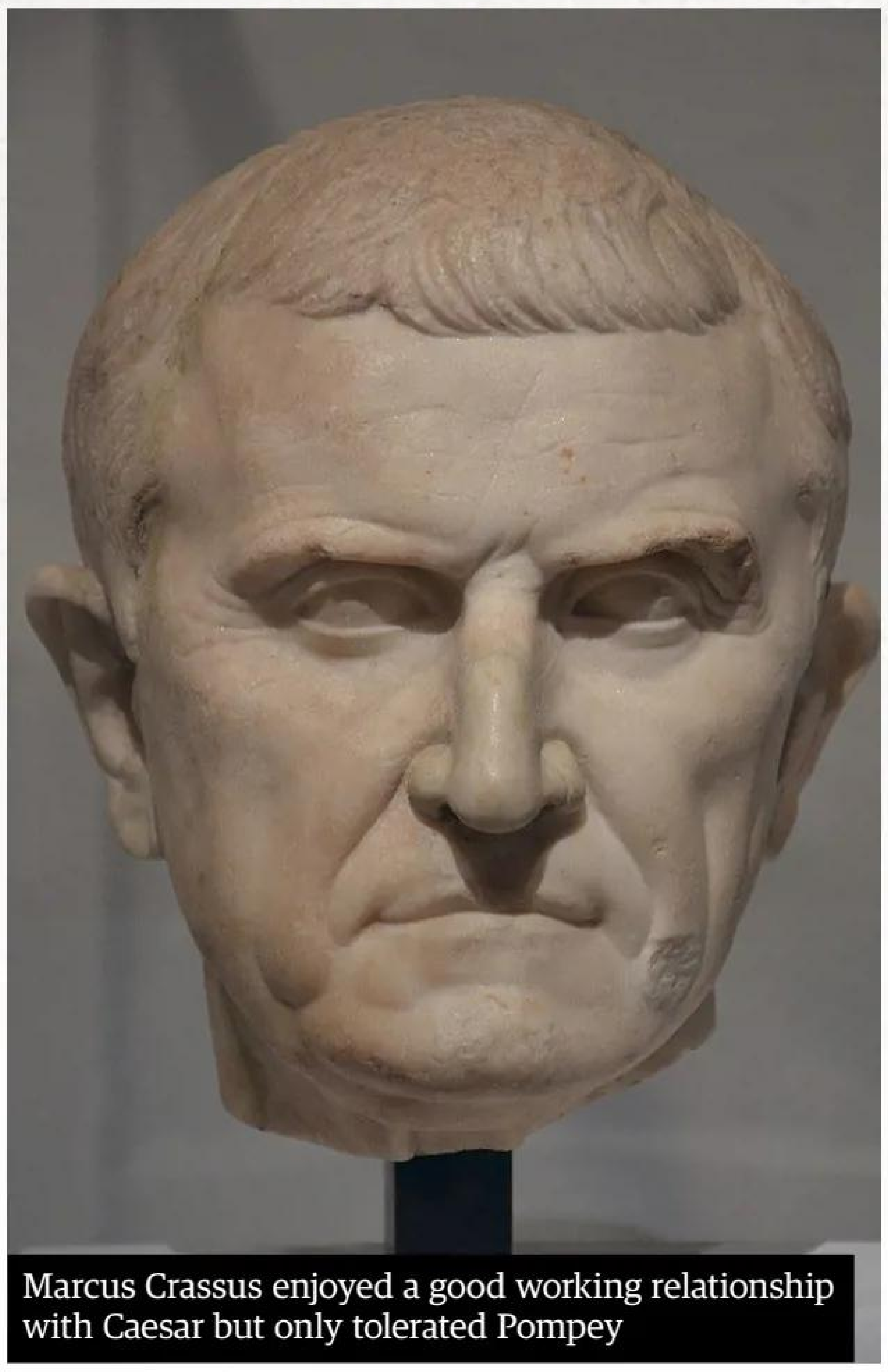
In 60 BCE, Caesar travelled back to the city with the intention of standing for the consulship. Many in the Senate were displeased with the charismatic politician's return. They knew that as a populist Caesar would enact a series of reforms during his time in office, and for the senators at the top of the food chain this spelled certain trouble.

To ensure that he achieved his political ambitions, Caesar required allies. Despite his charisma, talent and force of personality, Caesar alone could not overcome the conservative outlook that was predominant in the Senate. As such he turned to the two most powerful men in the Republic, Crassus and Pompey, for support. Both men had been scuppered in their recent ambitions by the Senate. Crassus wanted the Senate to ease collection demands on the provincial tax collectors in the East, whose profits had been wrecked because of the Mithridatic Wars. Pompey wanted the Senate to formally ratify his conquests and grant his veterans lands on which to settle. But the conservative senators ignored both men's proposals.

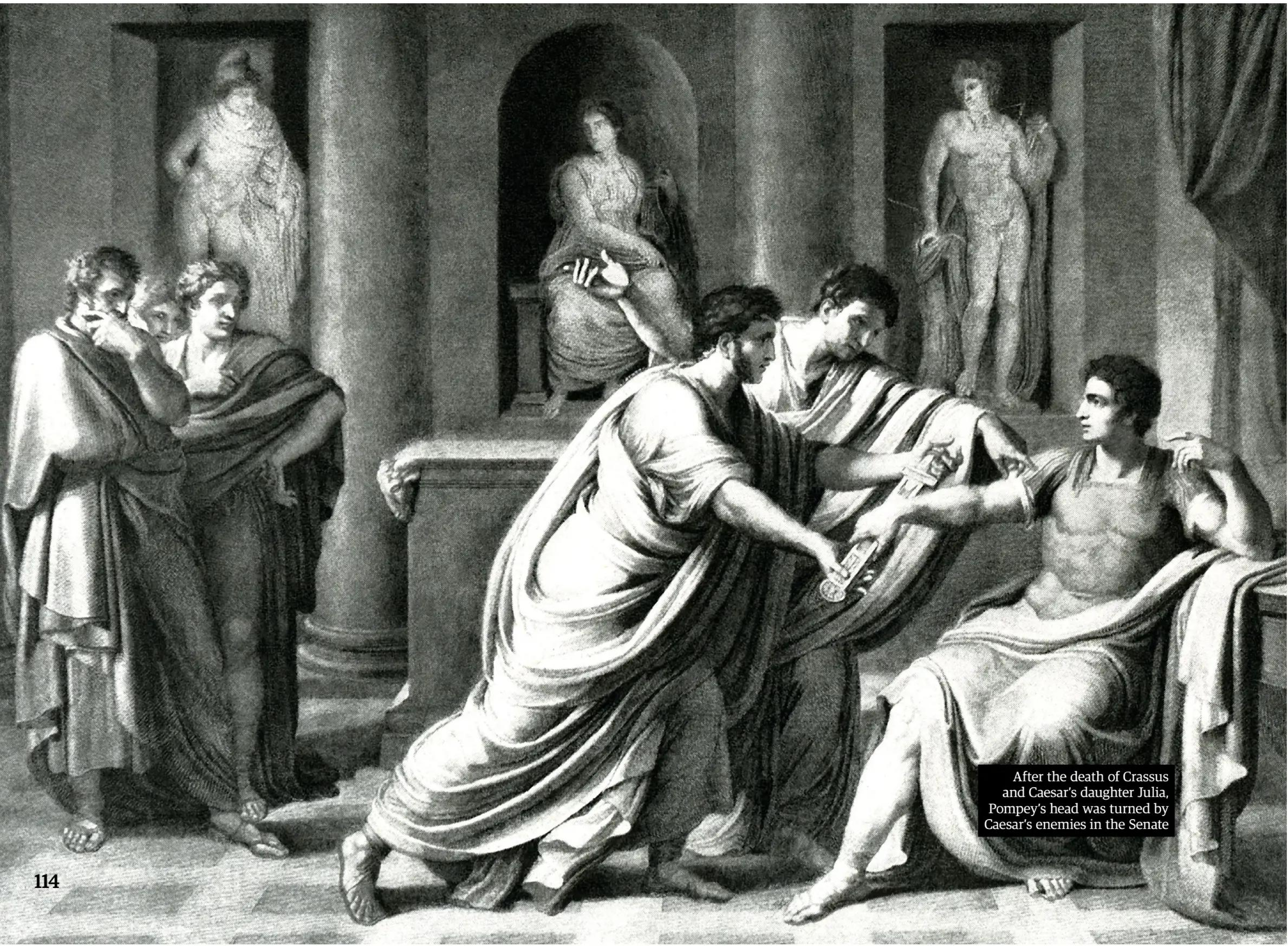
Crassus may have been obscenely rich and well connected, but he lacked charm and military pedigree. Pompey was a great military leader and handsomely wealthy, but his unconventional career had kept him on the battlefield for most of his life. As a result he wasn't well versed in the game of Roman politics and lacked the oratorical skill to impress his peers during senatorial debates. On his return from the East, Pompey attempted to endear himself to the inner senatorial elite, but the jealous, suspicious and condescending senators rebuffed his advance. Caesar was the only one of the three who had climbed to the top of the cursus honorum without the threat of arms. He was a brilliant politician and well loved by the people. But his career thus far had also earned him many enemies who would have been happy to see him banished from Rome for good. Individually no one man could overawe the obstinate Senate, but together the three of them would be undeniable.

By 59 BCE, when Caesar was duly elected to the position of consul, he, Pompey and Crassus formed a pact. History would come to know this alliance as the First Triumvirate. Unbeknown to its members, it would spell the end of the Roman Republic. At its inception, however, the pact was viewed by Crassus and Pompey as a means to pass legislation that they needed. Caesar was the junior partner and, in their eyes, a vehicle to achieve their goals. Caesar inevitably viewed them in the same way. During his term as consul Caesar

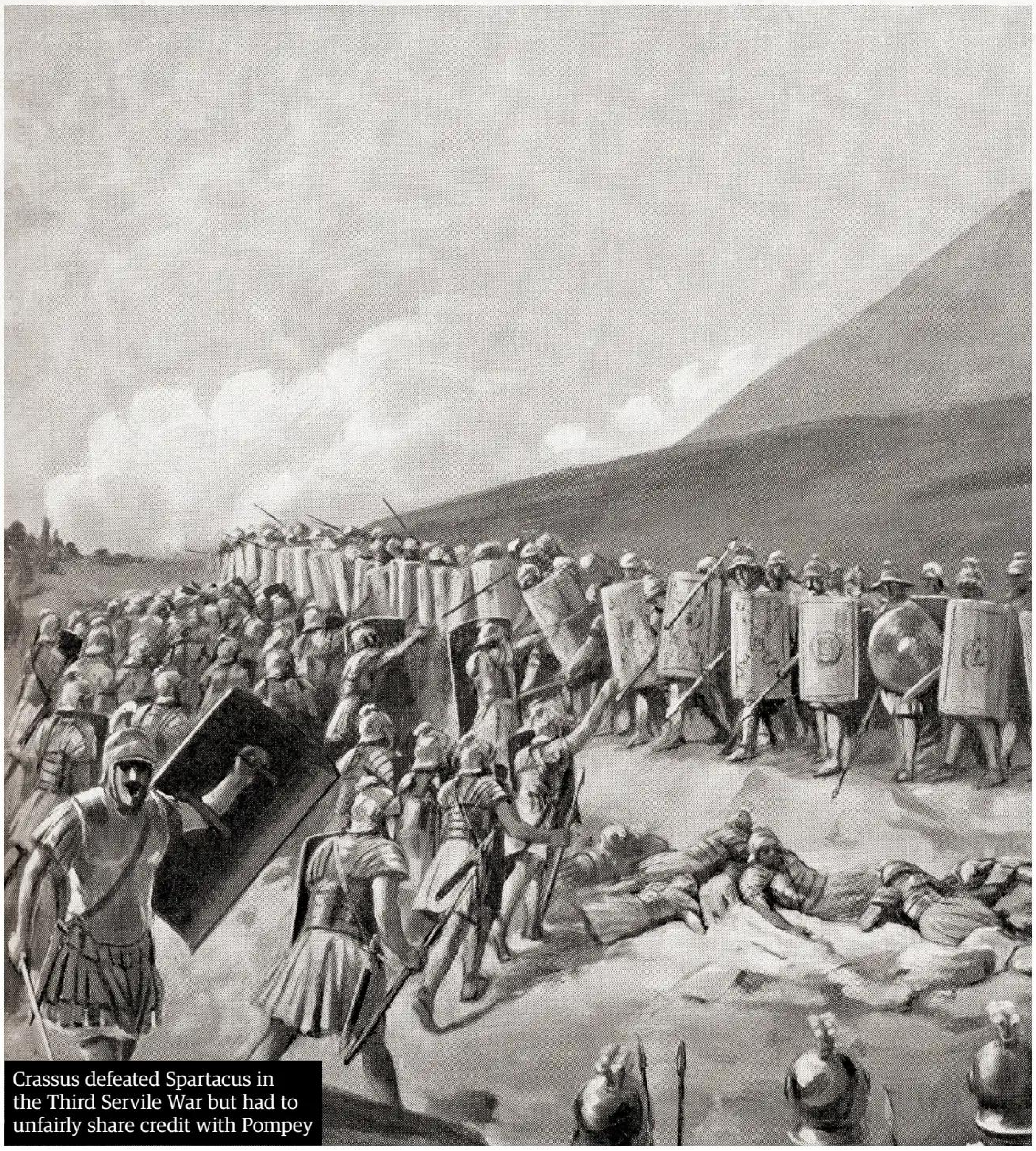
> "Individually no one man could overawe the obstinate Senate, but together the three of them would be undeniable"



Marcus Crassus enjoyed a good working relationship with Caesar but only tolerated Pompey



After the death of Crassus and Caesar's daughter Julia, Pompey's head was turned by Caesar's enemies in the Senate



Crassus defeated Spartacus in the Third Servile War but had to unfairly share credit with Pompey

battled and bypassed the Senate to push through reformative legislation that served Crassus, Pompey and the citizens of the Republic. Yet that didn't prevent the Senate chomping at the bit to ruin Caesar's career for the laws he'd broken while in office. However, with the fellow triumvirs' backing, Caesar was able to gain a long pro-consular command of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul. The position lasted five years, during which time Caesar would be immune from prosecution. To solidify his bond to Pompey, Caesar also proposed the great general marry his daughter Julia. Pompey gladly accepted and appeared to genuinely fall in love with the young woman, much to the amusement of other senators.

The efforts of the triumvirs had been a great success, and in 56 BCE the three renewed their pact. This time it was conceived that Pompey and Crassus would once more serve as co-consuls, and once in power dominion of the Republic would be divided among the three men. Caesar's pro-consular authority in Gaul was extended for another five years, Pompey was granted imperium over the forces in Spain, and Crassus was granted pro-consulship in the East. Although around 60 at this stage, Crassus still dreamed of military glory to rival the greats of Rome.

It was a dream that would cost him his life. Crassus died while on campaign in 53 BCE, the first of the triumvirs to meet his end. Without Crassus as a stabilising force, Caesar worried about his deteriorating relationship with Pompey. To make matters worse, Caesar's daughter Julia had recently died in childbirth. Caesar suggested a new marriage alliance via his great niece Octavia, but, in a sign that signalled his changing alliances, Pompey refused. Back in Rome and without his fellow triumvirs by his side, Pompey had finally been welcomed into the senatorial elite. It was the recognition he'd always craved, and so for him the alliance of the First Triumvirate was over. But while Pompey had been debating in Rome, Caesar had been fighting in Gaul. The marathon pro-consular command of his legions, which had been made possible by the Triumvirate, had left Caesar with a fanatically loyal army. Crassus and Pompey's own actions had enabled Caesar to become the most dangerous man in the Republic, and it would come down to the other remaining triumvir to try and stop him from taking it all.

THE DEATH OF CRASSUS

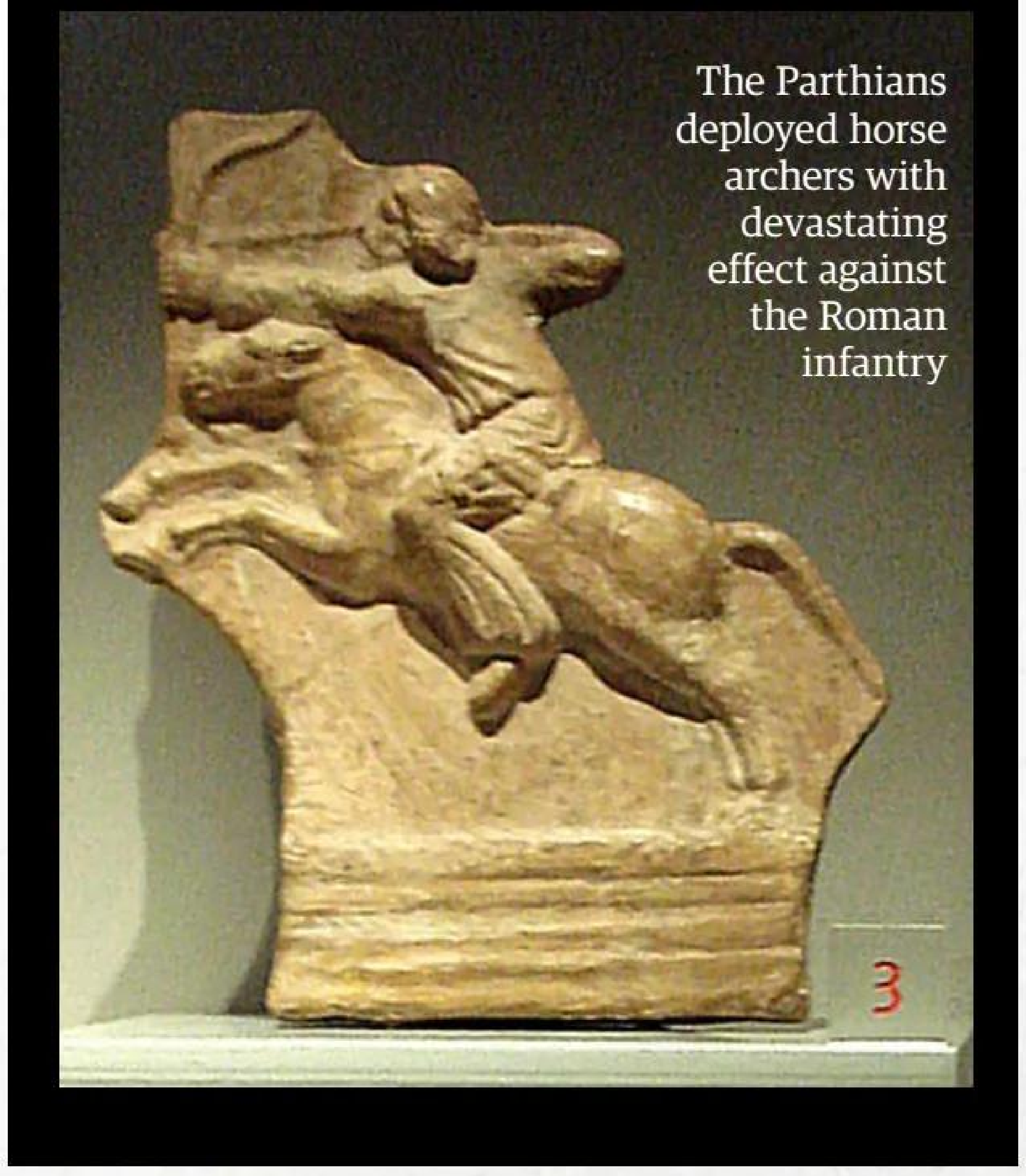
How the Battle of Carrhae doomed the Roman Republic to a climactic civil war

Marcus Crassus was an ambitious man. He'd attained phenomenal wealth, been elected to the top office in Rome multiple times and was widely respected by fellow nobility. As he reached 60 years old he could have considered semi-retirement, but instead he set his eyes on military glory at the expense of Parthia. Crassus wanted to extend Roman dominion into former Seleucid territory and so used his power as a triumvir to be appointed seven legions in the East. Joining him on his adventure was his son Publius, who had been serving under Caesar in Gaul and arrived at the head of 1,000 native cavalrymen.

The Romans were ill prepared for what met them near the town of Carrhae. The Parthians arrived with an army comprised entirely of cavalry, the majority of which were mounted archers and remainder heavily armed cataphracts. Crassus changed the formation of his legions into a square to protect them from being outflanked, but there was little they could do offensively. Desperate to break out of the situation, Crassus sent Publius forward with his cavalry to drive off the horse archers, but they were lured far away from the battle and slaughtered.

At nightfall the surviving infantry retreated but Crassus was killed during fake peace talks the following day. The death of Crassus and his son, who had served alongside Caesar and was by all accounts an able heir to his father, broke the balance of power in the Triumvirate and allowed Pompey to slip into an alliance with the Senate.

> "Crassus sent Publius forward with his cavalry to drive off the archers, but they were lured away and slaughtered"



The Parthians deployed horse archers with devastating effect against the Roman infantry

© Alamy, Getty images

THE GALLIC WARS

HUNGRY FOR GLORY, CAESAR LED HIS TROOPS TO VICTORY AGAINST THE TRIBES OF GAUL TO EXPAND HIS EMPIRE

Written by James Horton

From 58 BCE to 50 BCE Gaius Julius Caesar waged a war that cemented his place as one of the greatest commanders the world has ever seen. At the beginning of 58 BCE Caesar was preparing for a long term as governor of Illyricum and Cisalpine Gaul (Gaul on the Italian side of the Alps). Caesar was mightily pleased with this appointment and made happier still when he was additionally awarded the province of Transalpine Gaul (the land that connected Italy to Spain) following the death of its governor. Caesar headed north with his mind set on conquest.

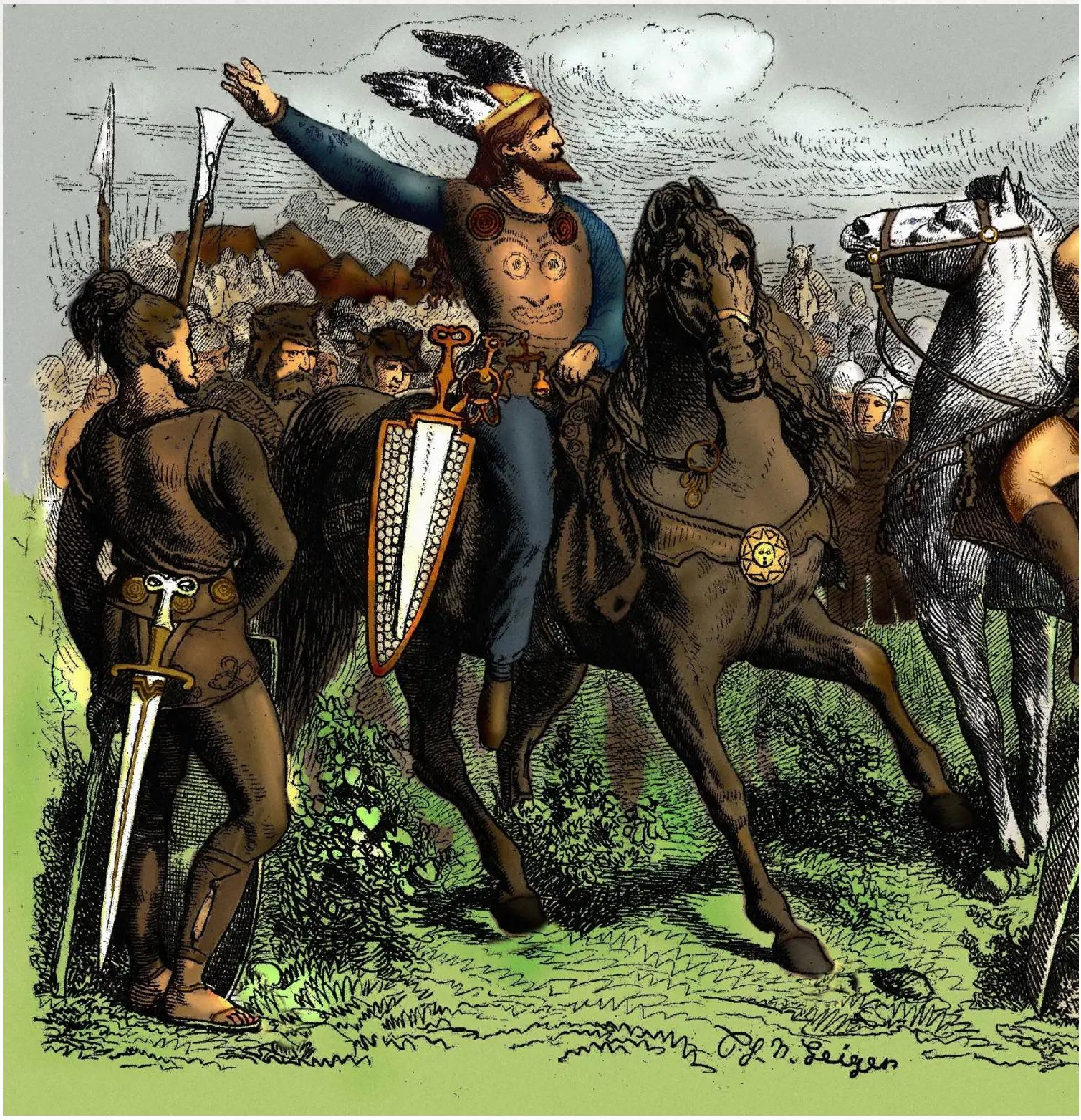
Throughout his years in Gaul Caesar would author the *Commentarii*, one of the greatest Latin works that survives today. Most of these writings were penned by Caesar's own hand, and so our understanding of the Gallic Wars comes almost solely straight from Caesar's personal account. Throughout his years on campaigns Caesar's talent as a general was only matched by his talent as an author. Combined, the two elements would ensure his legend grew to epic proportions.

Caesar was not wedded to invading Gaul from the outset of his campaigns. Having been first assigned Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, he likely had his eye set on a different neighbouring province: Dacia. The Dacian King Burebista had grown powerful and invading his Balkan territory offered Caesar's army a chance to tread where no Roman army had before.

Gaul, unlike Dacia, was not united in a single kingdom but instead ruled by a collection of independent tribes. Comprising broadly modern-day France, Belgium and parts of the Netherlands, Gaul's occupants were described in broad terms by Caesar as brave yet barbaric people. However, Gaul was likely not so homogenous. In the north they may have been far removed from the Romano-Hellenic way of life, but southern Gaul enjoyed frequent trade with Roman merchants. Gallic tribal leaders loved wine, some built their city walls in a Hellenistic style, and at least one tribe had a republican model analogous to the one in Rome. As such, many of these tribes enjoyed friendly relations with the Romans, but that would not prevent an ambitious Roman general from annexing their territory if it meant furthering his own career.

Caesar was offered multiple political justifications to march into Gallic territory almost immediately in 58 BCE. The first opportunity came from a migrating tribe known as the Helvetii, the second from an invasion across the Rhine River by a Germanic people led by Ariovistus. These invasions offered a perfect excuse for Caesar to launch military campaigns in Gaul under the guise of him 'defending' his Gallic allies.

Caesar wasted no time in exhibiting the style of command that he would carry forward throughout his military career. Caesar's legions



would grow famous throughout their campaigns for their immense engineering skills, and this was on full display in 58 BCE when the Romans erected fortifications to first block the advancing Helvetii. When the migrating mass turned north and Caesar pursued, he showed his risky penchant for retaining the initiative by foregoing a supply line and living off the land so he could keep his army mobile.

This decision nearly prematurely ended the entire campaign, as the friendly Gallic tribes did not deliver on the grain they promised and left the legions low on rations. Caesar was forced to turn around, but this inadvertently helped him bring a swift end to the campaign as the Helvetii read the retreat as a sign of weakness and pursued. The two sides clashed on a hillside near Bibracte, with Caesar placing the experienced legions he'd inherited on the front lines and his two newly raised legions at the rear to protect the baggage train. The Romans were eventually victorious and the sizable number of Helvetii survivors were rounded up and ordered back to their homeland, securing Caesar's first victory in the north.

Later that same year Ariovistus' horde flooded across the Rhine. Caesar marched his army to confront the Germanic force, but his soldiers' imaginations ran wild en route and fear of the enemy began to spread throughout the Roman camp. However, here Caesar exemplified his charisma as a military leader, as he called a meeting with his officers and delivered a powerful speech shaming them for their cowardice. His words pierced through the shroud of his army's fright, the fledgling mutiny was squashed, and the legions soon overcame the German army in the field.

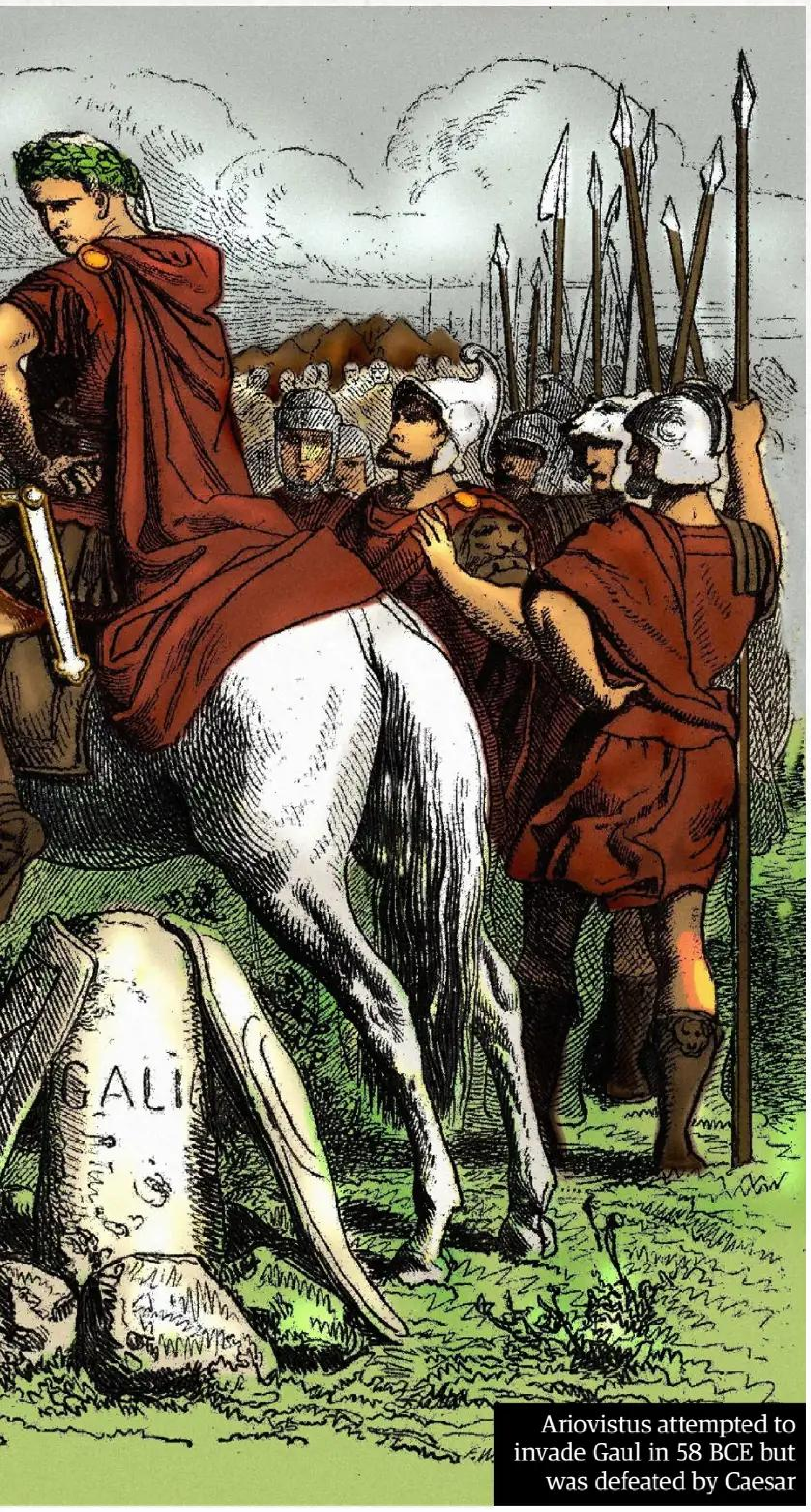
To the local tribes of Gaul it first appeared that the Romans had protected their independence from the marauding invaders of the Helvetii and Germans. But just as the Greeks had learned nearly 150 years prior, Roman 'liberation' in practice often meant Roman occupation. After Caesar left his legions to establish their winter quarters in Gaul, the tribes slowly realised that the Roman presence was intended to be permanent.

Caesar utilised his diplomatic talents to help some tribes accept their new overlords and prevent others from unifying against him. But some northern tribes were appalled at the idea of Roman assimilation and formed stiffer resistance. In 57 BCE, Caesar moved against a confederation of Belgic tribes that together heavily outnumbered the legions. The Belgic horde was a fragile alliance and Caesar prised the tribes apart by ordering his soldiers to attack the now unguarded settlements across their territory. The ploy worked and the Belgae divided to protect their homelands, allowing Caesar to engage them piecemeal. The Nervii were one such tribe that did not yield so easily, however, as they formed a small alliance and successfully ambushed the legions near the River Sambre. Caesar's right flank nearly collapsed in the surprise attack, forcing the general to dismount his horse, grab a shield and join the fighting on the front lines. This inspired his men to hold their ground and salvage a victory from the jaws of defeat.

Resistance was less pronounced in 56 BCE, but a maritime tribe called the Veneti captured Roman officers sent to organise grain dispatches to the legions. The Veneti demanded that the hostages they had given to Caesar be released in exchange for the officers, but instead Caesar commanded a construction of a fleet and went to battle. His legions stormed the Veneti settlements from the shore, but the Veneti were often able to retreat into the ocean with most of their belongings. However, Caesar's newly constructed navy had a fortuitous encounter against the larger Veneti vessels - which had no oars and so relied on sails to move - during an especially still day. The smaller Roman vessels approached the near-static Veneti ships and tore down their sails using siege equipment, allowing the Romans to defeat their entire navy. Many of the Veneti leadership were executed for their perceived betrayal of Roman governance.

In 55 BCE, following a brutal massacre of a migrating Germanic horde who wished to settle in Gaul, Caesar enjoyed a lull in Gallic resistance and so launched foreign campaigns into Germania and across the sea to the mystical island of Britannia. This first naval invasion was an unmitigated disaster and Caesar was lucky to return to Gaul alive, but the following year he launched a far more successful campaign, the accounts of which dazzled the Roman population. However, throughout this time Gallic resistance had been stirring. The shackles of Roman occupation were starting to grow heavy for some tribes who had found themselves worse off after Caesar's arrival. In the winter of 54 BCE, with Caesar's legions separated into disparate quarters across Gaul, the fire of rebellion was lit by the Treveri tribe.

The Treveri made overtures to other tribes, encouraging them to revolt against Rome, and they successfully managed to galvanise


Ariovistus attempted to invade Gaul in 58 BCE but was defeated by Caesar

> "Once inside Caesar's men took out their frustration on the 40,000 inhabitants, slaughtering all they encountered"

some into action. The Eburones engaged in treachery to lure an entire legion from their winter quarters and launched an ambush, slaughtering the Romans to nearly the last man. Soon afterwards, the Belgic Nervii launched an assault against another regiment stationed in their territory and the Roman camp was nearly overwhelmed. Almost all of the legionaries were wounded during its defence, only saved by Caesar after a slave managed to slip between the enemy lines and deliver a message.

Vengeance was the prerogative in 53 BCE. Caesar actively campaigned throughout the year, capturing, flogging and executing defiant Gallic leaders. But these actions ironically acted to fuel the rebellion rather than quell it. Caesar's brutality against the people and nobility of Gaul, coupled with the reality that the Romans really were in Gaul to stay, pushed many in Gaul to throw their support behind the king of the Arverni tribe, Vercingetorix.

Vercingetorix understood that his coalition would likely be crushed by the Romans in the open field, so instead he engaged in a scorched earth campaign. Caesar's army, who throughout their campaigns in Gaul had relied heavily on food sourced from the native population, suffered greatly from this approach and hunger became a serious problem. Caesar made for the fortified town of Avaricum in 52 BCE, which behind its walls had stockpiles of grain that would supply his ravenous army. After a protracted and hard-fought siege, where the Gauls tried desperately to sabotage the legions' engineering efforts, Caesar's soldiers constructed a ramp and scaled the walls. Once inside Caesar's men took out their frustration on the 40,000 inhabitants, slaughtering all they encountered. By Caesar's account, less than 1,000 citizens were able to escape.

Caesar's capture of Avaricum alleviated some of his immediate concerns, but defections to Vercingetorix's banner continued. Among those who switched allegiances were the Aedui, long-term allies of Rome who were convinced to join the rebellion after Caesar unsuccessfully tried to storm a fort at Gergovia. After this failure Caesar withdrew to unify his legions (nearly half had been suppressing the rebellion elsewhere). Buoyed by his recent success, Vercingetorix pursued. However, once Caesar's forces had reunified they were more than a match for the rebels, besting them in a number of skirmishes.

Vercingetorix, humbled by this reality check, returned to a defensive strategy and fell back behind the walls of Alesia. Caesar followed and settled in for a siege. If Caesar could crush Vercingetorix the rebellion would die with him, and once armed opposition had been destroyed, acts of clemency could ensure the long-term capitulation of Gaul. At the gates of Alesia, the future of Gaul hung in the balance.

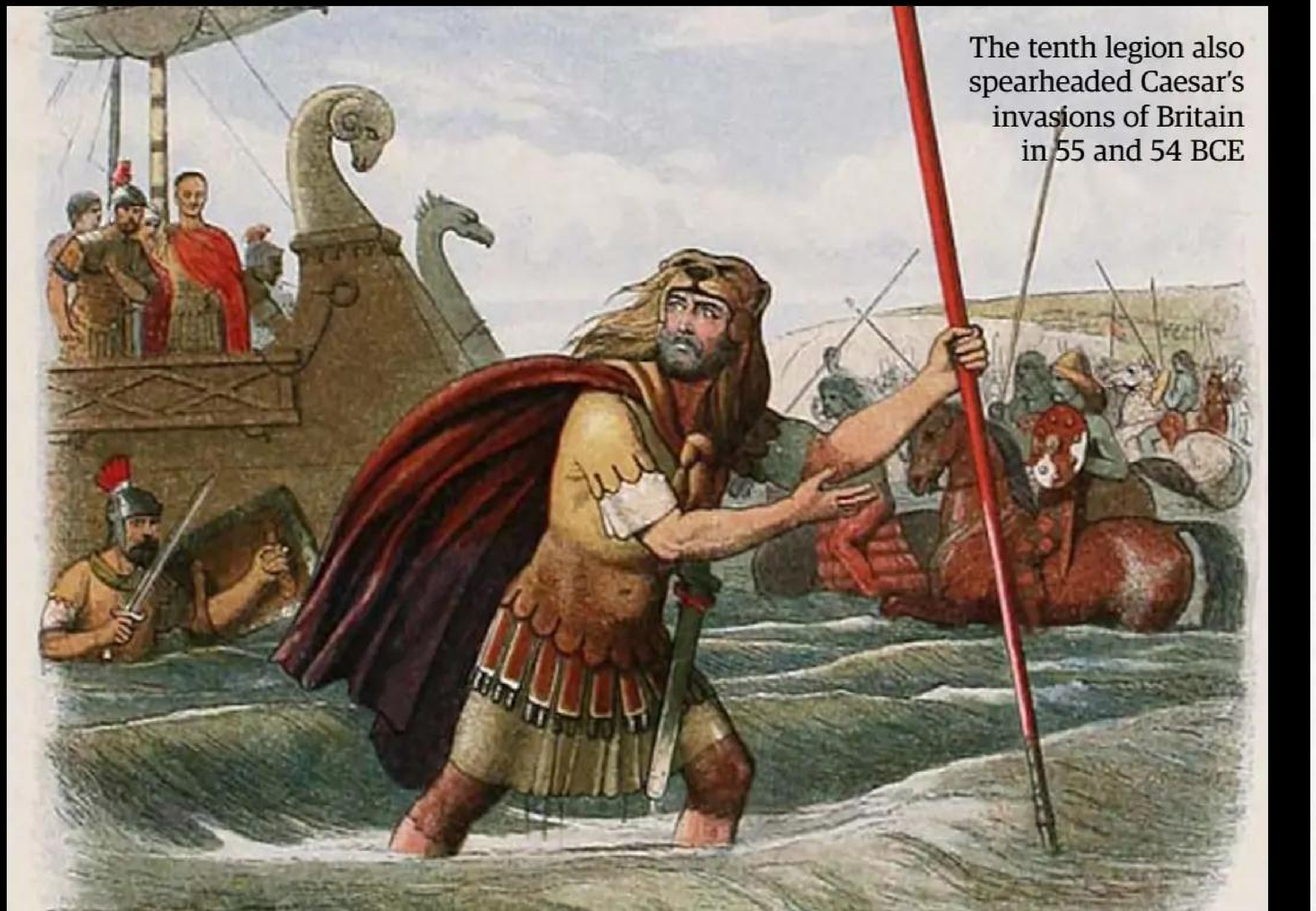
LEGIO X

How Caesar's favourite legion – the Tenth – proved instrumental in the Gallic Wars

Caesar inherited four legions at the beginning of his term as provincial governor of Gaul. One of these was the Tenth, a legion that would swiftly become Caesar's favourite and help him secure Roman dominion in the north.

When the legions recoiled at the idea of fighting against Ariovistus' fearsome Germanic warriors in 58 BCE, Caesar said that if needed he would merely march forward with just the Tenth. Honoured to be singled out by their general, the legion eagerly pledged their loyalty and shamed the other legions into following. When the Romans reached Ariovistus the German leader offered to parlay but insisted that only cavalry accompanied the generals. As his cavalry were allied Gauls of uncertain loyalty, Caesar had soldiers from the Tenth disguise themselves in Gaulish attire and ride alongside him as his bodyguard.

The following year, when Caesar's legions were ambushed by the Nervii, the Tenth occupied the Roman left flank. Unlike the beleaguered right, which was on the brink of collapse, the Tenth drove their opposition from the field and chased them into the woods behind the remaining Nervii battle line. The Tenth then marched across the breadth of the battle line and charged into the Nervii left flank, spreading panic and causing a rout, ensuring victory for their general.


The tenth legion also spearheaded Caesar's invasions of Britain in 55 and 54 BCE

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Deadly bolts

The scorpion was a small catapult operated by two men that used torsion springs to fire a heavy bolt up to 100 metres. The Romans placed them in the wooden towers to help break up an enemy charge.

Roman reinforcements

Caesar empowered his legates to strip troops from unthreatened parts of the line to reinforce those sectors under attack. Because of the urgency required to prevent breaches, the legates did not have to request permission from Caesar.

Eagle eyes

The Romans constructed wicker towers from which guards watched closely around the clock for signs of an enemy attack. Archers and scorpion teams used them to fire on the enemy during battle.

Sharpened stakes

Interlaced tree branches with pointed tips protruded from the top of the earthen rampart to thwart attempts to scale it.

Storming the rampart

The Gauls used scaling ladders, grappling hooks and rope in their attempts to breach the palisade. Their sheer numbers gave them hope that they could breach one or more sections of the well-built Roman siege lines.

Night attack
The besieged Gauls launched a major assault on the Romans' inner siege line. Both Vercingetorix's men and the Gallic relief army attempted night assaults just before dawn in the hope that the darkness would afford them the element of surprise.

Fascines
The Gauls tossed bundles of sticks into the dry ditch at the base of the rampart to bridge it during an attack.

Moat
As part of their elaborate field fortifications, the Romans diverted water from the rivers on either side of Alesia to fill the outer ditch of the inner siege lines to slow an attack by the Gauls.

BATTLE OF ALESIA

EASTERN FRANCE, SEPTEMBER 52 BCE

Written by William Welsh

Julius Caesar's Germanic horsemen thundered toward the Gallic cavalry formed up on the wide plain. Answering the challenge, the Gallic cavalry rode to meet them in battle. In a swirling melee, the Germans and Gauls fought each other with javelins, spears and swords. The Germans eventually prevailed, and the Gallic horsemen fled the field, leaving the battlefield strewn with their dead.

The cavalry encounter was the first blood drawn when a 100,000-strong Gallic relief army arrived to assist 80,000 Gauls at the hilltop town of Alesia. After five years conquering the Gauls, Caesar faced a widespread rebellion in early 52 BCE led by Vercingetorix, the chief of the Averni tribe. Following several losses to Caesar, Vercingetorix established a fortified encampment in August on the eastern end of the oval-shaped, 150-metre-high limestone plateau. The Gallic commander believed that if a second army were to come to his aid, the two armies would be able to crush the 55,000-strong Roman army. While the besieged Gauls awaited assistance, Caesar built one of the greatest siege works known to history.

When the relief army arrived, it bivouacked to the west of the Romans. Throughout the following day, the relief army constructed the equipment it would need for an assault. That evening, the Gauls launched a major assault against the west end of the Roman works, but they failed to break through. During this event the Roman commander Marc Antony distinguished himself.

The leaders of the relief army devised a clever ruse. One of them, Vercassivellaunus, would lead a force composed of the fiercest warriors to Mont Rae before daybreak. The following morning, the remaining Gauls would launch a diversionary attack. Once the Romans were heavily engaged, Vercassivellaunus would launch a surprise attack against a gap in the northwest section of the works.

As planned, Vercassivellaunus launched the main attack at midday, catching the Romans by surprise. Thousands of battle ready Gauls streamed down towards the waiting Roman battlements. To assist the relief force, Vercingetorix launched a co-ordinated attack from within the siege lines.

Pressed from within and without, the Roman army was stretched to the breaking point. With the fate of the battle hanging in the balance, Caesar sent his second-in-command, Titus Labernius, with six cohorts to stem the sea of wild Gauls. On his way, Labernius gathered another 11 cohorts that he fed into the expanding battle.

The din of battle would have been tremendous – clanging swords mixed with the shouts of attacking troops and the screams of the horribly wounded.

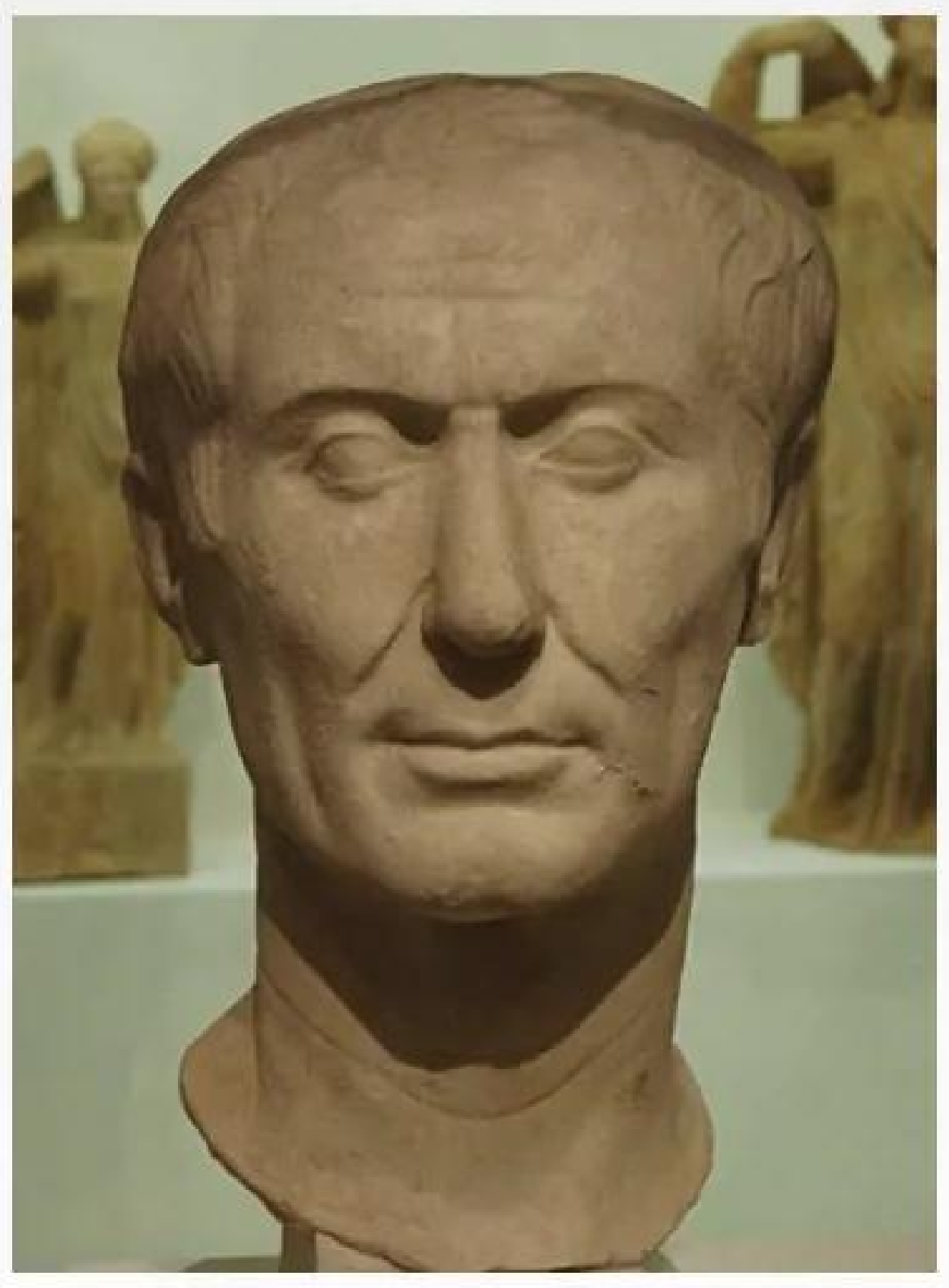
But Caesar was not about to be outfoxed. He ordered his Germanic cavalry to sally forth and strike Vercassivellaunus' troops from behind. The counter-attack worked and the Gauls quickly fled in disorder. After having made two large-scale attacks, both of which failed, the relief army departed.

The next day, Vercingetorix surrendered to Caesar. Shortly afterwards, all of Gaul submitted to Roman rule. Caesar had campaigned in Gaul to win fame and fortune, and most importantly, to gain military experience that would put him on par with his rival Pompey the Great. Alesia served as a magnificent capstone to Caesar's triumphant Gallic campaign.

ROMANS

INFANTRY 40,000
RELIEF 10,000
GALLIC 5,000

TOTAL TROOPS
55,000



GAIUS JULIUS CAESAR

LEADER

Caesar needed to win a victory to rival the military achievements of Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus.

Strengths He was a great tactician and had the undying respect of his men. He was confident, determined and resourceful.

Weakness Caesar took a major gamble pitting his highly disciplined, well-trained army against a vastly larger force.

LEGIO X EQUESTRIS

UNIT

Caesar raised, trained and led the legion, which served with him throughout the Gallic Wars.

Strengths The legionnaires fought as a co-ordinated team that held together well under pressure.

Weakness The members of the legion were egotistical and expected frequent rewards.

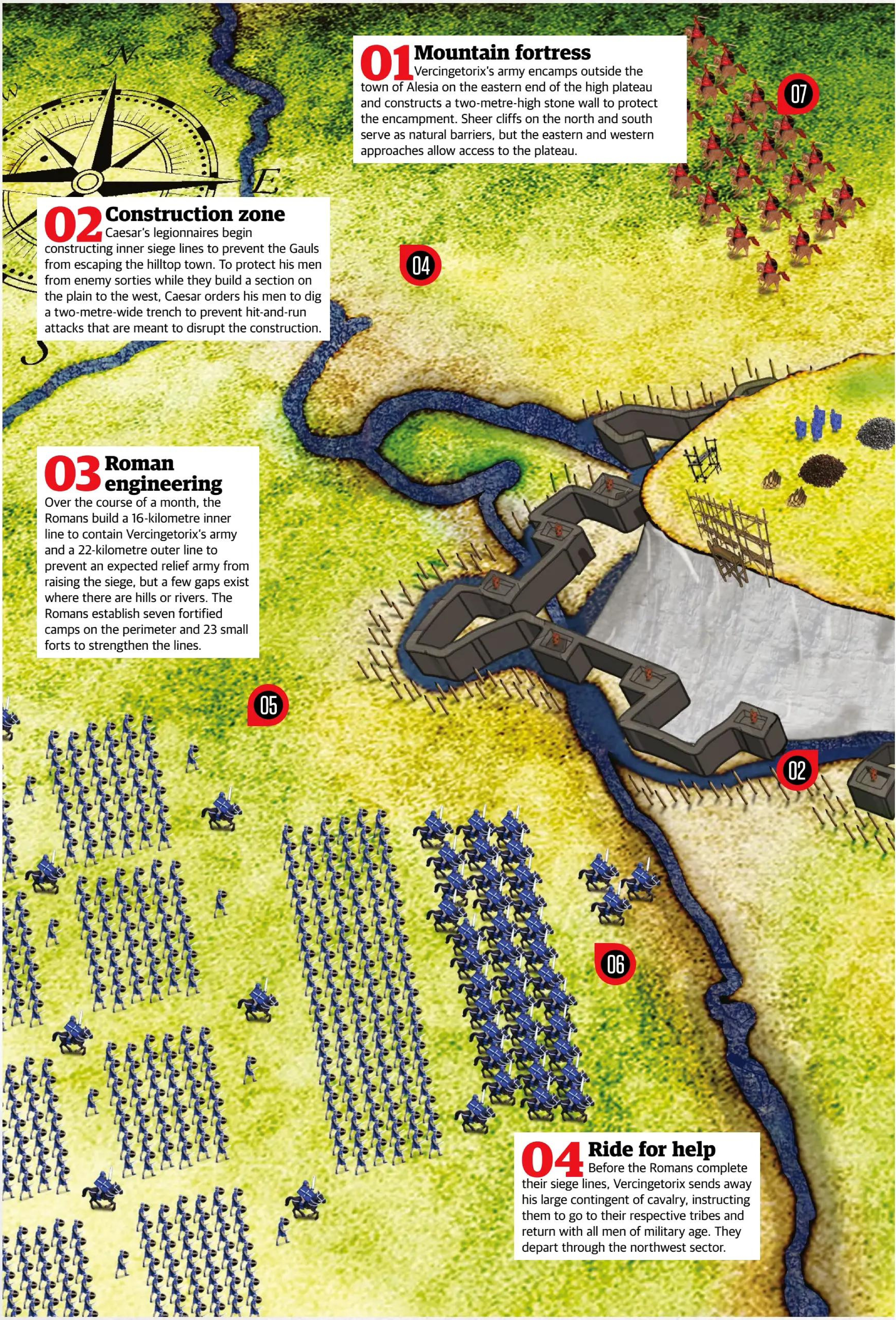
PILUM

KEY WEAPON

The two-metre-long javelin featured an iron shank. It could be thrown or used as a spear in close-quarters combat.

Strengths It was a sturdy, versatile and proven weapon particularly effective against an enemy charge.

Weakness Its offensive attributes exceeded its defensive capabilities.



01 Mountain fortress

Vercingetorix's army encamps outside the town of Alesia on the eastern end of the high plateau and constructs a two-metre-high stone wall to protect the encampment. Sheer cliffs on the north and south serve as natural barriers, but the eastern and western approaches allow access to the plateau.

02 Construction zone

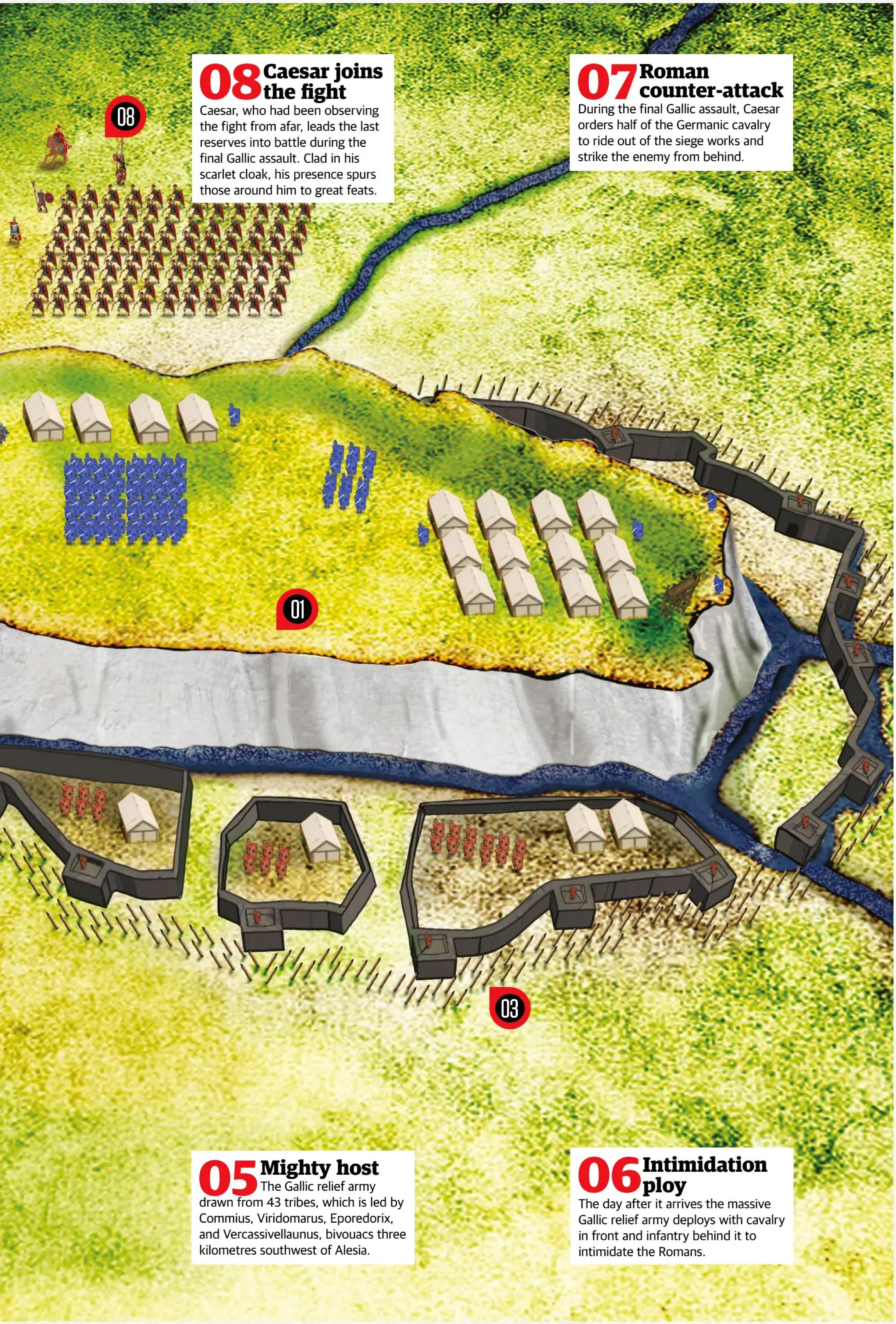
Caesar's legionnaires begin constructing inner siege lines to prevent the Gauls from escaping the hilltop town. To protect his men from enemy sorties while they build a section on the plain to the west, Caesar orders his men to dig a two-metre-wide trench to prevent hit-and-run attacks that are meant to disrupt the construction.

03 Roman engineering

Over the course of a month, the Romans build a 16-kilometre inner line to contain Vercingetorix's army and a 22-kilometre outer line to prevent an expected relief army from raising the siege, but a few gaps exist where there are hills or rivers. The Romans establish seven fortified camps on the perimeter and 23 small forts to strengthen the lines.

04 Ride for help

Before the Romans complete their siege lines, Vercingetorix sends away his large contingent of cavalry, instructing them to go to their respective tribes and return with all men of military age. They depart through the northwest sector.



08 Caesar joins the fight

Caesar, who had been observing the fight from afar, leads the last reserves into battle during the final Gallic assault. Clad in his scarlet cloak, his presence spurs those around him to great feats.

07 Roman counter-attack

During the final Gallic assault, Caesar orders half of the Germanic cavalry to ride out of the siege works and strike the enemy from behind.

05 Mighty host

The Gallic relief army drawn from 43 tribes, which is led by Commius, Viridomarus, Eporedorix, and Vercassivellaunus, bivouacs three kilometres southwest of Alesia.

06 Intimidation ploy

The day after it arrives the massive Gallic relief army deploys with cavalry in front and infantry behind it to intimidate the Romans.

GAULS

INFANTRY	80,000
RELIEF	100,000
GALLIC	8,000

TOTAL TROOPS
188,000

VERCINGETORIX
LEADER

Realising the Gauls could not defeat the Romans in a pitched battle, he advocated guerrilla warfare.

Strengths He was a courageous warrior and strict disciplinarian.

Weakness He was cruel and unmerciful, as shown by his decision to slaughter Roman innocents.

CAVALRY
UNIT

The elite horsemen possessed high-quality weapons, including javelins, a spear, a shield, and a sword.

Strengths They had high morale and hurled their javelins before they charged home.

Weakness They were undisciplined and therefore quick to break and nearly impossible to rally.

SLASHING SWORD
KEY WEAPON

The double-edged, blunt-tipped sword ranged in length from 85cm to 90cm and was worn in a scabbard on the right side.

Strengths It was an intimidating and deadly weapon that outclassed the Roman gladius.

Weakness This weapon required considerable space to wield effectively in battle.

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ROME'S CIVIL WAR

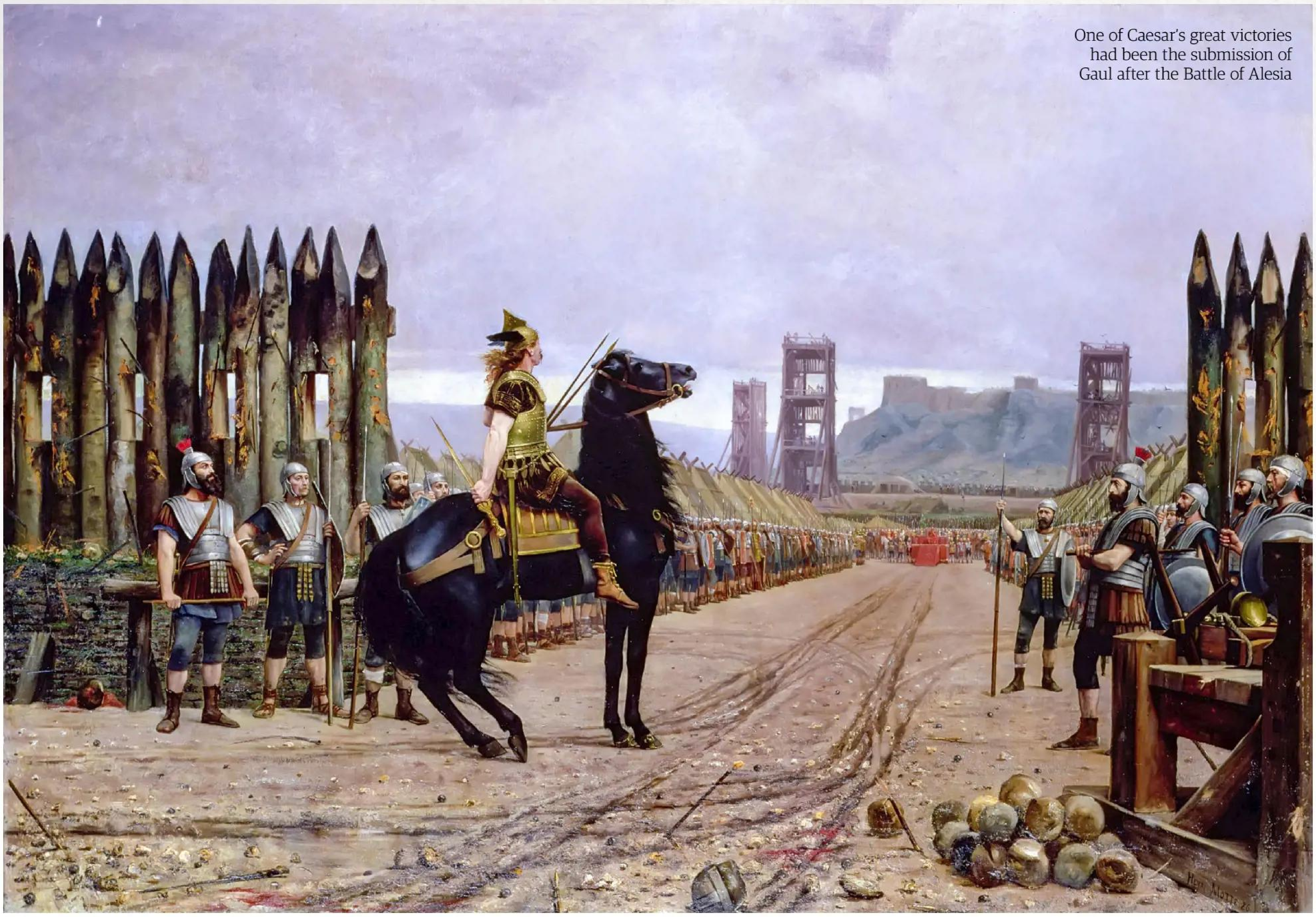
CAESAR VS THE SENATE

ONE MAN'S TYRANNICAL AMBITION DOOMED THE REPUBLIC AND LAID THE FOUNDATIONS FOR AN EMPIRE

Written by Paul Chrystal

We have all had our Rubicons to cross; we have all rolled the dice of fate, metaphorically if not actually. Important as these dilemmas were to us, they are nothing to what Julius Caesar agonised with: he was struggling with one of the most pivotal and challenging gambles in world history. We can of course only speculate, but as sleepless nights go, the night of 9/10 July 49 BCE for Caesar must have been the longest night of his life: to cross or not to cross…

The 51 BCE Siege of Uxellodunum was the last major conflict of Caesar's Gallic Wars. After the fall of the town and the decisive Roman victory, Gaul was under Roman rule at last. Caesar decided to set an example and dispensed with the usual punishment of execution or selling the survivors into slavery. Instead, he had the hands of all surviving men of military age cut off, dispersing the mutilated prisoners throughout the province as an all too vivid demonstration of what happened to those who rebelled against Rome and how they were unable to take up arms again. Caesar then took two legions and marched into Aquitania. Confident that there would be no further Gallic insurrection, he marched with the Legio XIII for Italy, the Rubicon and Rome beyond in his sights.



One of Caesar's great victories had been the submission of Gaul after the Battle of Alesia

To put Caesar's achievement into perspective, the Transalpine Gaul he subdued and brought into Rome's orbit was double the size of the whole Italian Peninsula and more populous than the province of Hispania. Caesar got the military glory he wanted at a critical juncture in his career, and the prodigious booty he acquired paid off some of his enormous debts, allowing him to buy political favours and alliances on a scale that would not have disappointed Crassus. Rome also enjoyed stability in Gaul, which lasted until the 2nd century CE.

In 50 BCE, a victorious Julius Caesar returned to Italy to find a Rome in which Pompey was in the ascendant. Caesar, though, was a war hero and ever popular with the people, factors that made the Senate nervous. In a bid to prevent him from being voted consul in absentia on the conclusion of his governorship, the Senate demanded he resign command of his army. In December 50 BCE, Caesar wrote to the Senate agreeing to do this if Pompey did likewise. An outraged Senate repeated its demand to Caesar, saying he must agree or be declared an enemy of the people. This was an illegal move, since Caesar was entitled to retain his command until the expiry of his governorship.

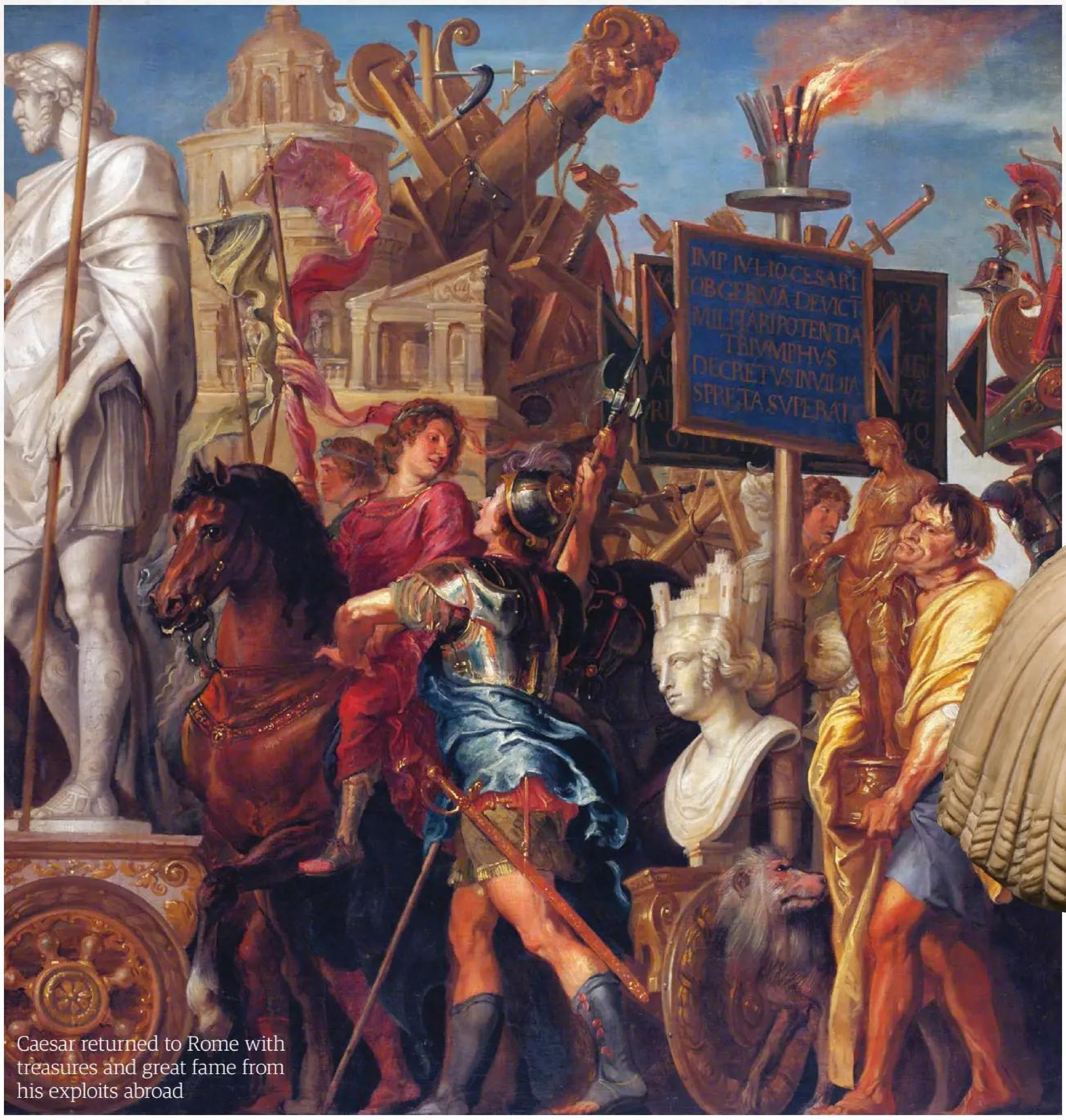
"The agonising decision for Caesar as to whether or not to ford the Rubicon with his troops beckoned"

But Caesar too was nervous. The much-coveted second consulship would bring with it the welcome safety of imperium and immunity against the inevitable prosecutions that awaited him for alleged irregularities during his consulship and in his Gallic campaigns. These prosecutions, if brought and proven, would render Caesar politically impotent and marginalise him. When Caesar's supporters – the tribunes Mark Antony and Quintus Cassius Longinus – vetoed the bill against Caesar, they were expelled from Rome by the Senate. They joined Caesar, who had by now assembled his army ready for action. Pompey levelled charges of insubordination and treason against Caesar. The agonising decision for Caesar as to whether or not to ford the Rubicon with his troops beckoned, all the time made all the easier.

The rift between the two widened further when Pompey fell ill in Naples in 50 BCE. His recovery was met with public rejoicing and sacrifices of thanksgiving throughout Italy. Nothing could have been more galling for Caesar; indeed, Plutarch records that this was said "to have done more than anything else to ignite the subsequent civil war". However, the adulation and dancing in the streets that Pompey enjoyed on his journey back to Rome made him arrogant, careless and contemptuous of Caesar. The following year would see the two men fighting each other in a civil war.

On 7 January 49 BCE, the Senate demanded that Caesar, then in Ravenna, surrender his ten legions to a new Cisalpine Gaul governor. Caesar chose not to, determining instead to fight. During the night of 10/11 January, the Legio XIII and Caesar advanced to Rimini.

If the Senate believed that the northern Italians would oppose Caesar, then they were mistaken. If anything, the Italians were quite blasé, unexcited because the coming conflict was for once not going to destroy their fields



Caesar returned to Rome with treasures and great fame from his exploits abroad

and towns. Moreover, the establishment Senate was up against a legion, the XIII, that was highly incentivised and motivated. They were fighting for significant bonuses and for their pensions: no win, no pension payments. All the Senate could depend on was the Legio XV – which was far from dependable as it had fought with Caesar in Gaul. The Legio V, VIII, XII and XVI soon joined Caesar. Aware of Pompey's seven veteran legions in Spain, Caesar posted three legions to the Pyrenees to block any Republican moves from the west.

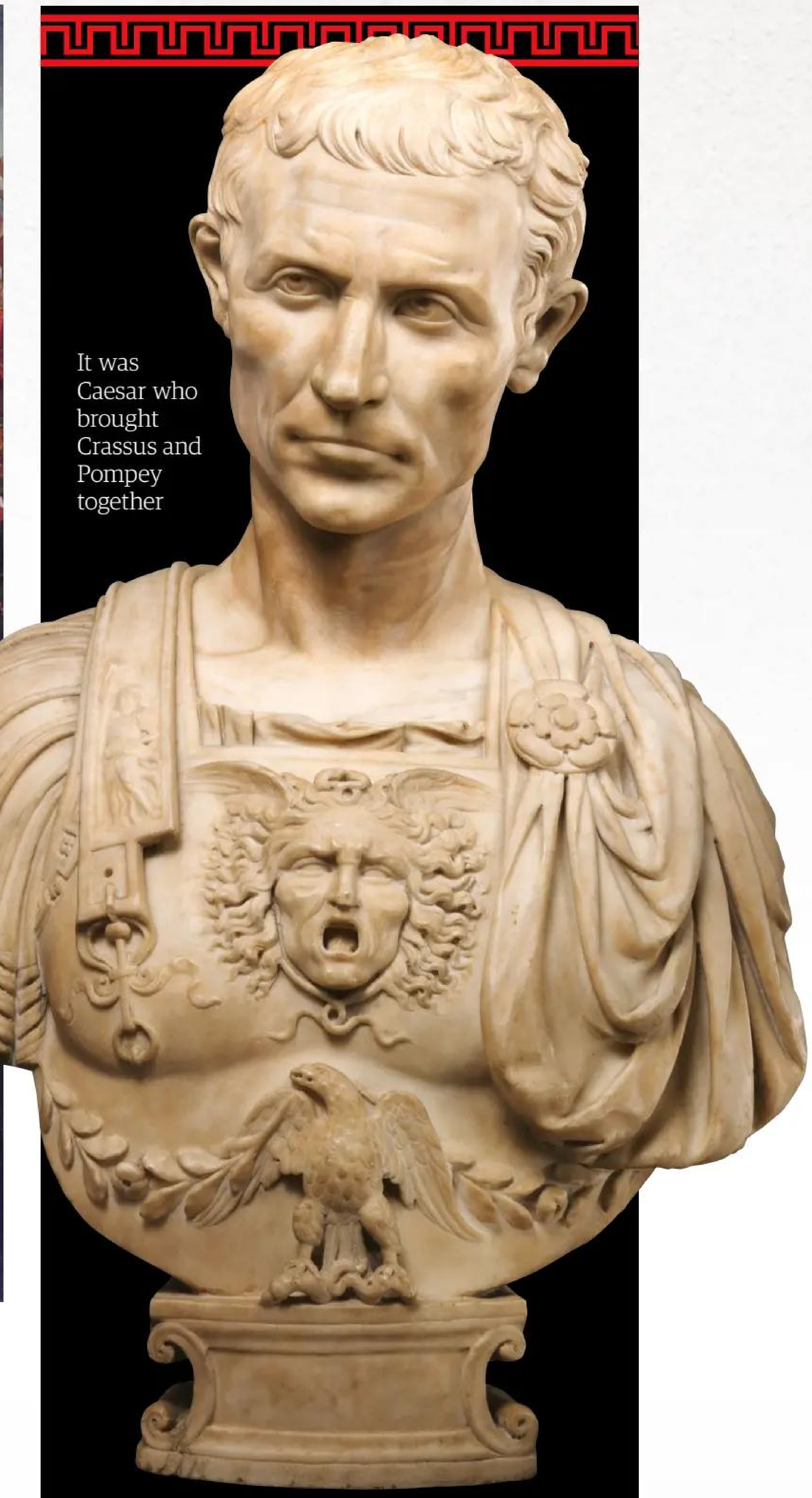
Pompey held three legions in Italy, as well as his main army in Spain, with access to thousands of recruits from African and Asian provinces, whose rulers owed their sovereignty to him. Pompey was also at the helm of Rome's fleet of 500 warships and light galleys, maximising his mobility and enabling him to transfer forces from one theatre to another as events demanded.

When Caesar rolled his metaphorical dice and made his decision on 10 January 49 BCE to cross the Rubicon at the head of Legio XIII Gemina, he was only too aware of the associated aftermath and of its irrevocable consequences. The river was the boundary between Cisalpine Gaul and Italy; crossing it with an army was a legally proscribed action, forbidden to every commander. The prohibition and the proscription were designed as a last-resort protection for the Roman Republic from a coup d'état; Caesar was on the verge of deliberately compromising that.

According to Suetonius, Caesar, after some deliberation, grabbed a trumpet from one of his troops, who were massed on the banks of the Rubicon, sounded the "Advance!" and plunged across the river, exclaiming, "Let us go where the omens of the gods and the crimes of our enemies take us! Iacta alia est!" – Suetonius, Divus Julius 32.

Appian also describes that morning's momentous events:

"Caesar got into his chariot and drove in the direction of Ariminum with his cavalry following closely behind. When he reached the river Rubicon, which forms the frontier with Italy, he stopped and stared at the stream, contemplating the outrage that would result if he crossed the river bearing arms. Caesar pulled himself together and proclaimed, 'My friends, to leave this stream uncrossed will cause me a lot of distress; to cross it, much distress for all mankind.' At that he rushed over as if possessed, saying, 'The die is cast: bring it on.' He then continued his rapid advance and took Ariminum at the break of

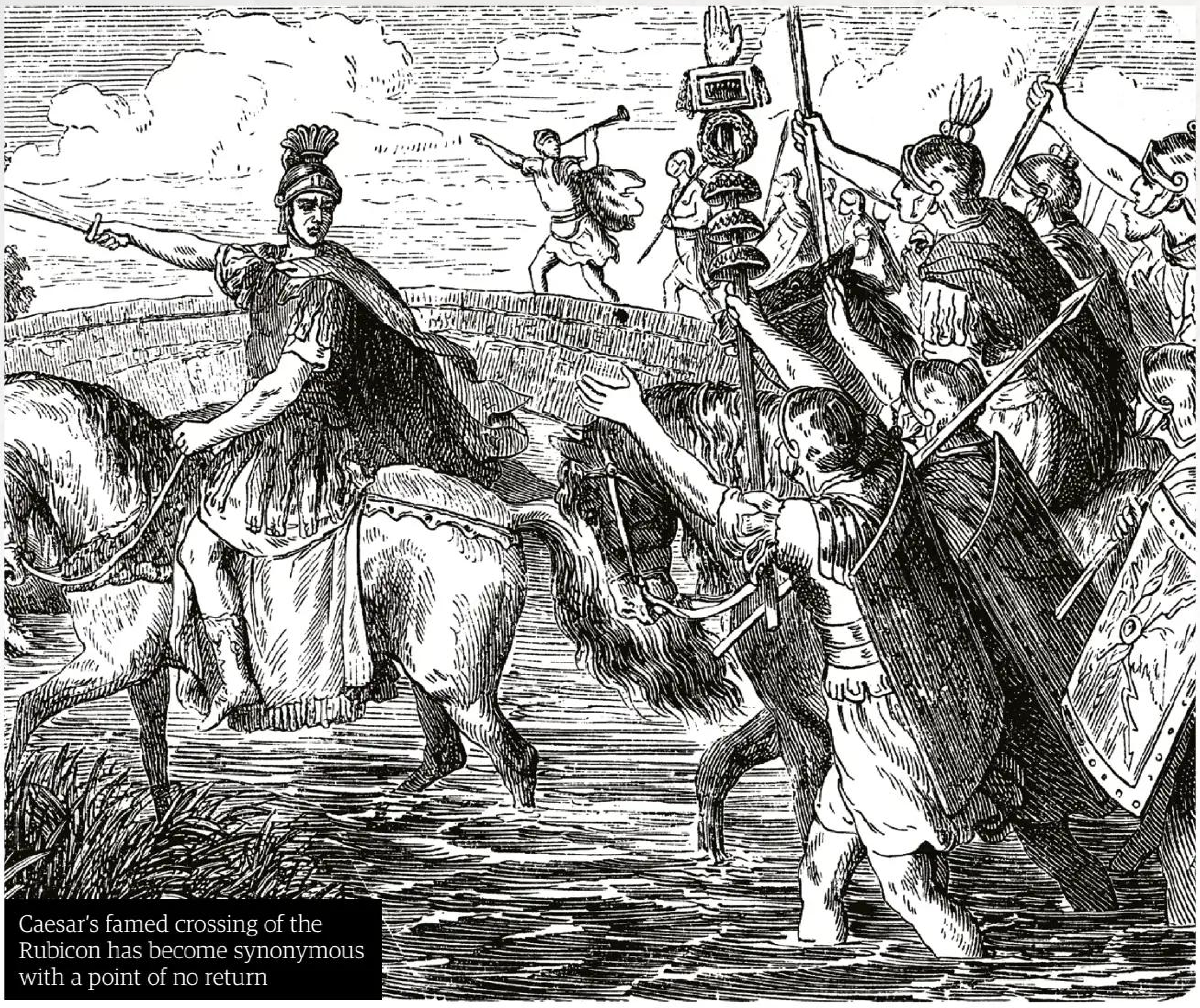


It was Caesar who brought Crassus and Pompey together

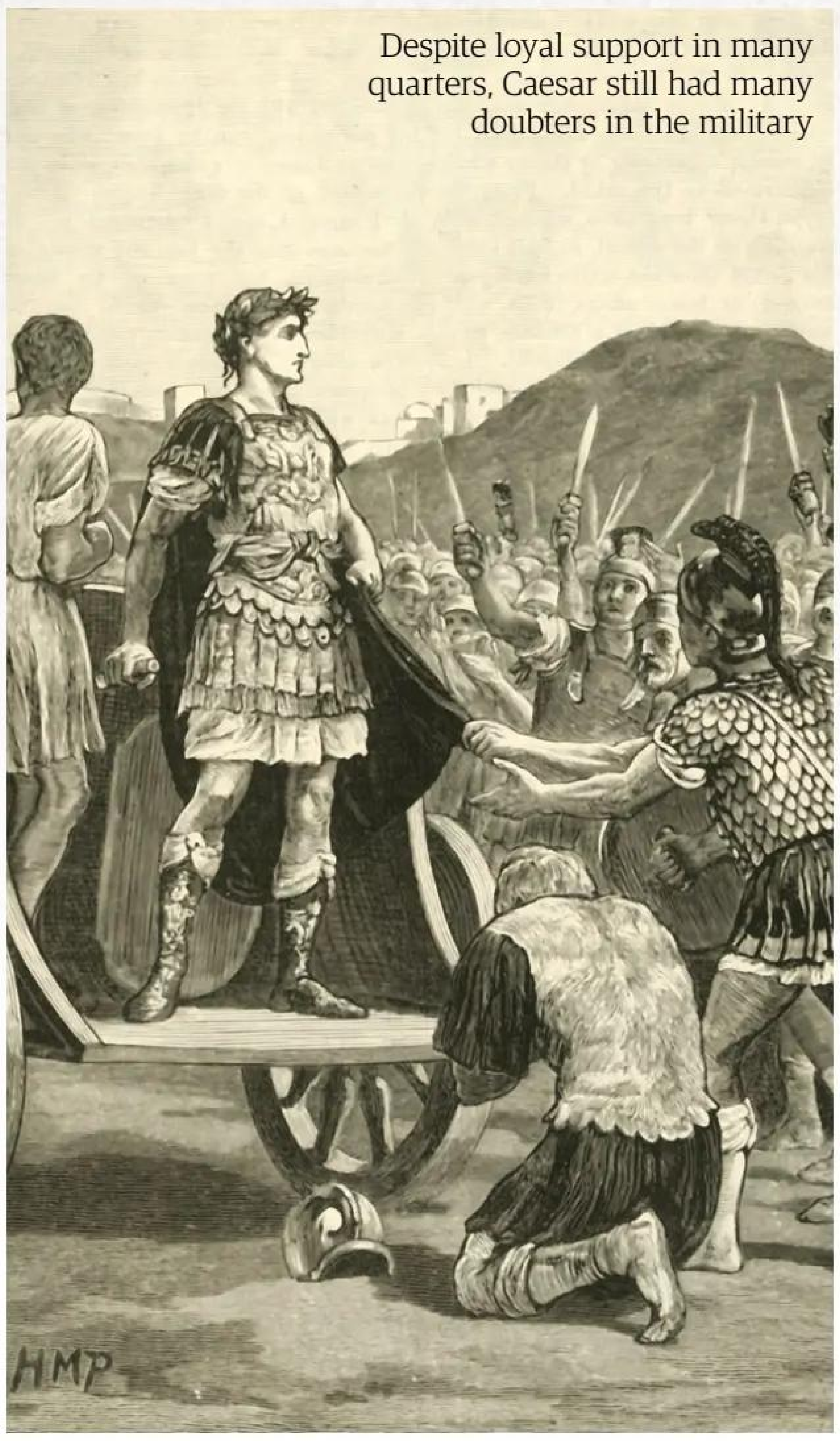
EVERY WOMAN'S MAN, EVERY MAN'S WOMAN

Stories of Julius Caesar's gender non-conforming past explained

Caesar was forever the butt of jokes and innuendo regarding his sexuality. The biopic offered by Suetonius, scandal-monger supreme, is full of side-swipes: Licinius Calvus refers to Bithynia as 'Caesar's buggerer'; Curio describes Caesar as the 'queen's concubine' and refers to the 'whorehouse of Nicomedes' and the 'Bithynian brothel'; to Marcus Brutus, Caesar was queen to Pompey's king. Gaius Memmius describes him as cupbearer to Nicomedes along with other catamites. Cicero reminded Caesar in court while he was defending Nysa, Nicomedes' daughter, that "it is well known what he gave you and what you gave him". Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus bitchily referred to Caesar as the 'Queen of Bithynia', an allusion to Caesar's alleged dalliance with the King of Bithynia when he apparently lived the life of a girl in the court of King Nicomedes and was later referred to behind his back as 'every woman's man and every man's woman'. Even his soldiers joined in the fun, singing a ribald marching song during the Gallic campaign: 'Caesar had his way with Gaul; Nicomedes had his way with Caesar; behold now Caesar, conqueror of Gaul, in triumph, not so Nicomedes, conqueror of Caesar.'



Caesar's famed crossing of the Rubicon has become synonymous with a point of no return

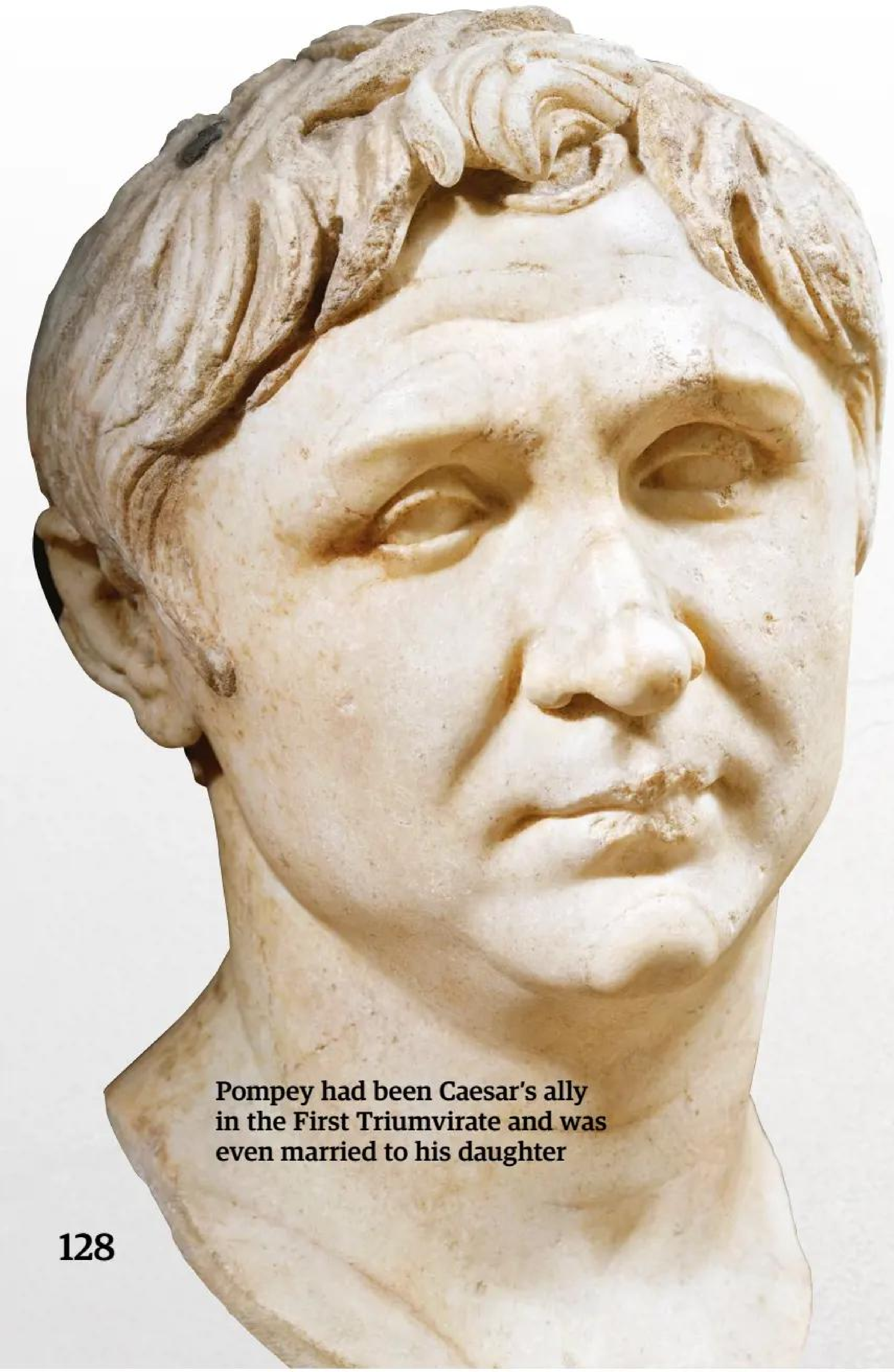


Despite loyal support in many quarters, Caesar still had many doubters in the military

day, advanced beyond, posting guards at the strategic positions, and subjugated all whom he encountered, either by force or by generosity." - Appian, Civil Wars 2, 35.

There was no going back: Rome and everything it stood for was in Caesar's sights. Four years of bloody conflict followed, a struggle during which a number of close battles were fought in locations as distant as Greece, Illyria, Egypt, Africa and Hispania, as well as Italy.

The first major victory of the war went to Optimates, who crushed the Caesarian forces in the Battle of Bagradas in 49 BCE in modern-day Tunisia. The following year they struck another blow against Caesar's hopes by defeating another of his armies in the Battle of Dyrrhachium (in what is today Albania). It seemed as though Caesar would pay the ultimate price for daring to march on Rome. However, despite such significant defeats, Caesar was far from beaten.



Pompey had been Caesar's ally in the First Triumvirate and was even married to his daughter

"Caesar committed his battle-hardened veterans to the fray and swept Pompey's army from the field"

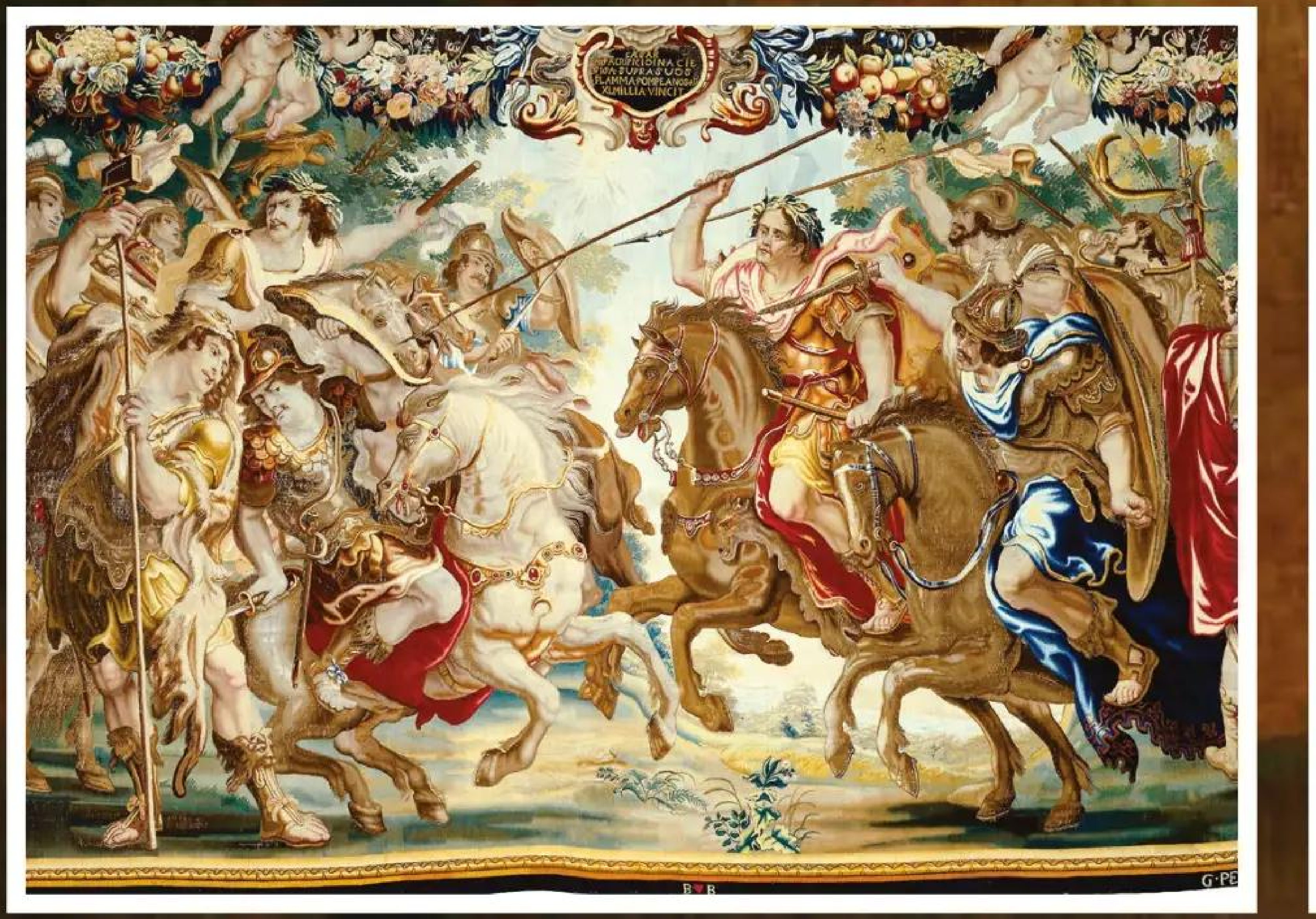
On 9 August 48 BCE, with his exhausted forces outnumbered by the army of the Republic led by Pompey, Caesar confronted his enemy once more at the Battle of Pharsalus in Greece. Concealing some of his infantry, Caesar commanded his men to await the enemy's cavalry. When the horses approached, Caesar's men were to stab at them with their pilums instead of throwing them. When the inevitable charge arrived this method stunned Pompey's riders, many of whom were skewered. Blind with panic, the surviving cavalry fled the field, exposing Pompey's infantry. Seizing the opportunity before him, Caesar committed his battle-hardened reserves to the fray and swept Pompey's army from the field.

As his men attempted to flee to safety Pompey watched on in despair, a feeling of utter dread that eventually saw him riding for his life. His abandoned encampment was duly ransacked by Caesar's soldiers. The war was over. The man who had dared to cross the Rubicon would now rule as Rome's undisputed leader, his foes mercilessly crushed.

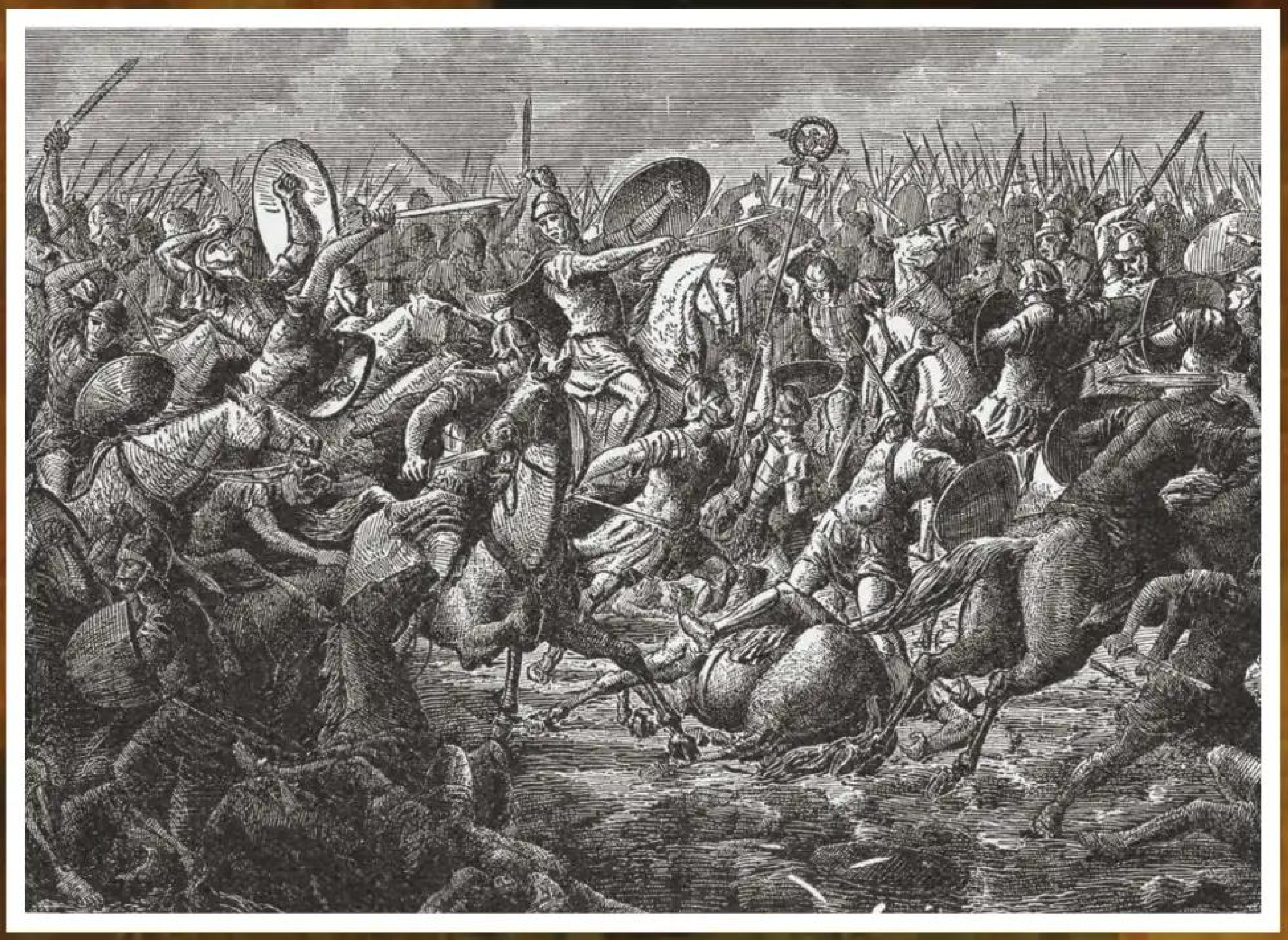
Fast forward to September 45 BCE. A priority for Caesar on his return to Italy was to finalise and file his will with the Vestal Virgins. In this, he named his adoptive grandnephew, Gaius Octavius (Octavian, later known as Augustus Caesar), as his principal heir, bequeathing his immense estate and property, including his powerful name. If Octavian predeceased Caesar, then Decimus Junius Brutus Albinus - ironically a future assassin - would be next in line to rule Rome. The citizens of Rome also did rather well out of the will. "His gardens were given to the people as a place of recreation, and to every Roman still living in the city he gave 75 Attic drachmas."

The chaos, lameness and dysfunctionality inherent in the Roman administration were plain for all to see. The machinery of state

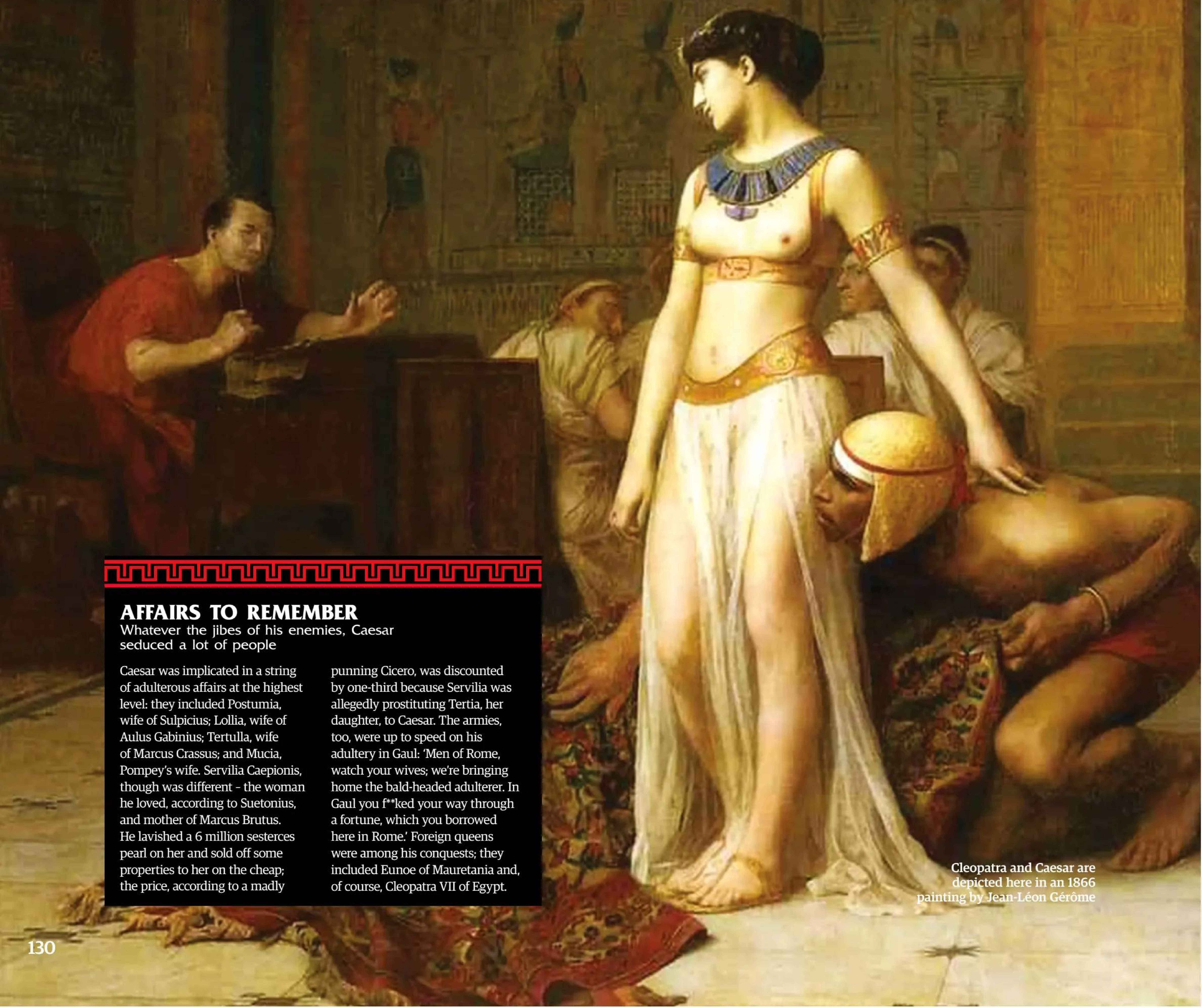
Pompey flees the field in the wake of his defeat to Caesar at the Battle of Pharsalus, 48 BCE



This 1675 tapestry depicts the defeat of Pompey by Caesar



Caesar was vastly outnumbered at the Battle of Pharsalus but was still victorious



AFFAIRS TO REMEMBER

Whatever the jibes of his enemies, Caesar seduced a lot of people

Caesar was implicated in a string of adulterous affairs at the highest level: they included Postumia, wife of Sulpicius; Lollia, wife of Aulus Gabinius; Tertulla, wife of Marcus Crassus; and Mucia, Pompey's wife. Servilia Caepionis, though was different - the woman he loved, according to Suetonius, and mother of Marcus Brutus. He lavished a 6 million sesterces pearl on her and sold off some properties to her on the cheap; the price, according to a madly punning Cicero, was discounted by one-third because Servilia was allegedly prostituting Tertia, her daughter, to Caesar. The armies, too, were up to speed on his adultery in Gaul: 'Men of Rome, watch your wives; we're bringing home the bald-headed adulterer. In Gaul you f**ked your way through a fortune, which you borrowed here in Rome.' Foreign queens were among his conquests; they included Eunoe of Mauretania and, of course, Cleopatra VII of Egypt.

Cleopatra and Caesar are depicted here in an 1866 painting by Jean-Léon Gérôme was no longer fit for purpose, the Senate was enfeebled and the provinces were allowed to act independently of central government in Rome; the army, under their commanders, effectively dictated things. Corruption was rife, as was fear, but the status quo was still largely welcomed by conservative factions within the Senate despite its humbling.

Caesar resolved to put things right. He came up with a three-point plan to extirpate all armed resistance in the provinces; restore order and strength to the Republic and simultaneously create a strong central government in Rome; and harness all provinces into a single cohesive political unit. This would prevent any recurrence of the problems that had sparked the Social Wars (91–88 BCE), when individuals outside Rome were not considered 'Roman' and were denied full citizenship rights.

When Caesar defeated Pompey and his supporters, he had, in effect, dealt with the first matter. Absolute and unquestioned sway over the government was required to achieve the second and third points, so he set about augmenting his personal power and, simultaneously, eroding the authority of Rome's other political institutions. He also put in place reforms intended to address several issues that had long been neglected, one of which was his reform of the Roman calendar.

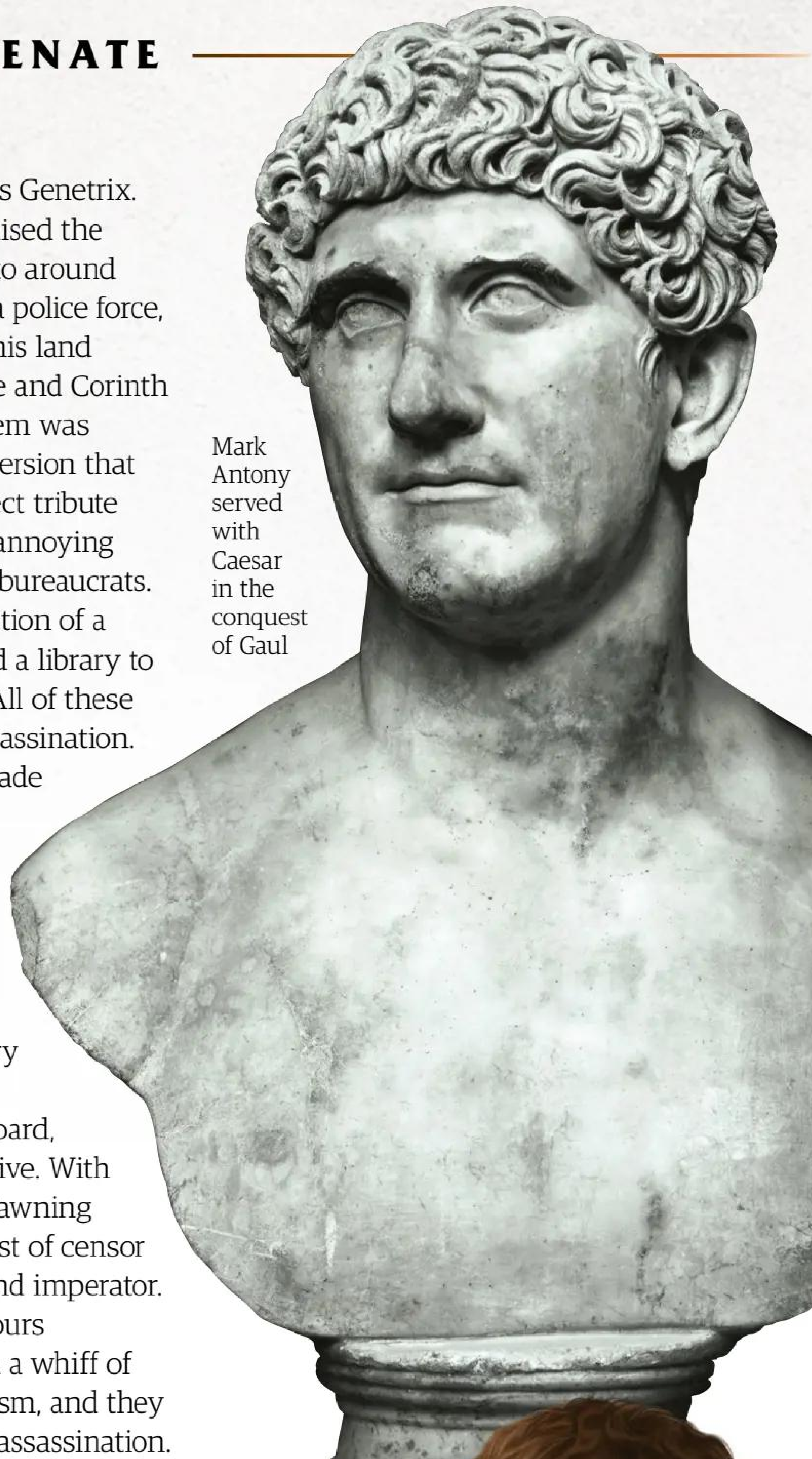
More legislative and constitutional housekeeping followed: Caesar conducted a census, which led to a reduction in the state-subsidised grain dole, imposing a fixed number of recipients, all of whom were entered into a register. Laws decreed that jury service be restricted to the Senate or the equestrian ranks. A sumptuary law restricted the purchase of certain luxuries. A fertility law rewarded families for producing certain numbers of children. He banned professional guilds, except those that could claim an ancient foundation (guilds were often hotbeds of anti-government sedition). The length of time governors could hold office in the provinces was restricted to minimise the risk that another general might attempt to challenge him. Debts were restructured, wiping out about a quarter of all outstanding debt in Rome at the time.

Caesar then turned his attention to public works. Among his projects he built the Forum of Caesar, with its Temple of Venus Genetrix. Between 47 and 44 BCE, he organised the all-important distribution of land to around 15,000 of his veterans. He set up a police force, appointed officials to officiate on his land reforms and ordered that Carthage and Corinth be rebuilt. The prevailing tax system was abolished, reverting to an earlier version that allowed cities the freedom to collect tribute independently without involving annoying and often confrontational Roman bureaucrats. Other plans included the construction of a temple to Mars, a large theatre and a library to match the Library of Alexandria. All of these were abandoned after Caesar's assassination.

Plans were also in place to upgrade Ostia to a major port, and cut a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth. Military campaigns against the Dacians and Parthians (to avenge the catastrophic defeat at Carrhae in 53 BCE in which precious legionary standards were captured by the Parthians) were on the drawing board, resulting in a huge recruitment drive. With encouragement from Caesar, the fawning Senate honoured him with the post of censor for life, Father of the Fatherland and imperator.

Some of these actions and honours clearly had about them more than a whiff of monarchism, divinity and despotism, and they were later used to justify Caesar's assassination. Most blatantly and obviously, the Senate named Caesar dictator perpetuo (dictator in perpetuity). Caesar could now wield real power. As dictator perpetuo, he elected the other magistrates, selected the provincial governors and crucially, in doing so, the army commanders. He enjoyed the support of the many to whom he had shown clemency in the recent past. To add to this, Caesar misused his powers as censor to replenish the membership of the Senate, which had been depleted through proscription and exile. New

> "New senators were appointed to bring membership up to 900 – all the novices were, of course, Caesar's men"



Mark Antony served with Caesar in the conquest of Gaul

The Optimates included Roman statesmen and commanders like Brutus and Pompey senators were appointed to bring membership up to 900 – all the novices were, of course, Caesar's men. While this strengthened Caesar's arm immeasurably, it also further diluted the democratic nature of the Senate and compromised its status and prestige.

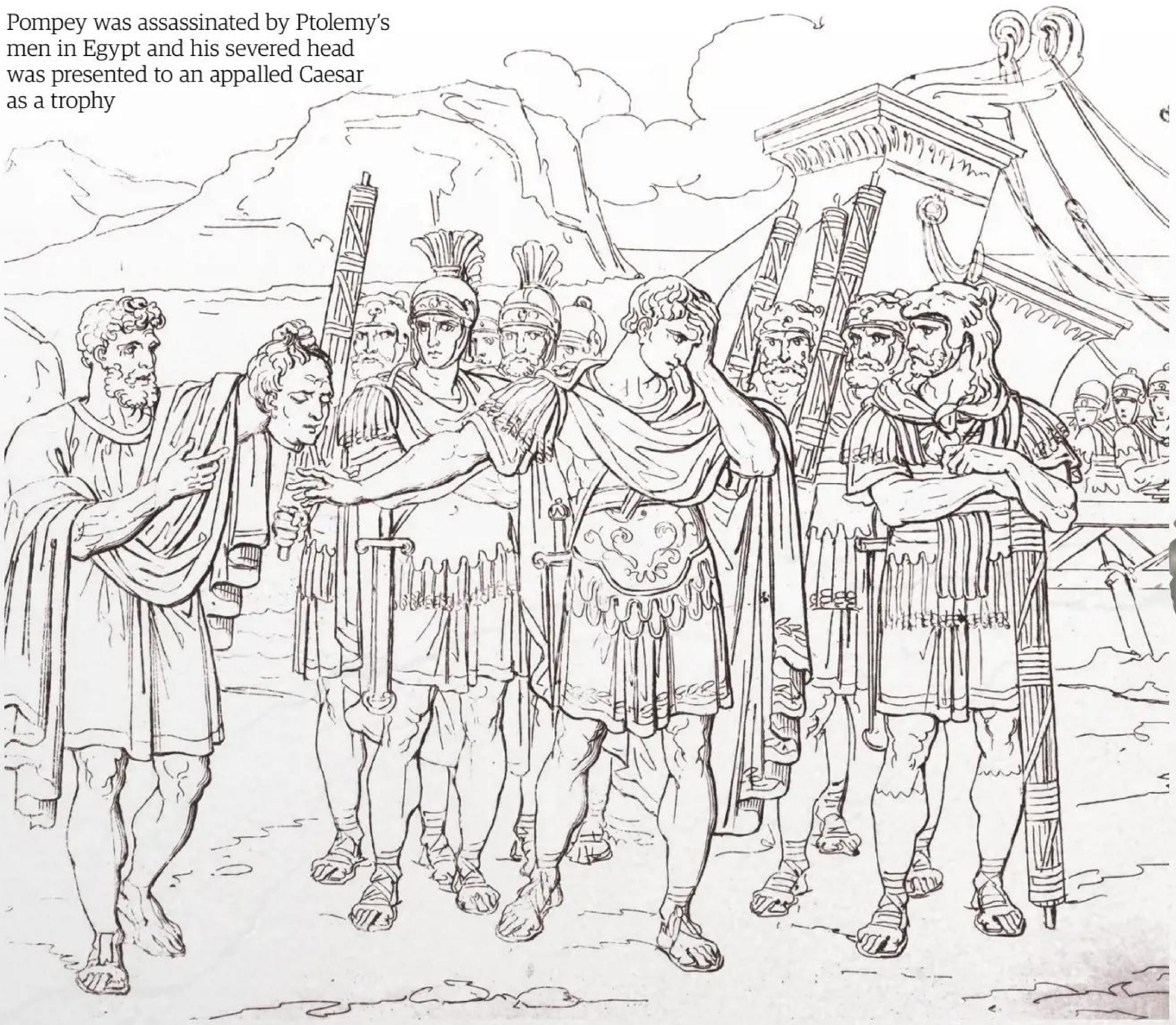
It was all decidedly counter mos maiorum (ancestral custom), rode roughshod over tradition, was devoid of 'Romanitas' (the concept and ideology by which Romans defined themselves) and, of course, it had more than just a hint of monarchism about it. Mark Antony, who had been elected co-consul with Caesar, seemed to confirm this when he delivered a speech from the Rostra at the 44 BCE Lupercalia and clumsily tried to place a diadem on Caesar's head – a botched attempt to confer royalty on Caesar; Caesar laid it aside to use as a sacrifice to Jupiter.

Denarius coins were minted bearing his image, the text 'dictator perpetuo' and an image of the goddess Ceres and Caesar's title of Augur Pontifex Maximus on the reverse. Dio records how when a senatorial delegation went to inform Caesar of his new honours in 44 BCE, Caesar hubristically, tactlessly and arrogantly remained sitting in the Temple of Venus Genetrix rather than standing to meet them. A statue of him was placed in the company of those of the old, dreaded kings of Rome. Caesar was now becoming the not-so-accidental king. Obsequiously, he was granted a golden chair in the Senate, a gesture smacking of regal orientalism, and was allowed to wear triumphal dress whenever he pleased: Caesar was now the constant triumphator; life was becoming one long triumph. He was offered a popular cult, with Mark Antony as his high priest. More toadying came when he was privileged with the right to speak first during senatorial debates.

Back in 48 BCE, permanent tribunician powers had been conferred on Caesar, which rendered him sacrosanct and allowed him power of veto over the Senate. Suetonius tells how when a crowd gathered to greet Caesar on his return to Rome, one of them placed a laurel wreath on the statue of Caesar on the Rostra. Tribunes Gaius Epidius Marullus and Lucius Caesetius Flavus ordered the wreath be removed as it was a symbol of Jupiter and royalty. Caesar reacted by having the tribunes stripped of their powers and removed from office. Suetonius believes that, from this point on, Caesar was not able to disassociate himself from 'royalness'. After this, Caesar was never bothered again by annoying members of the Tribunician College.

Suetonius also relates how a crowd on the Alban Hill shouted, hailing him 'rex' ('king'), to which Caesar replied, "I am Caesar, not Rex." The tribunes arrested a member of the crowd, but the plebeians protested his right to freedom of speech; Caesar had the tribunes removed from office and erased their names from the records. Rome's new king was rewriting history.

In 46 BCE, Caesar demonstrated that he was getting carried away with all this veneration: he rewarded himself with the title of 'Prefect of the Morals' (praefectura morum), a censor by



Pompey was assassinated by Ptolemy's men in Egypt and his severed head was presented to an appalled Caesar as a trophy

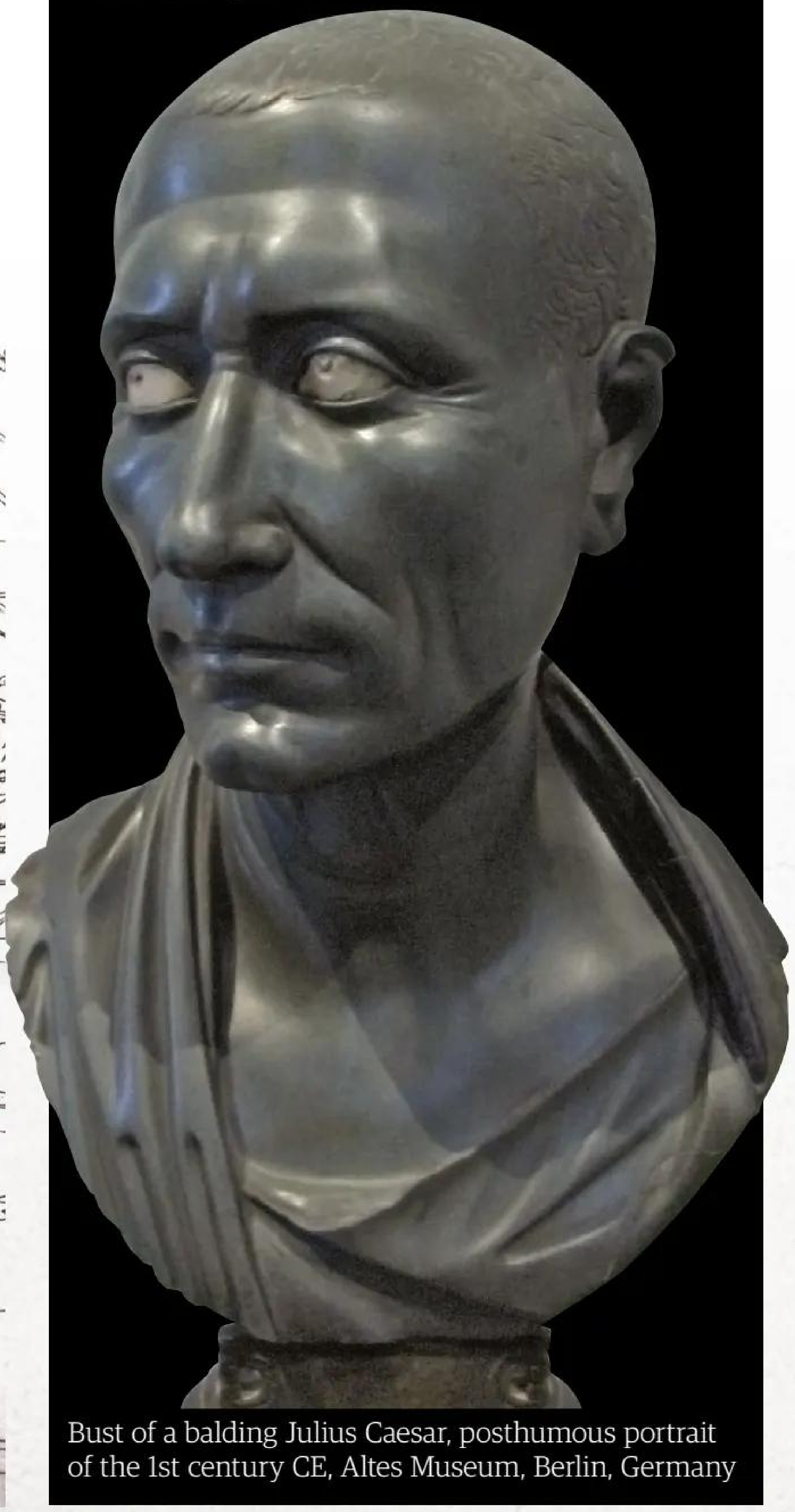
IMAGE CONSCIOUS

Just how sensitive was Julius Caesar about his looks?

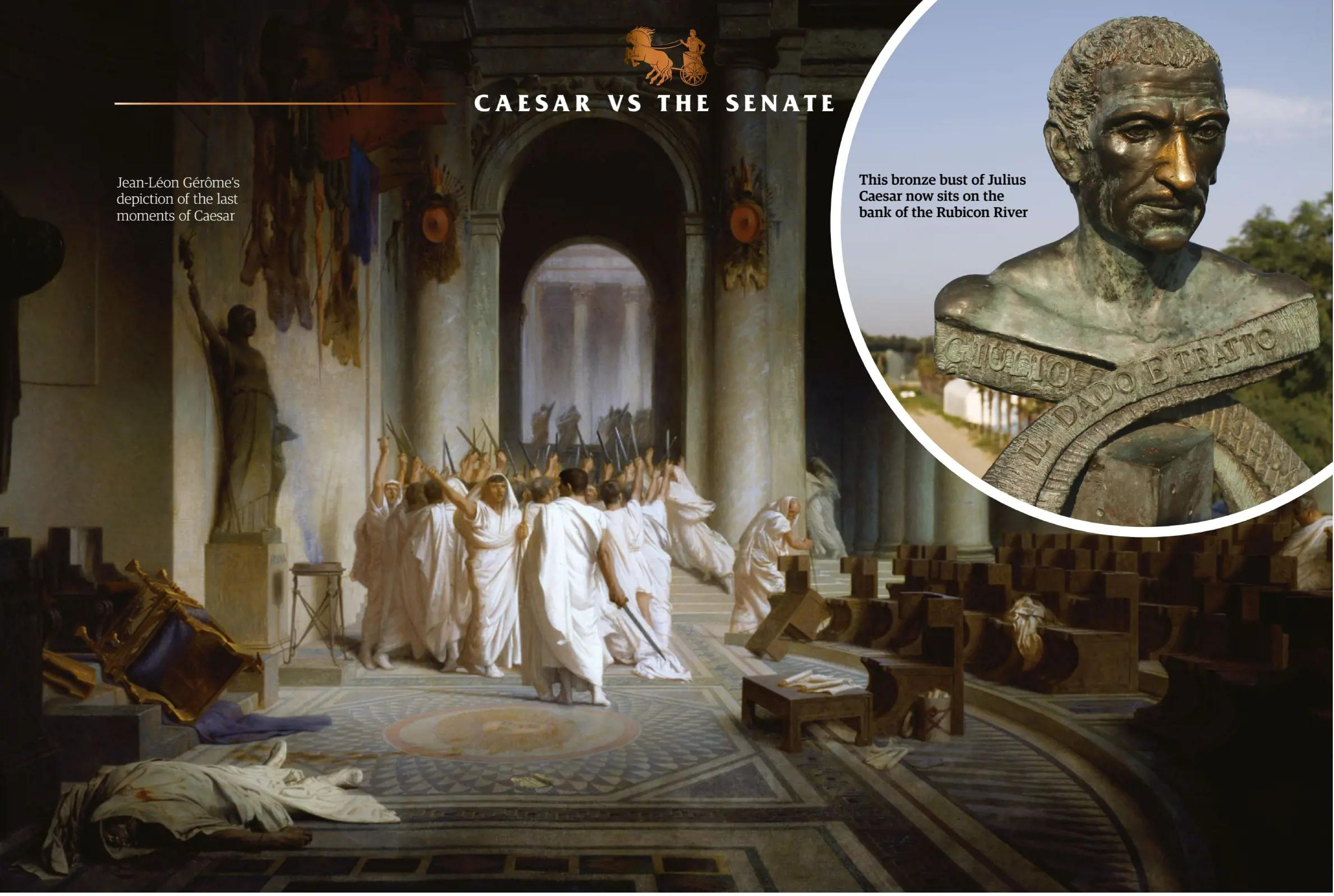
The work of Suetonius, *Divus Julius*, or *The Lives Of The Twelve Caesars*, gives us an insight into the physical hang-ups that Julius Caesar may have experienced. Here's an excerpt from the 1913 Loeb edition of the work.

"His baldness was a disfigurement which troubled him greatly, since he found that it was often the subject of the gibes of his detractors. Because of it he used to comb forward his scanty locks from the crown of his head… They say, too, that he was ostentatious in his dress; that he wore a senator's tunic with fringed sleeves reaching to the wrist, and always had a girdle over it, though rather a loose one; and this, they say, was the occasion of Sulla's jibe, when he often warned the nobles to keep an eye on the ill-girt boy… I won't mention either, the invectives of Dolabella and the elder Curio, in which Dolabella calls him "the queen's rival, the inner partner of the royal couch," and Curio, "the brothel of Nicomedes and the stew of Bithynia." Cicero, indeed, is not content with having written in sundry letters that Caesar was led by the king's attendants to the royal apartments, that he lay on a golden couch arrayed in purple, and that the virginity of this son of Venus was lost in Bithynia."

Even when he was granted the provinces of Gaul and Illyria by the Senate his exultant boast that he would be "mounting on their heads" (that is, committing oral rape on the enemy) was met with the quip that such an act would be rather difficult for a woman to perform.



Bust of a balding Julius Caesar, posthumous portrait of the 1st century CE, Altes Museum, Berlin, Germany



Jean-Léon Gérôme's depiction of the last moments of Caesar

This bronze bust of Julius Caesar now sits on the bank of the Rubicon River

any other name, which allowed him censorial powers but exemption from the checks and balances to which the regular censors were subject. Democracy was walking out the door; totalitarianism was waiting in the wings.

In early 44 BCE, Caesar made plans for his war against the Parthians. This, of course, would involve his lengthy absence from Rome and the seat of power and would compromise his ability to install his own consuls. Accordingly, he put in place legislation that gave him the right to appoint all magistrates for 43 BCE and all consuls and tribunes in 42 BCE well in advance. The Roman constitution was thus turned on its head: the magistracies were no longer representatives of the people but were now representatives of a dictator.

The Ides of March dawned. Caesar's diary had him down to appear at a session of the Senate. Led by Gaius Cassius Longinus, Decimus Junius Brutus and Marcus Junius Brutus, several senators, ('liberators'), had other plans for Caesar's day: they had tired of his despotic behaviour and conspired to assassinate him. Mark Antony had picked up vague rumblings and rumours of a plot the previous night from a petrified liberator and future assassin, the 'envious' Servilius Casca, tribune of the people. Antony went to warn Caesar, but the conspirators had taken such a move into account and arranged for Gaius Trebonius to intercept him as he approached the portico of the Theatre of Pompey, the temporary home of the Senate where the session was to be held, and detain him outside. As it happened, Antony fled when he heard the murderous din coming from the Senate chamber. Trebonius had been a loyal friend of Caesar but later defected to the assassins.

More importantly, the omens for the day were, predictably, decidedly bad. Calpurnia, his wife, dreamt of him bleeding to death; Spurinna – a soothsayer – gave him the clearest of advice, telling him in no uncertain terms, 'beware the Ides of March'. Regal hubris compelled him to ignore her.

Plutarch reports that when Caesar arrived at the Senate, Tillius Cimber presented him with a diversionary and spurious petition to recall his exiled brother. Cimber, like Trebonius, had been a loyal supporter of Caesar, but he too had defected. The other conspirators milled around fussily to feign support. When Caesar motioned Cimber away, Cimber grabbed his shoulders and pulled Caesar's tunic down. Caesar then indignantly cried to Cimber, "Ista quidem vis est!" ("Truly this is violence!"). Casca drew his dagger and thrust at Caesar's neck only to have Caesar spin around and catch him by the arm, protesting, "Casca, you good for nothing, what are you doing?" A frightened Casca could only cry "Help, brother!". At this the conspirators lashed out at the dictator. Caesar attempted to get away but to no avail: blinded by blood amid a blizzard of daggers, he fell. Eutropius records that the killers numbered about 60 men, inflicting between them 23 stab wounds.

If Suetonius is to be believed, a doctor later established there had been only one fatal wound inflicted on Caesar; the second strike, which pierced his aorta. Caesar's last words, if indeed he uttered any, have been a matter of dispute ever since. Suetonius maintains that he said nothing but that others believe his dying words to have been "You too, my child?" when he saw Brutus among his killers. Plutarch agrees, adding that Caesar pulled his toga over his head when he caught sight of Brutus. The most famous, unhistorical, version comes down from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*: "Et tu, Brute?"("And you as well, Brutus?").

The assassins could not have predicted the consequences of their actions. They were to be as far reaching and consequential as Caesar's Rubicon crossing five years earlier. To them, the murder of Caesar was supposed to be a short-term expedient, simply ridding Rome of a tyrant. Now that he was gone, they presumably thought life as it had been before the wars would return. All good Romans would be free once more to continue their journeys unhindered along their own personal cursus honorum. How wrong they were.

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SPQR

CLEOPATRA

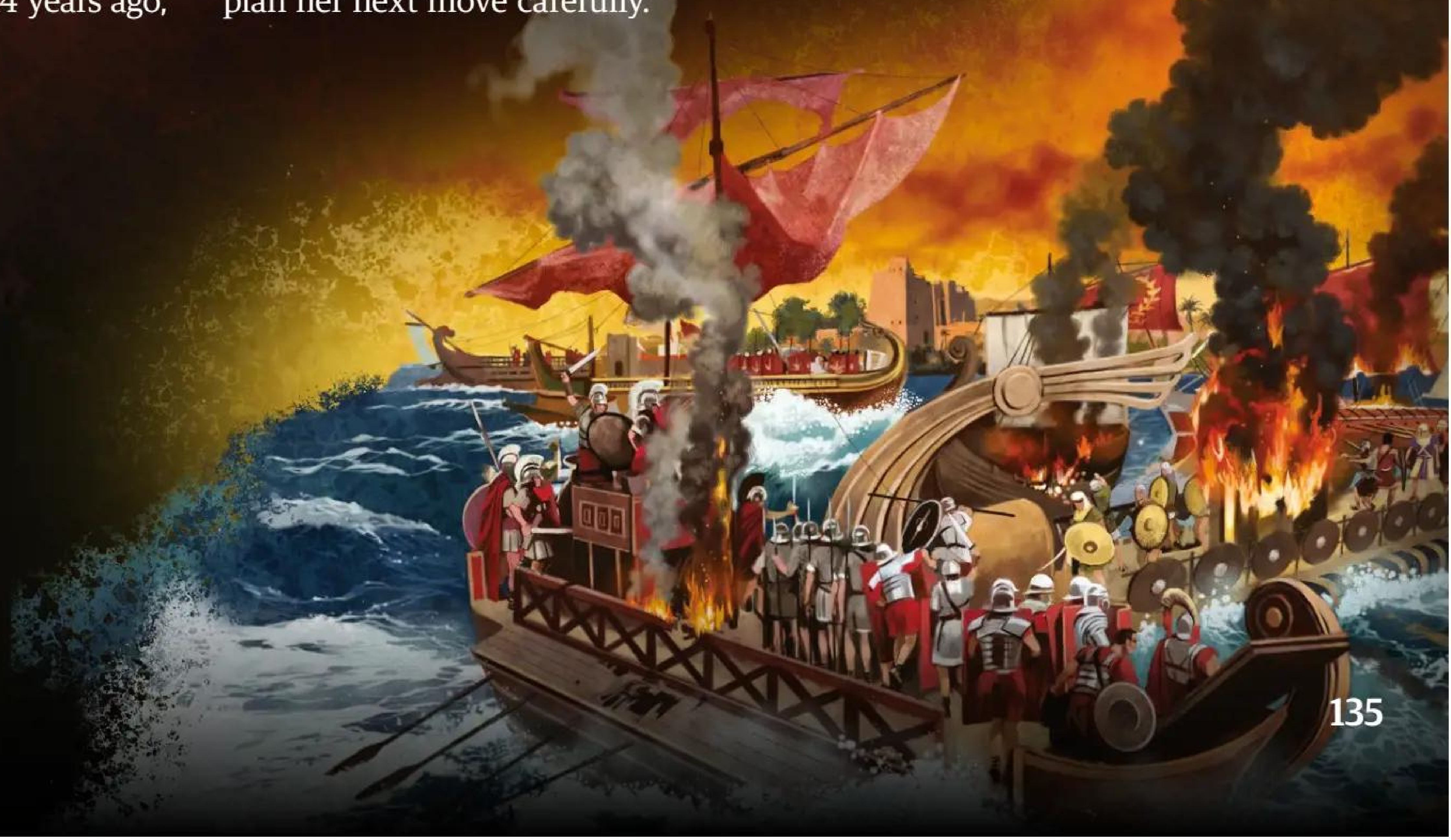
SERPENT OF THE NILE

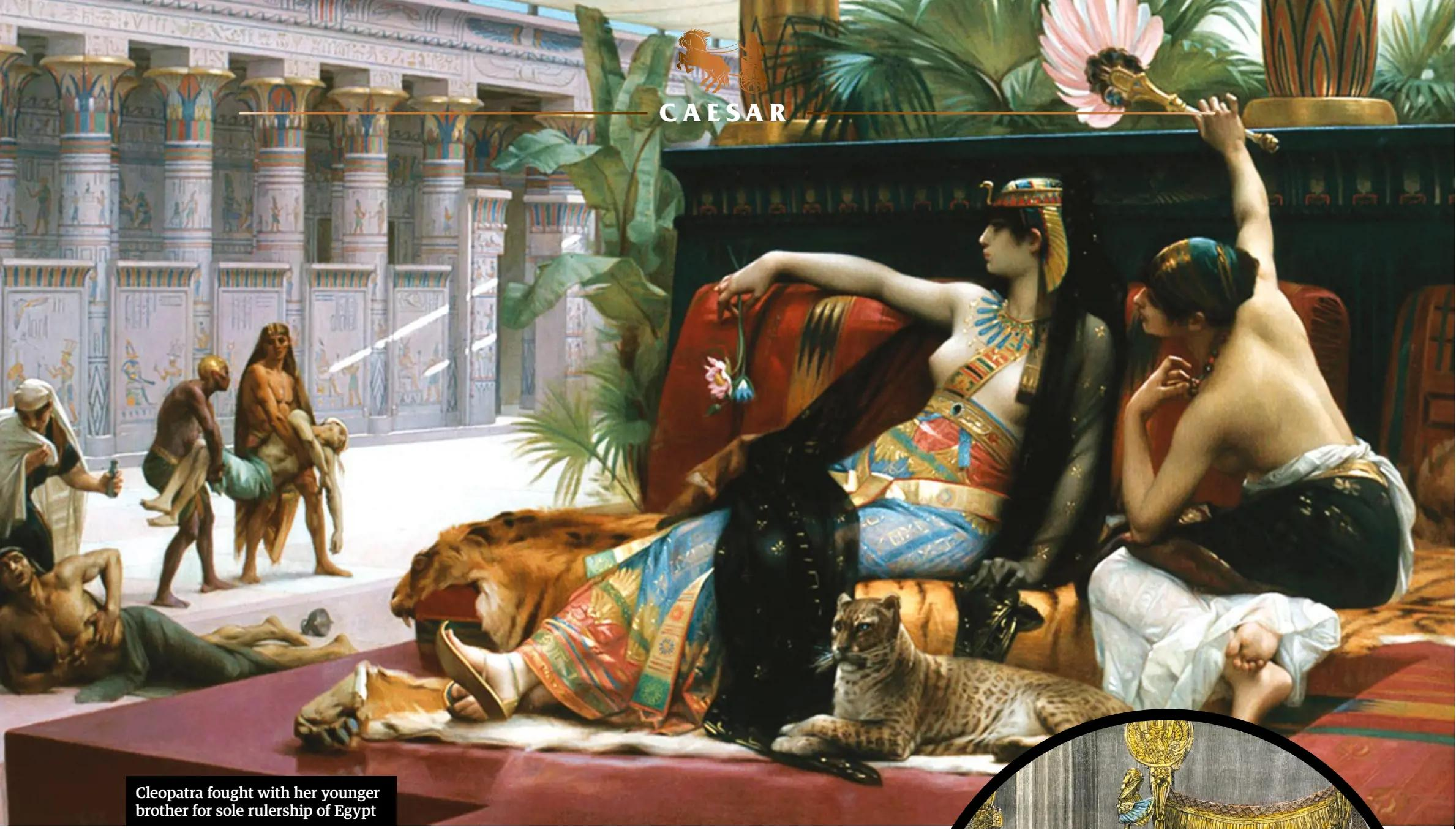
HOW A POISONOUS POWER STRUGGLE AND DOOMED LOVE AFFAIR SEALED THE FATE OF EGYPT'S GODDESS QUEEN

Written by Frances White

When they brought Mark Antony to Cleopatra, he was bleeding out fast. The Roman general had lost the battle, he believed his lover to be dead, and rather than surrender, he had chosen an honourable death and fallen upon his own sword. Hidden inside Cleopatra's monument in the ancient city of Alexandria, Antony lay in her arms as strained, haggard breaths fell from his lips. He was wrong. She wasn't dead. It would be his final mistake in a life ruled by rash decisions. He had fought wars for her, betrayed the state for her, killed for her and now he was dying for her. As Antony breathed his last, Cleopatra was, not for the first time, faced with the death of a man she loved. Their united force had the power to change the course of the Roman Republic and, ultimately, the world. However, the events that had led to that man dying in her arms actually began 14 years ago, with another captivating leader and another tragic death.

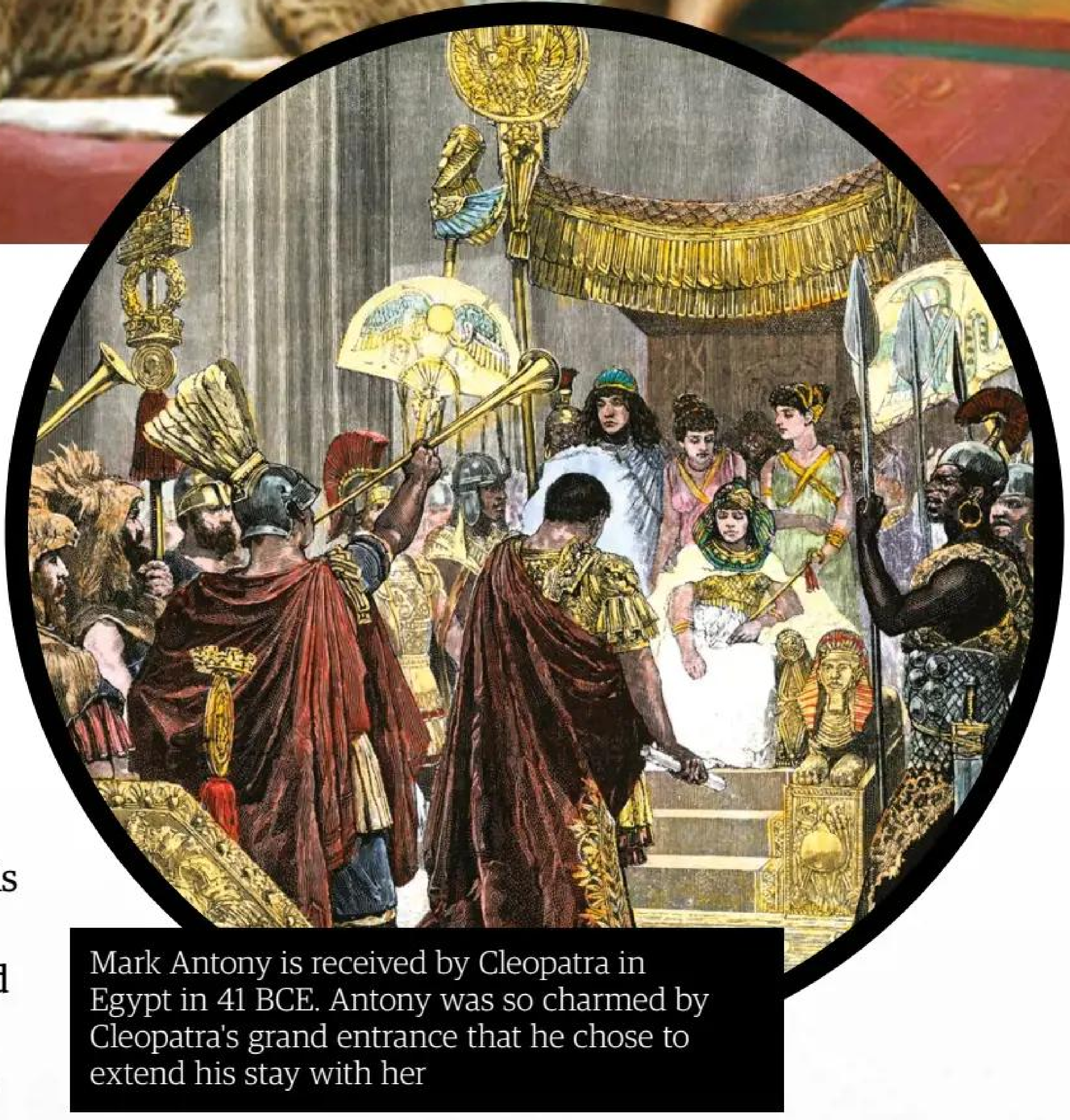
Cleopatra had worked tirelessly to secure her future with Julius Caesar, forming a strong partnership with the Roman ruler. She had also borne a son and claimed he was Caesar's, naming him Caesarion, 'little Caesar'. With her powerful lover by her side, she hoped her child could come to rule a unified and mighty kingdom. She even made steps to live with Caesar in Rome, but her plans came crashing down when the man she had pinned her ambitions to was brutally murdered, betrayed by those closest to him. The Egyptian ruler had been popular while she was with Caesar but, alone and exposed, the hostility directed at her in Rome began to intensify, and Cleopatra had no choice but to flee with her love child back to Egypt. There she would need to re-assess, re-group and plan her next move carefully.





Cleopatra fought with her younger brother for sole rulership of Egypt

> “She travelled in a magnificent barge. The sight of her as she sailed up the river to meet Antony was astonishing”



Mark Antony is received by Cleopatra in Egypt in 41 BCE. Antony was so charmed by Cleopatra's grand entrance that he chose to extend his stay with her

The pharaoh was not the only one forced to re-assess her position upon the death of Caesar; there was another man whose entire future would be forever altered by it – Caesar's loyal general Mark Antony. Antony had not had an easy upbringing. Although born into nobility, his father was corrupt and incompetent, meaning he had no strong parental figure to guide him. In his youth he fell into a life of gambling, drinking and love affairs with his greatest weakness: women. Antony was a rebellious, spirited youth and he revelled in the life of excess. It was not until he joined the military and began growing close to Caesar that his life was given the order and focus it needed.

Antony's relationship with Caesar had been anything but stable, but he had always returned to his superior's side and remained loyal, rejecting the offer to take part in the planned assassination and trying but failing to warn Caesar of the plot.

During his time as a general, Antony had gained political acumen, but even in his 40s he still possessed the fiery heart of a rebellious youth, and it was his heart that he followed without question. This passion bubbled over at Caesar's funeral when he was overcome with emotion and, as he spoke to the people, seized his leader's toga, stained with blood, and sent the spectators into a frenzy. The city erupted into a riot, buildings were burned to the ground and terrified conspirators fled.

It is for this reason – despite his lack of wisdom and subtlety – that his foes began to fear him. Antony was like a rabid animal, and his actions were impossible to predict. The power vacuum caused by Caesar's murder had plunged Rome into civil war, and it wasn't until 41 BCE that vague stability was established. Leadership of the empire was shared between Antony and Octavian, Caesar's adopted son and named heir; Octavian took the western territories while Antony ruled over the eastern region.

Facing the growing threat of the Parthian Empire, Antony wished to arrange a military campaign to push them back, but he lacked one thing: money. For this he set his sights on a powerful ally and the richest woman in the world – the Egyptian Pharaoh Cleopatra. She had aligned with his friend Caesar, and he was hoping she would do the same for him. He summoned her to Turkey in 41 BCE, his sights set on using her riches to assert his own power.

Cleopatra, however, was no fool. Although she was aware a union with one of Rome's most powerful leaders would be mutually beneficial, she sent out a clear message that she was not to be won over easily. She denied Antony's request for a meeting twice, and when she finally agreed to meet the headstrong man, she ensured she made a lasting impression. Cleopatra sailed from Egypt to Tarsus, and for the final part of her journey she travelled in a magnificent barge. The sight of her as she sailed up the river to meet Antony was astonishing. The gilded vessel boasted purple sails and silver oars that rowed to the gentle music of harps and flutes. The barge was heaving with exotic flowers, scented with perfume, as the lady herself reclined on deck, dressed as the goddess Venus and fanned by young boys, while beautiful maids dressed like sea nymphs sailed the boat.

The sight had its intended effect: Antony was infatuated with Cleopatra from the moment he saw her. He invited her for supper, to which she responded that he should be her guest instead. It was a mark of status, but Antony never said no to a woman. He was treated to a magnificent outdoor banquet illuminated by lights in the trees. The next day, Antony regained some of

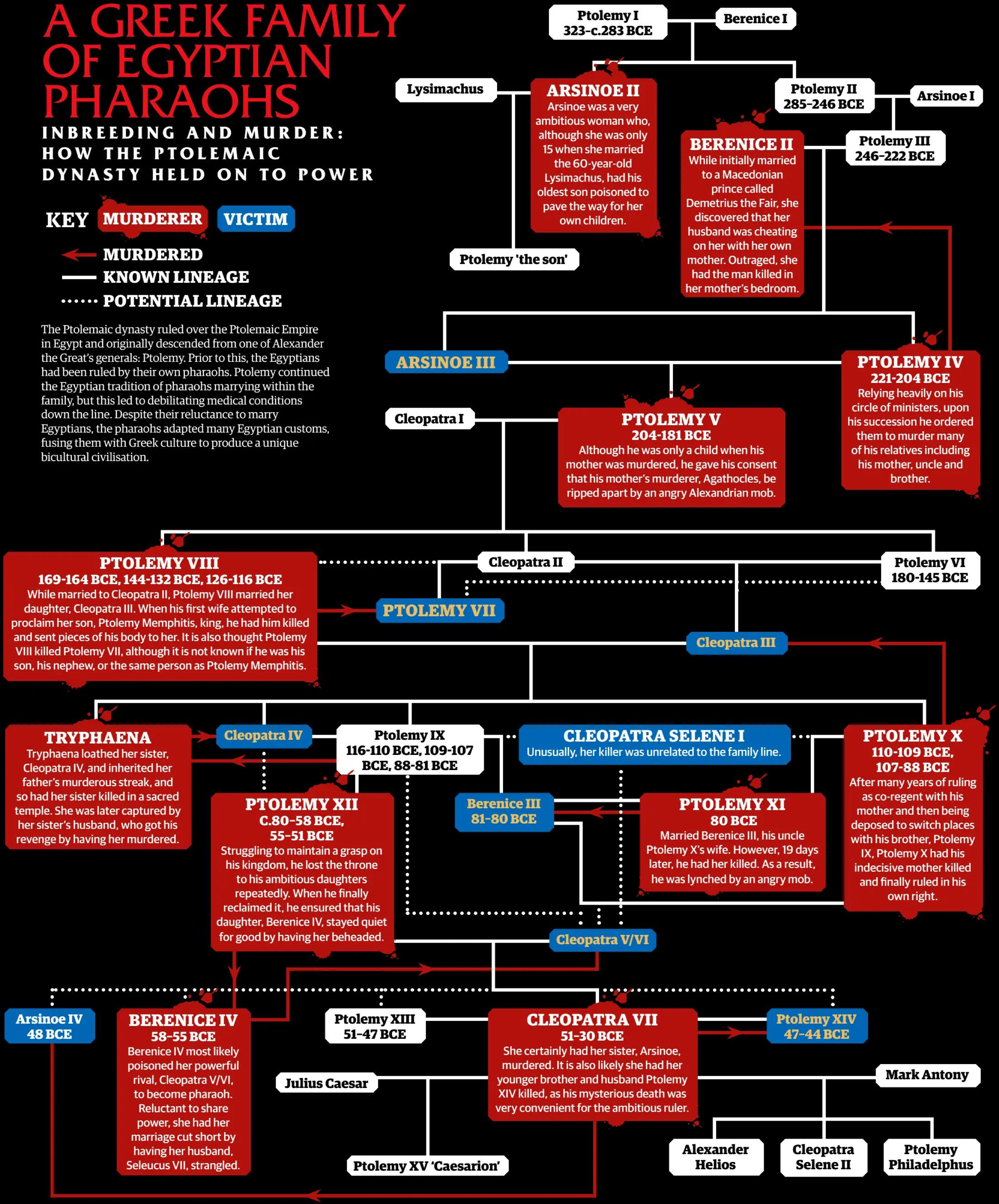
A GREEK FAMILY OF EGYPTIAN PHARAOHS

INBREEDING AND MURDER: HOW THE PTOLEMAIC DYNASTY HELD ON TO POWER

KEY **MURDERER** **VICTIM**

- ← **MURDERED**
- — **KNOWN LINEAGE**
- ······ **POTENTIAL LINEAGE**

The Ptolemaic dynasty ruled over the Ptolemaic Empire in Egypt and originally descended from one of Alexander the Great's generals: Ptolemy. Prior to this, the Egyptians had been ruled by their own pharaohs. Ptolemy continued the Egyptian tradition of pharaohs marrying within the family, but this led to debilitating medical conditions down the line. Despite their reluctance to marry Egyptians, the pharaohs adapted many Egyptian customs, fusing them with Greek culture to produce a unique bicultural civilisation.



Ptolemy I
323-c.283 BCE

Berenice I

Lysimachus

ARSINOE II
Arsinoe was a very ambitious woman who, although she was only 15 when she married the 60-year-old Lysimachus, had his oldest son poisoned to pave the way for her own children.

Ptolemy 'the son'

Ptolemy II
285-246 BCE

Arsinoe I

Ptolemy III
246-222 BCE

BERENICE II
While initially married to a Macedonian prince called Demetrius the Fair, she discovered that her husband was cheating on her with her own mother. Outraged, she had the man killed in her mother's bedroom.

ARSINOE III

PTOLEMY IV
221-204 BCE
Relying heavily on his circle of ministers, upon his succession he ordered them to murder many of his relatives including his mother, uncle and brother.

Cleopatra I

PTOLEMY V
204-181 BCE
Although he was only a child when his mother was murdered, he gave his consent that his mother's murderer, Agathocles, be ripped apart by an angry Alexandrian mob.

PTOLEMY VIII
169-164 BCE, 144-132 BCE, 126-116 BCE
While married to Cleopatra II, Ptolemy VIII married her daughter, Cleopatra III. When his first wife attempted to proclaim her son, Ptolemy Memphitis, king, he had him killed and sent pieces of his body to her. It is also thought Ptolemy VIII killed Ptolemy VII, although it is not known if he was his son, his nephew, or the same person as Ptolemy Memphitis.

Cleopatra II

Ptolemy VI
180-145 BCE

PTOLEMY VII

Cleopatra III

TRYPHAENA
Tryphaena loathed her sister, Cleopatra IV, and inherited her father's murderous streak, and so had her sister killed in a sacred temple. She was later captured by her sister's husband, who got his revenge by having her murdered.

Cleopatra IV

Ptolemy IX
116-110 BCE, 109-107 BCE, 88-81 BCE

CLEOPATRA SELENE I
Unusually, her killer was unrelated to the family line.

PTOLEMY X
110-109 BCE, 107-88 BCE
After many years of ruling as co-regent with his mother and then being deposed to switch places with his brother, Ptolemy IX, Ptolemy X had his indecisive mother killed and finally ruled in his own right.

PTOLEMY XII
C.80-58 BCE, 55-51 BCE
Struggling to maintain a grasp on his kingdom, he lost the throne to his ambitious daughters repeatedly. When he finally reclaimed it, he ensured that his daughter, Berenice IV, stayed quiet for good by having her beheaded.

Berenice III
81-80 BCE

PTOLEMY XI
80 BCE
Married Berenice III, his uncle Ptolemy X's wife. However, 19 days later, he had her killed. As a result, he was lynched by an angry mob.

Cleopatra V/VI

Arsinoe IV
48 BCE

BERENICE IV
58-55 BCE
Berenice IV most likely poisoned her powerful rival, Cleopatra V/VI, to become pharaoh. Reluctant to share power, she had her marriage cut short by having her husband, Seleucus VII, strangled.

Ptolemy XIII
51-47 BCE

CLEOPATRA VII
51-30 BCE
She certainly had her sister, Arsinoe, murdered. It is also likely she had her younger brother and husband Ptolemy XIV killed, as his mysterious death was very convenient for the ambitious ruler.

Ptolemy XIV
47-44 BCE

Julius Caesar

Mark Antony

Ptolemy XV 'Caesarion'

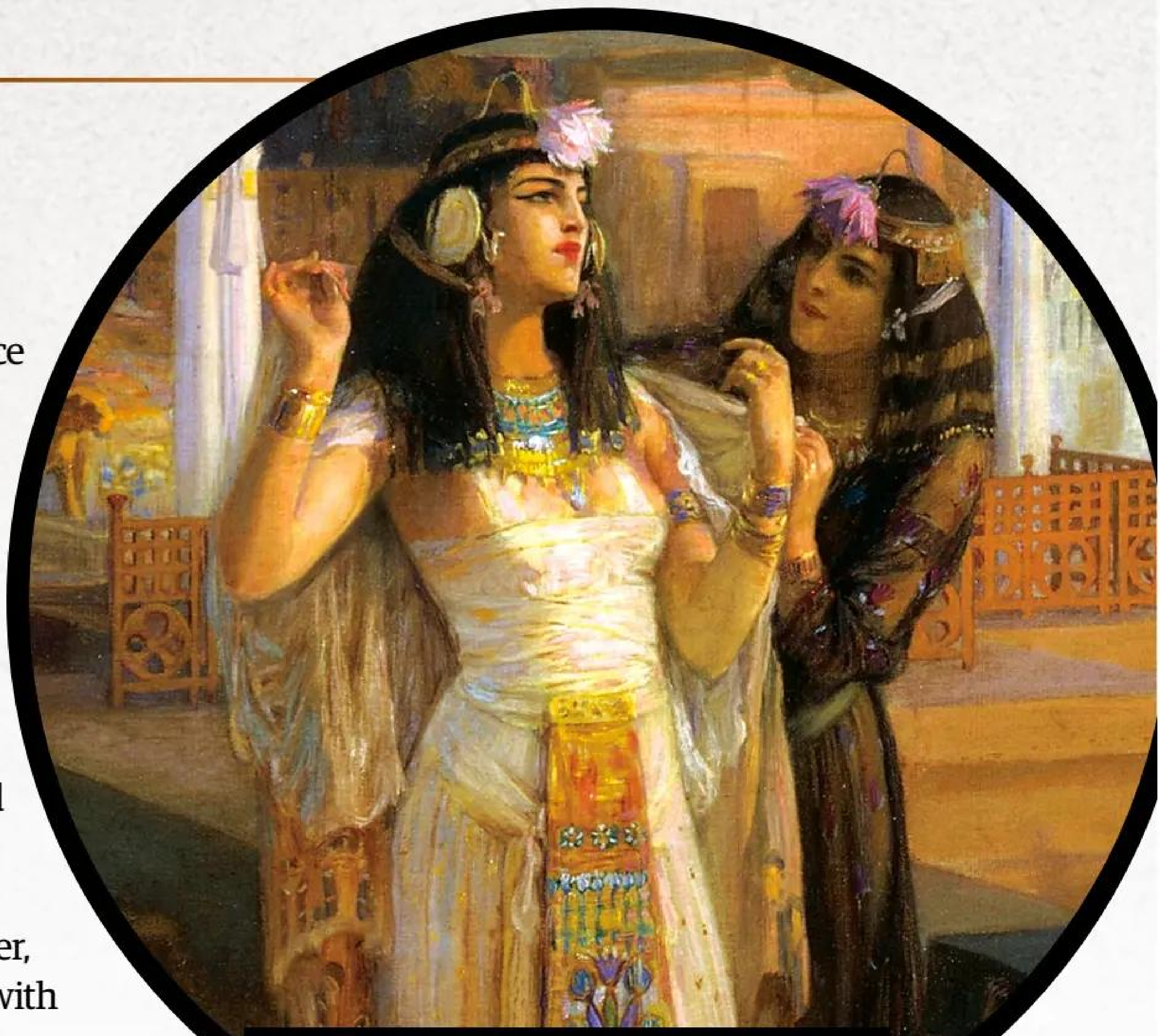
Alexander Helios

Cleopatra Selene II

Ptolemy Philadelphus

his male bravado and invited her to supper. He was determined to outdo her but was completely unable to match the magnificence of royal hospitality. However, Cleopatra wasn't interested in wealth – she was the richest woman in the world after all. The few men she had truly loved had all been brave, ambitious soldiers, and she found Antony's wild, impetuous side completely irresistible. She agreed to help him, but she would need something in return, something a soldier and not a civilian would understand – murder.

Arsinoe was Cleopatra's younger sibling; she had reigned over Egypt with their brother, Ptolemy XIII, but when Cleopatra returned with Caesar, Arsinoe was captured and exiled to the Temple of Artemis. Despite this, Cleopatra still considered her a threat and wanted her eliminated. She asked Antony to do what Caesar could not and remove her sister once and for all. Antony, in desperate need of Cleopatra's money and completely enthralled by her charms, ordered Arsinoe's execution. In a gross violation of the temple's sanctuary, and disgusting the vast majority of Rome, the woman was brutally murdered on the sacred steps. It would not be the last time Antony was willing to betray the rules of his state for the woman he loved.



Cleopatra gets ready to embark on her barge from the island of Philae. The island housed a temple of Isis, the goddess Cleopatra sought to emulate

> “Cleopatra found Antony irresistible and agreed to help him, but she would need something in return – murder”

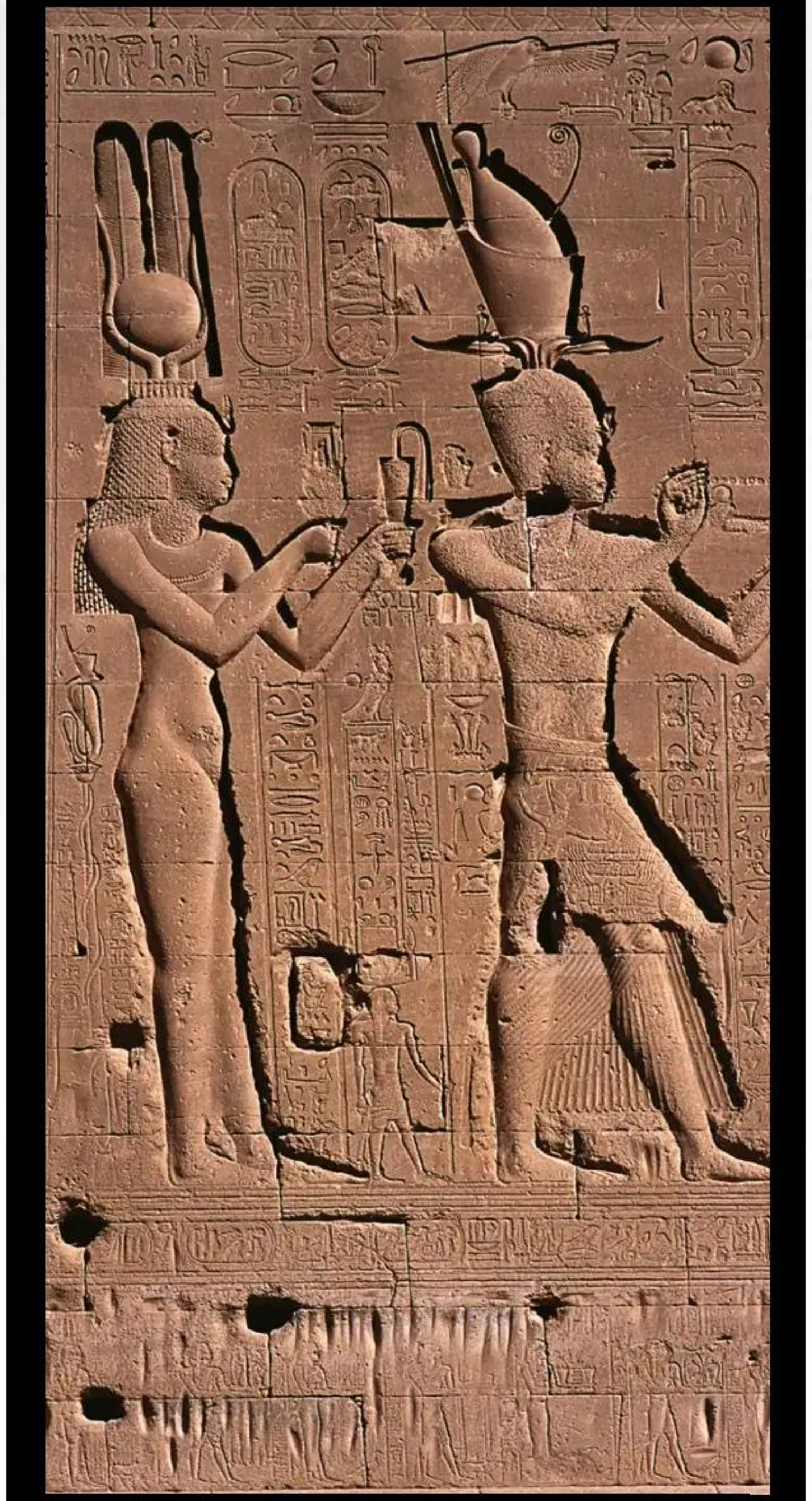
This move impressed Cleopatra, and the two did not wish to be parted. They spent the winter of 41 BCE together in Alexandria, not only as allies but as lovers. Having disposed of her troublesome siblings, Cleopatra was free to pursue the men she desired. Antony, on the other hand, was married to Fulvia, although she seemed far from his mind. In Cleopatra's company, Antony reverted back to his playboy youth, filling his days with lavish riches. Together the lovers played dice, drank and hunted. There are claims that at night they would dress as servants and walk around the city, knocking on doors and causing a nuisance with their frivolities.

Although a rich man, Antony had never experienced the extravagance of the palace. Together they formed a society known as the 'inimitable livers', which drank, celebrated and entertained to excess. One of the stories that has been passed down through history is that Cleopatra bet Antony she could spend 10 million sestertii on dinner, to which he accepted. She then had a modest, unremarkable meal, for which he mocked her. Then the pharaoh took a cup of strong vinegar and dropped one of her priceless pearl earrings into it, where it dissolved. This story originated some 100 years after the events and is unverified. However, the very fact of its existence indicates the perception of the extravagance that the infatuated couple enjoyed in Alexandria.

Meanwhile in Rome, Antony's wife Fulvia was plotting. In an extreme bid to force her husband away from his affair, she publicly declared herself and Antony in opposition to Octavian – a reckless action that would eventually escalate into a full-scale war. Antony was furious with his wife for arranging a war in his name, and he quickly returned to Italy to make amends with his fellow co-ruler, Octavian. Fulvia died shortly after, and Antony used this opportunity to marry Octavian's sister, Octavia, in a display of his allegiance. Antony was not ready for a war, not yet.

Cleopatra, meanwhile, was heavily pregnant with Antony's twins and gave birth two weeks later to Alexander Helios (the Sun) and Cleopatra Selene (the Moon). Despite having no option but to watch Antony marry another, she seemed unconcerned. She continued to give Antony the military resources and money he required, confident that no woman, not even the sister of the leader of Rome, could eclipse her. As usual, Cleopatra was correct.

Antony was beginning to have doubts about Octavian's loyalties and could not erase thoughts of Cleopatra's exotic beauty from his mind. In 37 BCE, he set sail for Syria with Octavia, who was pregnant at the time, but along the way he declared that his wife should go no further as he feared for her safety. Octavia returned to Italy



A relief on a temple wall depicting Cleopatra and Caesarion in Dendara, Egypt

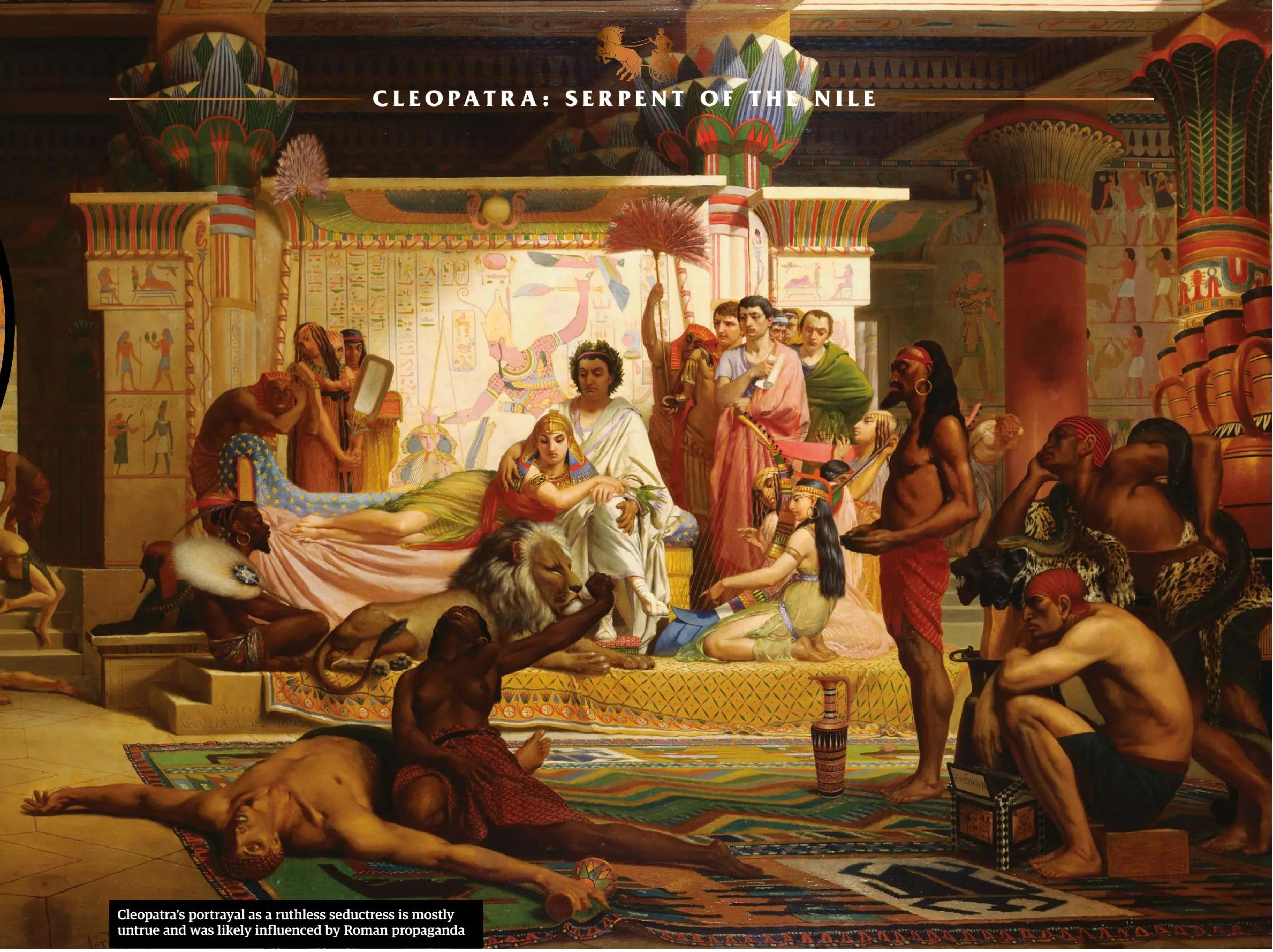
SON OF CAESAR

The child whose paternity began a conflict that would change the world

Caesarion was the ill-fated son of Cleopatra and, according to her, Julius Caesar. Although Caesar himself never officially acknowledged the child, the fact that he allowed his lover to name him after him is indicative that he knew his paternity. Details surrounding the boy himself are shrouded in myth and legend, but it was frequently commented that he bore resemblance to his father in manner and looks. 'Little Caesar' spent his early years with his mother and father in Rome, with Cleopatra eager that Caesar acknowledge his son and make him his heir. However, hopes for this vanished with the dictator's brutal assassination.

Cleopatra returned to Egypt with her beloved son, aged three, and as per tradition, he was named co-heir with his mother. The pharaoh was quick to weave her precious child into her propaganda, portraying him as the Horus to her Isis. This image of her son as a divine leader grew more prominent when Antony entered Cleopatra's life. Together they created the title 'king of kings', and Antony also declared Caesarion to be Caesar's true son and heir.

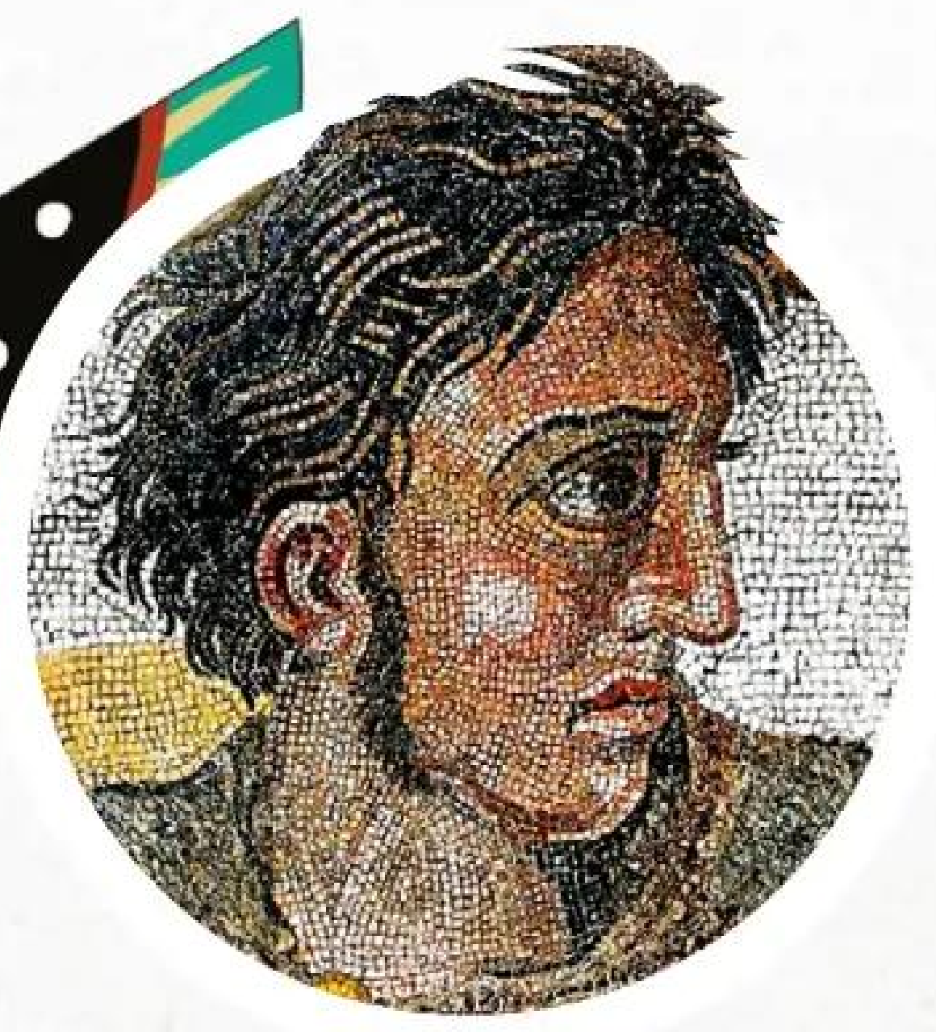
This act is likely what damned the boy when his mother's ships fled at the Battle of Actium. Efforts were made to smuggle the then 17-year-old Caesarion away to India, but through betrayal or trickery, he landed back in Octavian's hands. Facing such a direct threat to his power and advised by the philosopher Arius Didymus that "It's not good to have too many Caesars", it is likely that the future emperor of Rome had the teenager killed, though exact details of his death have been lost to time.



Cleopatra's portrayal as a ruthless seductress is mostly untrue and was likely influenced by Roman propaganda

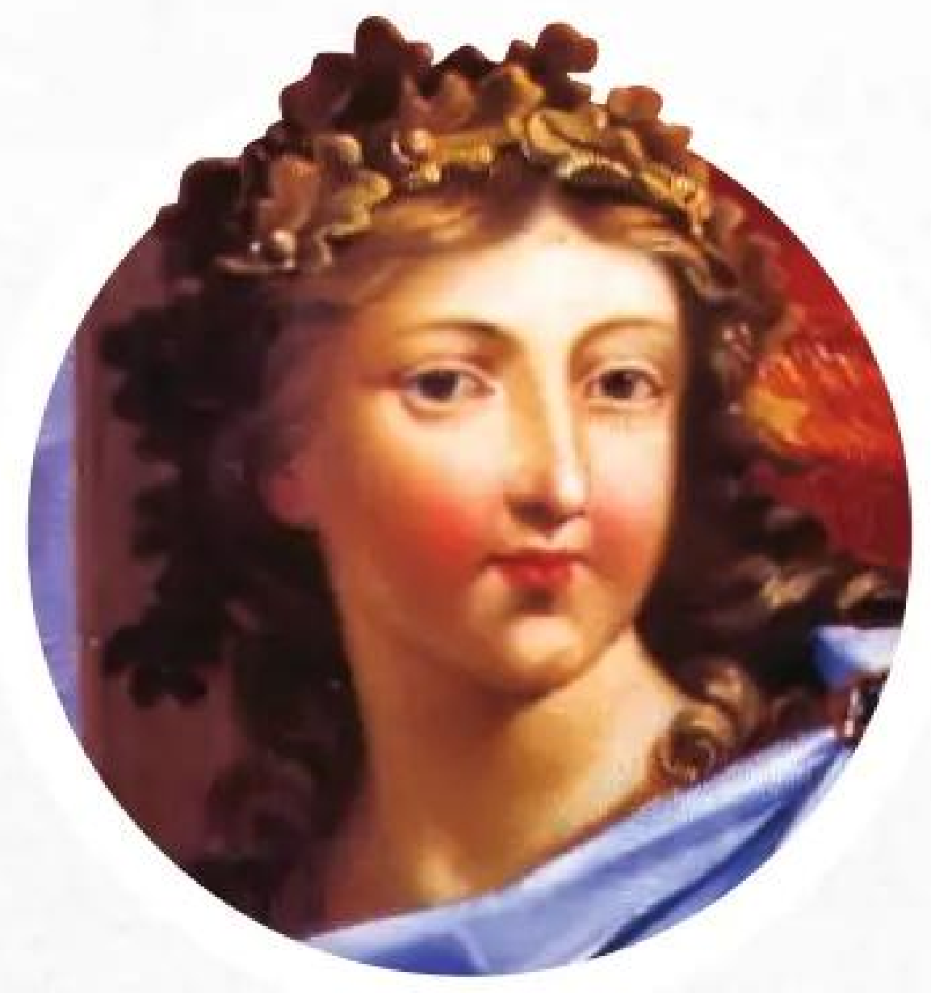
THE POWER OF THE GODS

CLEOPATRA IDENTIFIED HERSELF WITH THE GODDESS ISIS – THE HEALER WHO BROUGHT THE DEAD BACK TO LIFE – AND SHE WASN'T ALONE. FROM THE EARLIEST RECORDINGS OF HUMANITY, DIVINITY HAS BEEN A CLAIM TO RULE



Alexander the Great

Alexander not only presented himself as a god, he believed it too. He was convinced he was a descendant of the legendary warrior Achilles and the son of Zeus. He believed it was his divine destiny to defeat King Darius III.

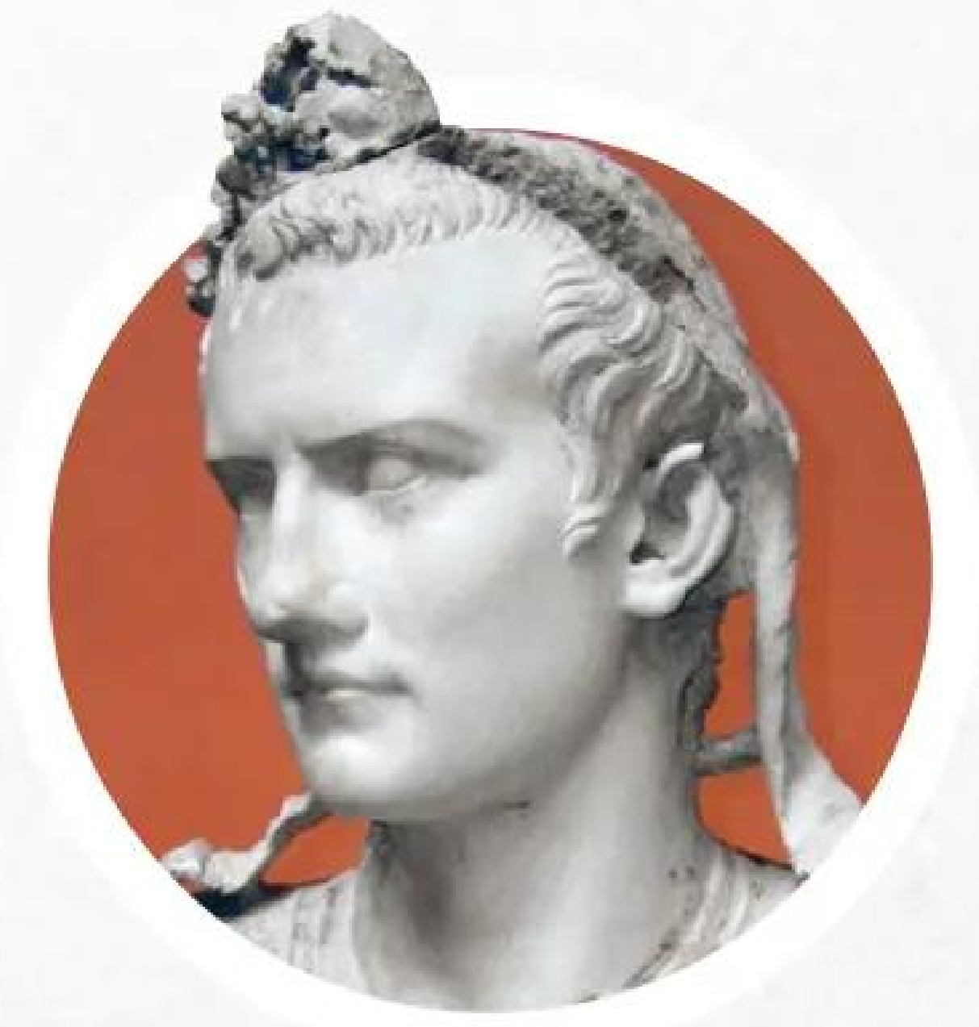


Louis XIV

Regarded as a 'god-given' child, France's Bourbon monarch modelled himself as the 'Sun-king' that all the planets rotated around. Louis often presented himself in artwork as a god-like figure, playing the role of Apollo, Neptune or, as in this image, Jupiter, the king of the gods.

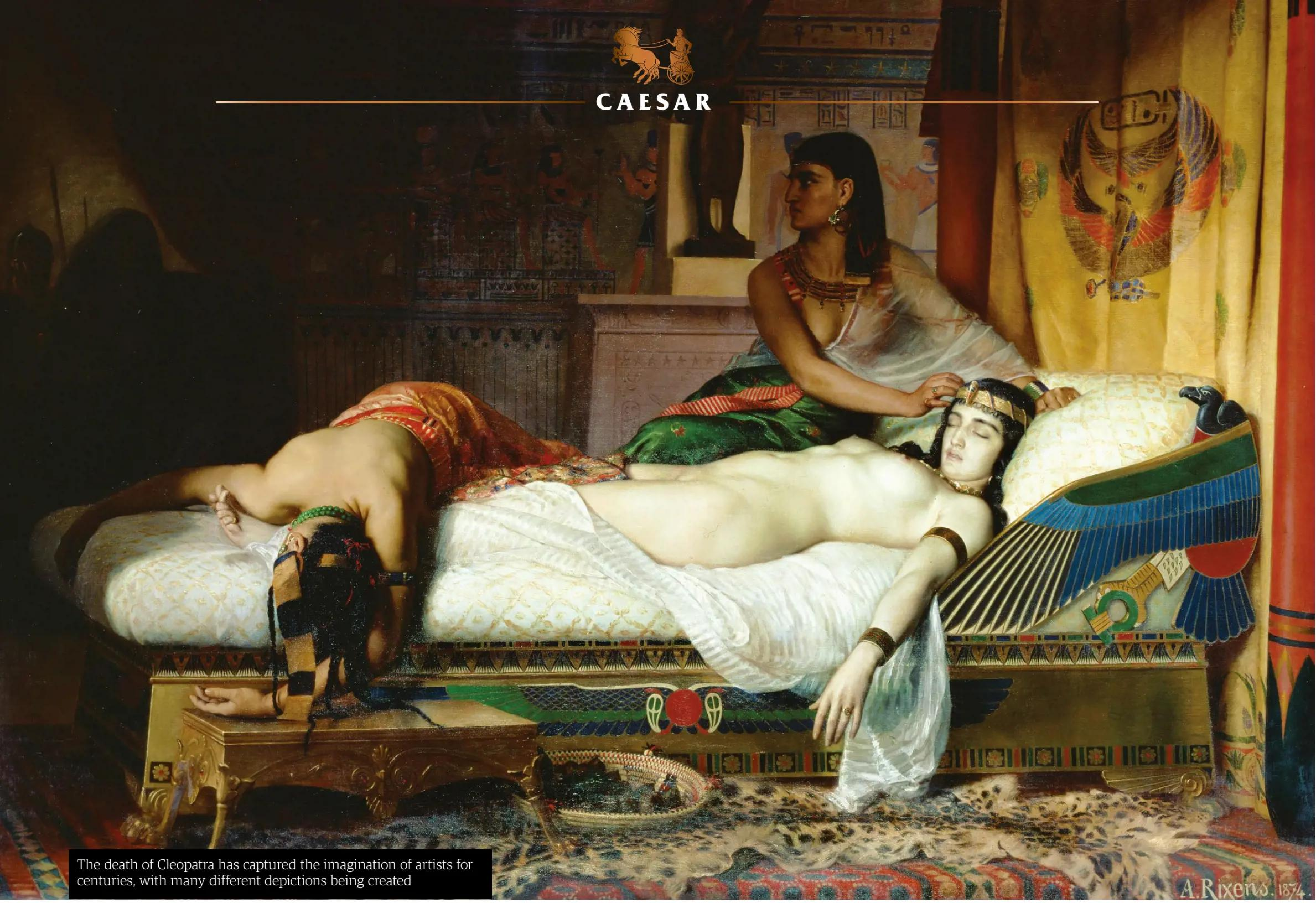
Francois Duvalier

Also known as Papa Doc, the infamous president of Haiti used god-like associations not to inspire devotion but fear. He attempted to imitate Baron Samedi, a vodou spirit. His propaganda even claimed that he was god himself.



Caligula

Although many Roman emperors claimed divinity, Caligula became infamous for the way he went about it. He dressed as various gods and demigods in public, referred to himself as a god and even demanded that residents and senators worship him as a living god.



The death of Cleopatra has captured the imagination of artists for centuries, with many different depictions being created

> "Cleopatra managed to defy Octavian's orders and escape this world, finally joining her beloved Antony in death"

while Antony diverted his course, following his heart back to Egypt. After four years apart, the two lovers were reunited. By now Antony had forgotten any allegiance he had to Octavian and, despite still being married to his rival's sister, he married the mother of his twins. A year later, another child was born.

The two quickly returned to the life of excess they had enjoyed. In 34 BCE, despite Antony's military campaign in Parthia ending in failure, the lovers celebrated a mock Roman triumph in Alexandria. They sat together on golden thrones surrounded by their offspring. For his grand finale, Antony finally let any guise of Roman loyalty fall away. He distributed lands held by Rome and Parthia to his new wife and their children, then in his most shocking move yet, proclaimed Caesarion, not Octavian, Caesar's legitimate son and true heir.

Rome was outraged. Antony, aligned with the most powerful and wealthy woman in the world, no longer feared his rival's power or needed his support. In fact, he was so confident in his victory that he had played his hand for all to see. For Cleopatra, this was the result of years of pragmatic power plays and investment – she had erased any allegiance Antony had to Rome, and he was now an Oriental lord. Ever the showman, she wrapped him in purple robes, draped him in jewels and thrust a golden sceptre into his hand. The queen of the Nile would need a king as splendid as her, and upsetting Octavian was exactly what she wanted to do.

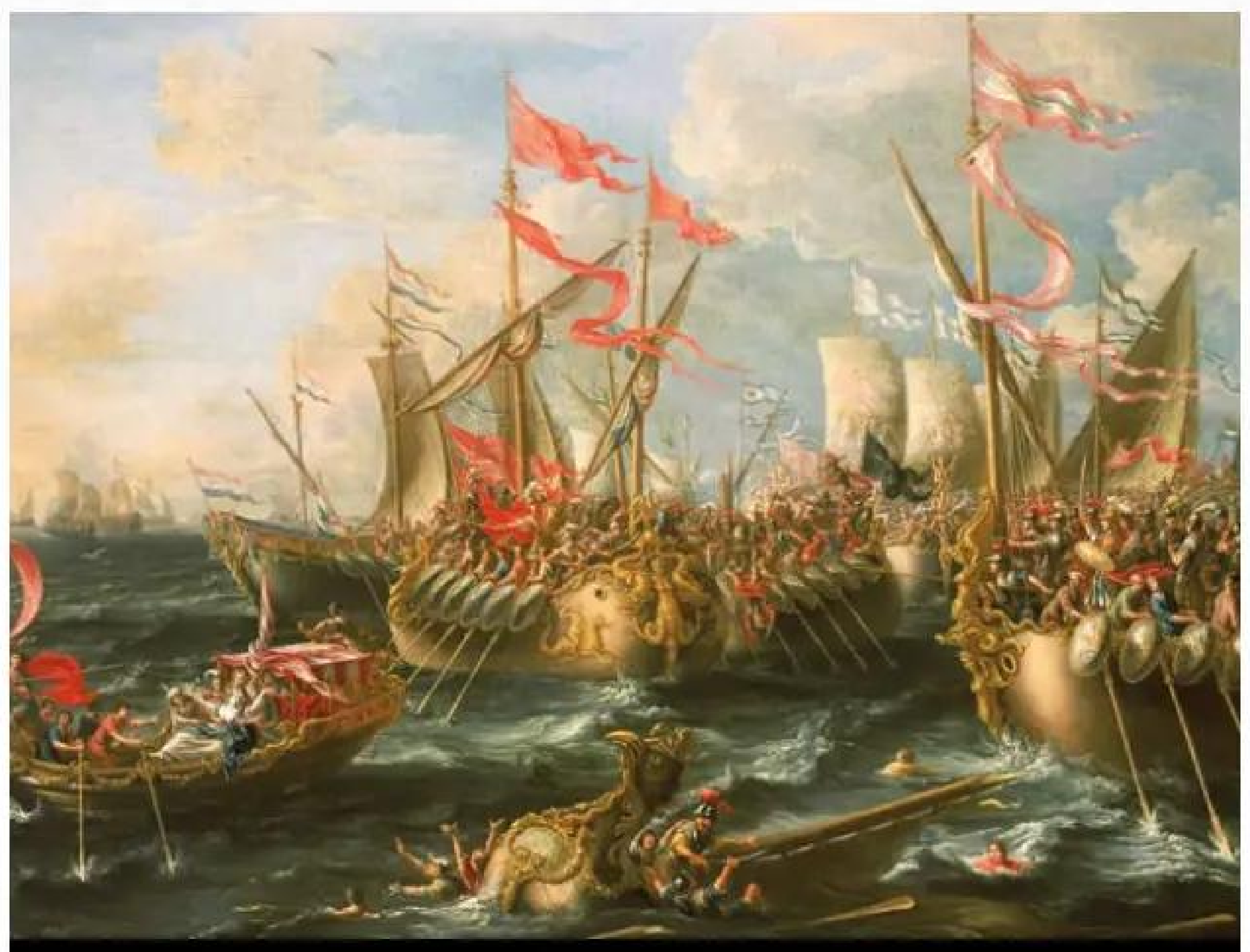
In Rome, Octavian needed any excuse to rid himself of Antony and he seized his opportunity, depriving Antony of his powers and proclaiming him a man of low morals. Octavian worked relentlessly to turn public opinion against the man who had once been a hero, accusing him of "going native" – an especially heinous crime to Romans. However, he focused most of his attention on the pharaoh to avoid civil war, branding her a whore and a drunk.

For his part, Antony accused Octavian of being a social upstart, a usurper and even lying about his adoption by Caesar. Finally, Octavian declared war against Egypt and Cleopatra. He hoped that by omitting Antony from the war declaration he would not lend his forces to the queen, even summoning him back to Rome several times, but this was a foolish hope. Antony was Cleopatra's completely, and he immediately joined with his queen to fight the war that had been inevitable since the day that they met.

Octavian's forces and the lovers' combined fleet met off the coast of Actium. If Antony and Cleopatra's forces could claim victory here, it would be a crucial step in forming their new united empire. However, for a reason known only to her, at the height of battle Cleopatra turned and fled with her ships. Antony, confused but utterly committed to his wife, followed her. This gave Octavian the perfect opportunity to invade Egypt. The self-proclaimed emperor ploughed through the country, and as he neared Alexandria, Antony's armies deserted to Octavian. Antony, consumed by his love for Cleopatra, had ignored a very crucial aspect of war – popularity. One woman, however powerful she was, could not win a war – but armies could, and his foe had them all.

Antony was desperate. He attempted to seek refuge from the invading army in Alexandria but found none. A rumour then reached him that Cleopatra had committed suicide and, believing

Antony commissioned these coins to celebrate his victory in Armenia



Antony barely escaped Actium with his life, abandoning many of his ships as he did so

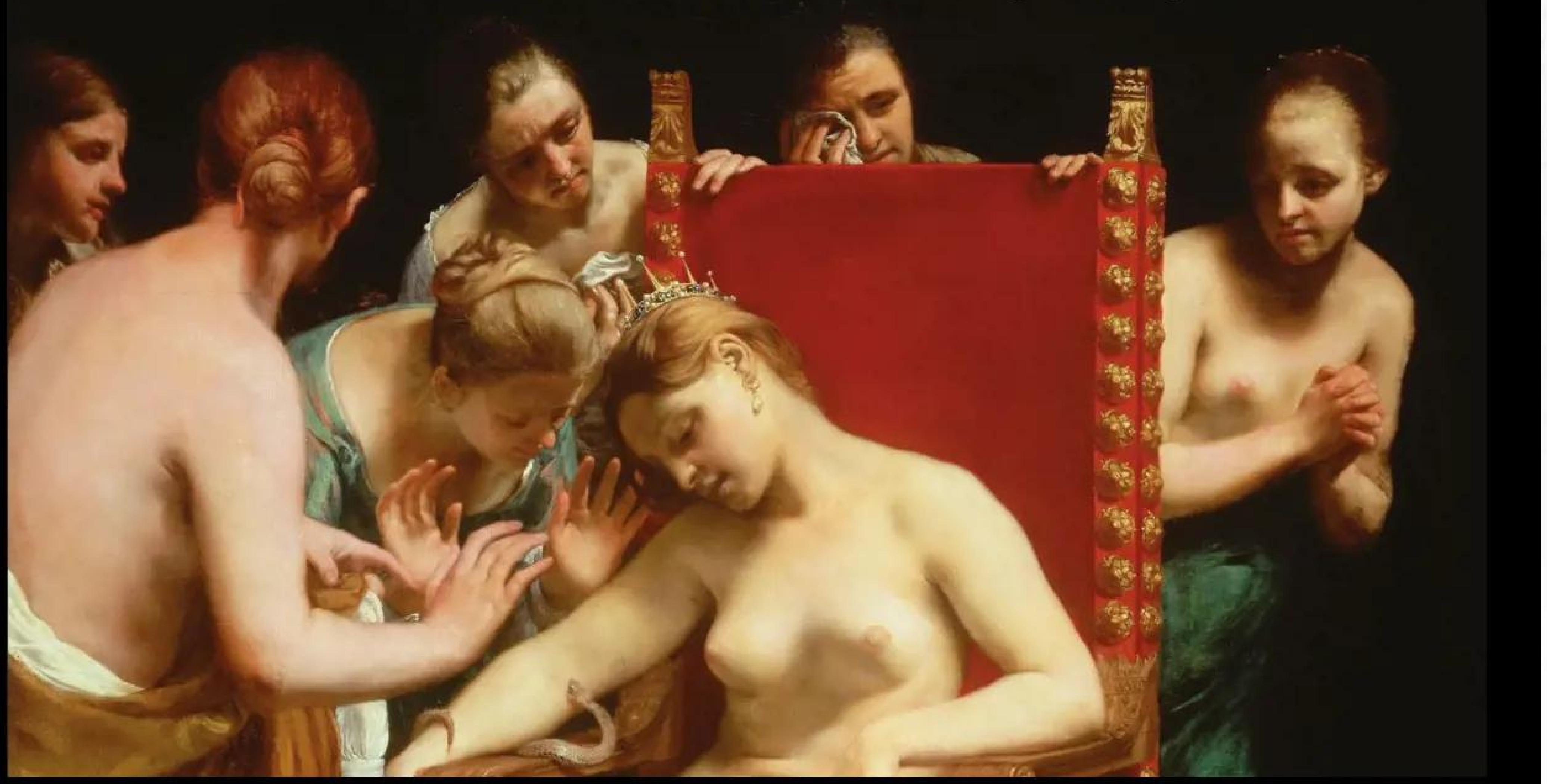
it, Antony stabbed himself in the stomach to join his love. As he prepared to face death, he discovered the truth: Cleopatra was not dead at all but hiding in her monument. Struggling for breath and desperate to see her one final time, Antony was carried to Cleopatra's side, and there, in her arms, he died.

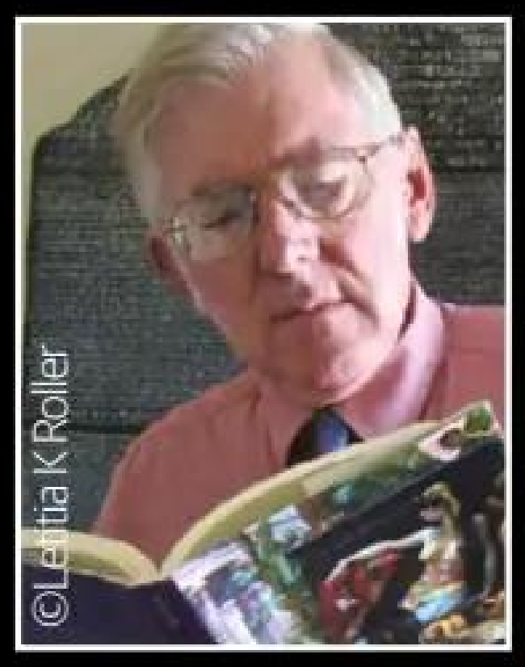
Cleopatra, although genuinely in love with Antony, was not as rash as her husband. It was not until she became Octavian's captive and discovered her fate was to be paraded as a prize in Rome that she chose death. Octavian, acutely aware she may attempt suicide, had the pharaoh closely guarded. He wanted his victory, and he wanted his prize, but Cleopatra, driven and ruthless, was not going to give it to him. The tales surrounding the pharaoh's death are layered in myth, with the popular belief that an asp bit her on her breast. However she did it, Cleopatra managed to defy Octavian's orders and escape this world, finally joining her beloved Antony in death and keeping her pride intact.

Antony and Cleopatra's love had been borne out of mutual benefit – together they wished to rule a united world and claim ultimate power. Perhaps if it had remained a union of convenience, history may have taken a different path. However, a stronger, unrelenting force grasped control of both of them, and led to their demise – love. They had desired, most of all, to share their fate, and they did, in extravagance, in war, in victory, in death and ultimately, in history, for no two names are more intertwined.

THE DRAMATIC DEATH OF CLEOPATRA

Professor Duane W Roller unravels the mummy of all myths





© Letitia K Roller

Why is there so much doubt regarding how Cleopatra killed herself?

Although the asp story was well promulgated within a year after her death, it was already being questioned by contemporary sources. It's a bizarre and unique way to go, which may be why it became popular and why it was questioned. Octavian certainly believed it (or wanted to), because of the triumph and the representation of her in the procession with the asps, but we have to ask, was this part of the drama or real? We know Cleopatra sent a note to Octavian just before she killed herself, but no one ever found it. Cleopatra may have had enough sense of the dramatic to suggest this unique way of death – a snake was an important symbol in Egyptian culture. From a modern point of view, herpetologists have said the asp method is questionable, because a bite, unless in a very sensitive place, is not necessarily fatal, and it seems odd Cleopatra would have chosen an unreliable method. Poison seems much more likely but doesn't have the artistic and literary quality of the asp.

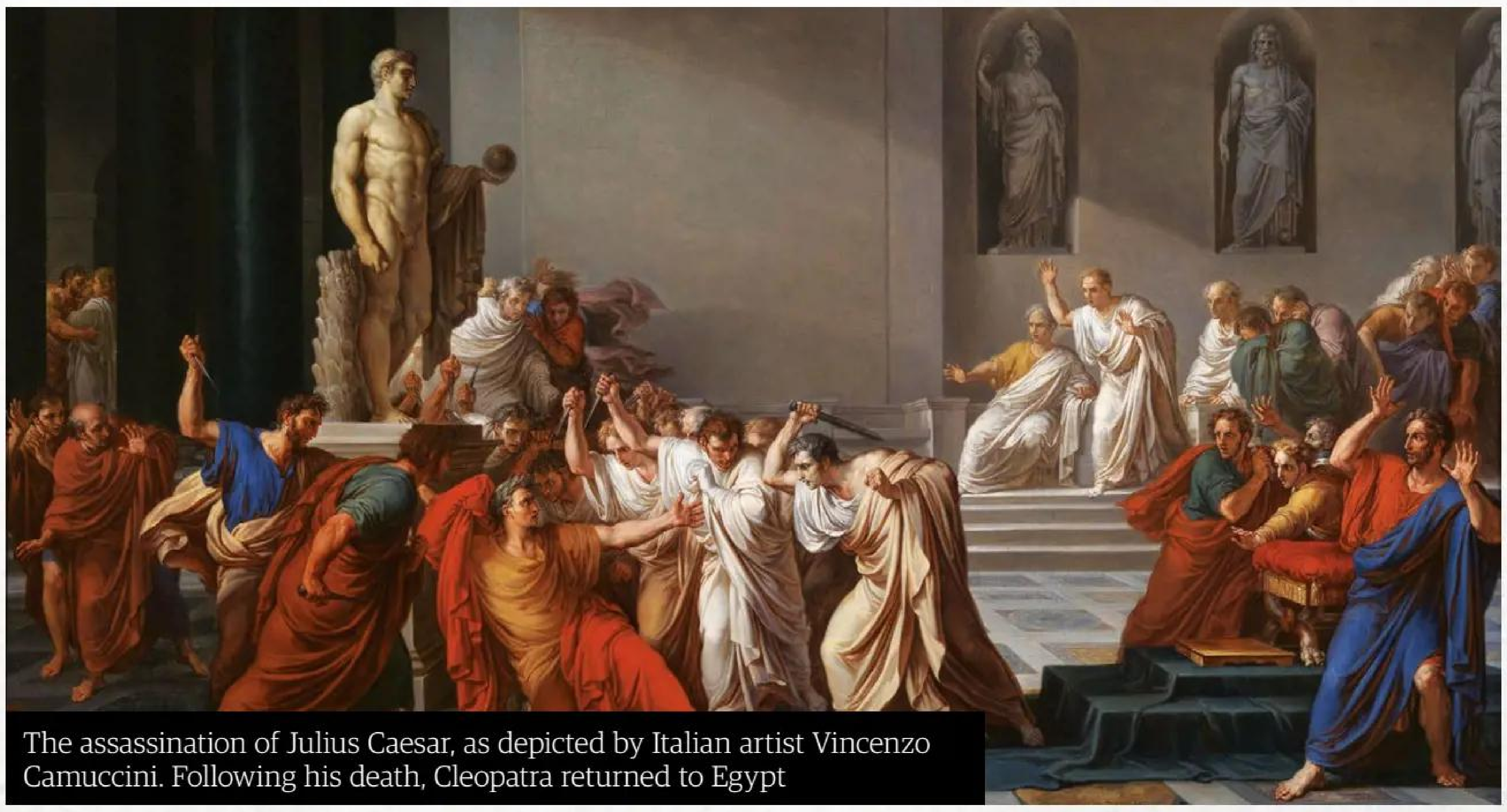
What was the significance of a snake in Egyptian culture?

Snakes are the ultimate fertility symbol (probably because they live in the earth – the source of all fertility) and were particularly connected with Isis, which was Cleopatra's alter ego. The traditional view of her with the uraeus and its snakes is accurate; she always appeared at state functions dressed as the goddess. Snakes have always had a particularly dynamic role in Mediterranean cultures, and Cleopatra would have been willing to use this as her last statement.

How accurate is Shakespeare's play *Antony And Cleopatra*?

The play is amazingly accurate but of course is based on the sources, not the more careful analysis of Cleopatra we can do today. Shakespeare used Plutarch's biography of Antony, which is the best (and almost only) source we have on the queen, and even though he used an English translation of a French translation of the Greek, he follows Plutarch's account very closely, almost word for word in places, turning the narrative into drama. A close reading of the play shows Shakespeare makes most of the points about her ability that are lurking in the sources but often have been ignored because of the view of her as a great seductress who drove men to their doom.

Cleopatra: A Biography by Duane W Roller is available to purchase online. Duane W Roller is professor emeritus of Classics at the Ohio State University.



The assassination of Julius Caesar, as depicted by Italian artist Vincenzo Camuccini. Following his death, Cleopatra returned to Egypt

© Alamy, Getty images

THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM

ON 2 SEPTEMBER 31 BCE, OCTAVIAN AND AGRIPPA CLASHED WITH ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA IN THE ULTIMATE FIGHT FOR POWER

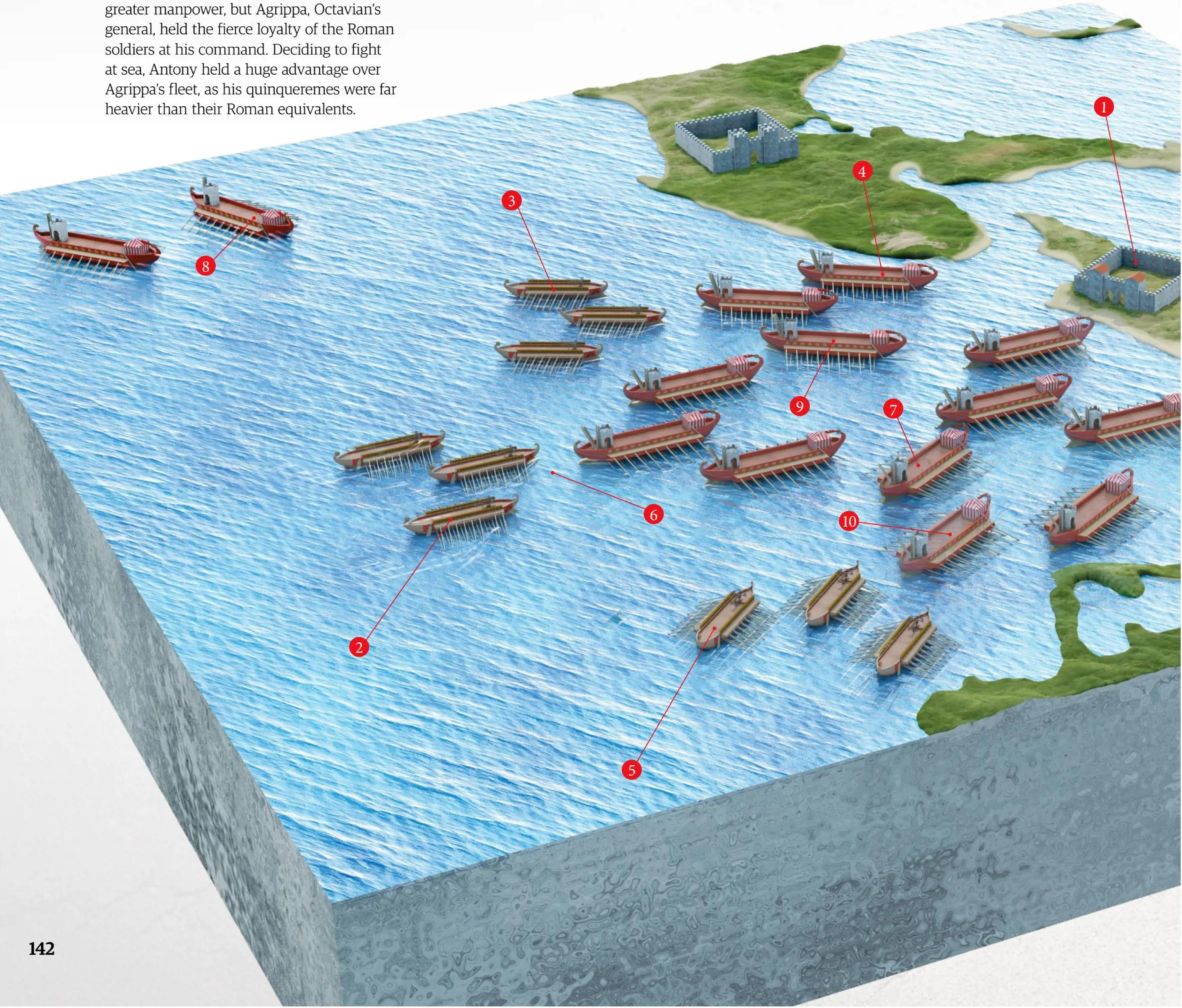
Following a struggle for power over Rome, former triumvirs Octavian and Mark Antony (the latter based in client-kingdom Egypt) faced each other in battle at sea near the city of Actium, off the coast of Epirus. Antony had the advantage of experience, bigger and heavier ships and greater manpower, but Agrippa, Octavian's general, held the fierce loyalty of the Roman soldiers at his command. Deciding to fight at sea, Antony held a huge advantage over Agrippa's fleet, as his quinqueremes were far heavier than their Roman equivalents.

① ANTONY PREPARES AT ACTIUM

Antony's warships wait at the harbour. He has ordered full sail on his ships, which is strange, as sails are for cruising, not fighting, where rowers are used. His 250-ton quinqueremes are weighted with iron plating and bronze spikes for ramming, with eight and ten banks of oars.

② OCTAVIAN AND AGRIPPA'S FLEET

Octavian's 250 ships are small, but he has the advantage of speed and manoeuvrability with his well-trained and disciplined crews, especially in stronger tides nearer the harbour. Antony's superior ships are under-manned by inexperienced 'mule-drivers, farmers, and boys'.



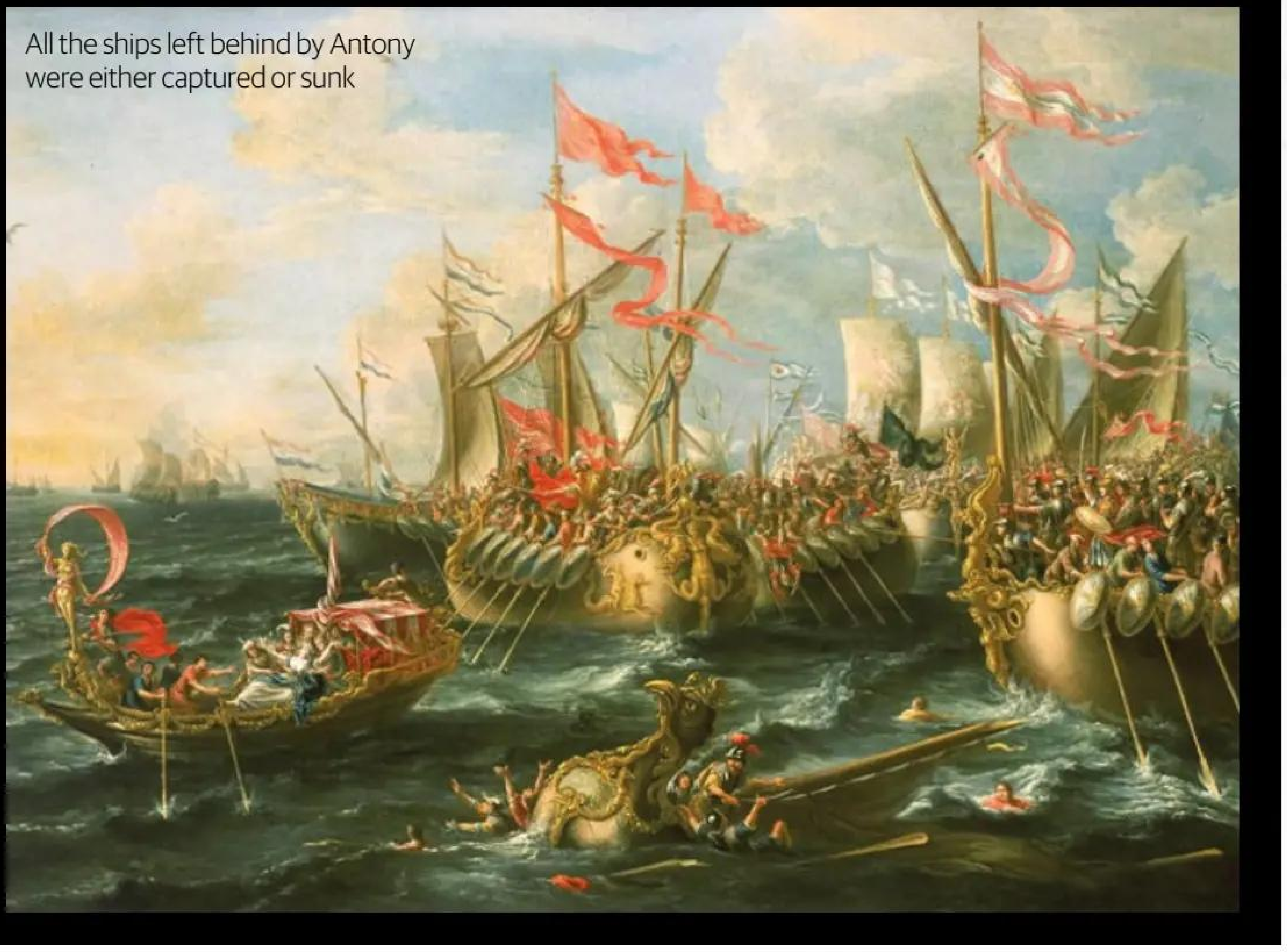
THE AFTERMATH OF ACTIUM

While his men loyally fought to the end, Antony abandoned his fleet at Actium and with it his reputation and chance to rule Rome from the East

As a battle, Actium wasn't actually that spectacular: a clash full of idling, false starts and delays. Had Antony seized his chance months earlier and taken Octavian and Agrippa's troops in a land battle, he'd have been victorious. Historian Plutarch, who was more interested in Octavian's moral superiority than tactics, weapons and battle plans, assures us that Antony was too besotted with Cleopatra to succeed and that he arrogantly desired to meet Octavian at sea.

The consequences of Actium are more impressive: they were and are literally the stuff of Hollywood, as Cleopatra (allegedly) cut a deal with Octavian in which she betrayed Antony and manoeuvred him into killing himself. She then cheated Octavian of his triumphal prize of a defeated queen to display in Rome with her own dramatic suicide.

With Antony defeated and Egypt annexed (after the Battle of Alexandria in 30 BCE, where the ships of Antony's supporters sailed out to meet Octavian's and simply joined his side), Actium became a pivotal landmark in Roman history, signifying Octavian's victory over the last of his great rivals, a result that brought to an end a century of civil war and enabled him to take control of the Republic, which soon became the Roman Empire. Rome would never be the same again.



All the ships left behind by Antony were either captured or sunk

③ BATTLE LINES ARE SET

Octavian's line of ships faces his enemy's, with the left wing led by Agrippa and the right by Octavian himself. He plans to surround Antony's ships and fight at close quarters with swords and shields, as if on land besieging a town. Antony draws his ships tightly together, hoping to lure Octavian closer and drive his ships against the shore.

④ ANTONY BOOSTS MORALE

Antony rallies his troops as his 500 ships face the Roman fleet: they can rely on their weight even if they lack the manpower to reach ramming speed. Octavian fears direct engagement with these juggernauts, as clashes would easily shear off the prows of the lighter-weight Roman ships. Cleopatra's navy supports Antony's to the rear.

⑤ MORNING: HOURS OF WAITING

The fleets sit idle until midday, when the tides make the wings on the lines slowly drift, creating gaps in each line. Thanks to a defector, Octavian knows Antony's strategy. His ships stay out of range while he orders his right wing to row backwards to lure Antony into deeper water.

⑥ THE SHIPS ENGAGE

As the fleets come within range of each other, Octavian's ships sail in quickly to fire volleys of arrows at the enemy then row away quickly. Antony's ships have iron grappling hooks that can be launched and used to pull the boats together.

⑦ MISSILE FIRE

Wicker shields protect Antony's men from the blows of spears and poles as the Romans fire flaming missiles into his ships. He retaliates by ordering his catapults to fire on the Romans from high up in wooden towers on the ships.

⑧ THE PLAN CHANGES

In the heat of battle, Cleopatra's ships suddenly cruise forward, heading towards the Roman lines. She soon gives the signal to retreat, which Antony doesn't see. In the confusion, Antony thinks the Egyptians are panicking due to impending defeat. He abandons his fleet to join Cleopatra.

⑨ ANTONY'S NAVY FIERCELY BATTLES ON

Unaware that their general has left, Antony's forces fiercely continue the battle, firing missiles and clashing with swords as the enemy boards their ships. Some boats are set on fire, while the soldiers on other vessels concede and throw their weapons overboard as they try to escape.

⑩ THE LEADERLESS SURRENDER

For several hours Antony's fleet fights valiantly against Octavian. Eventually they surrender after a sudden gale batters the ships. 300 ships are captured or sunk and 5,000 men lost. The remaining generals surrender that evening when they realise Antony really has abandoned them.

EMPIRE STATE OF MIND

AS THE REPUBLIC BURNED AROUND HIM, ONE MAN WOULD CHANGE ROME'S FATE FOREVER

Written by Katharine Marsh

The battle was won. Mark Antony and Cleopatra retreated to Egypt, where they committed suicide. Lepidus (a general who had sided with Antony) was long gone. Rome still needed a leader, and there was only one candidate. Octavian was the undisputed ruler - he'd made sure of it.

But what do you do when your land is crumbling? The first thing is to eliminate any competition. Caesar's only biological son, Caesarion, was still alive and ruling over Egypt as Ptolemy XV Caesar. Not for long; his execution was ordered in 30 BCE. Now Octavian had a Republic to rebuild.

Octavian knew exactly what he was doing. Roman politics was dangerous on a good day - Caesar wasn't the first to get himself killed - so care had to be taken. He had to restore the Roman Republic - or at least make it look like that's what he was doing. One person having all the power was never going to go over well; it stank of the old Roman kings who were only remembered for their corruption.

The plan worked. Octavian was named a consul when he re-entered Rome after Actium. Bit by bit, he won over the Senate and began bringing stability back to the Republic. His tenure as consul didn't end as he passed laws that seemed to reflect the old traditions. He undertook building projects to restore Rome to its former glory. He even named himself imperator (commander-in-chief) It was from this that the English language would later derive 'emperor'. At the time, he was perhaps better known as the princeps, or first citizen.

> “Over time, while the facade slipped away, citizens and patricians either didn’t notice or didn’t care”

In 27 BCE, Octavian was bestowed a new name by the Senate: Augustus. He was rewarded for restoring the Republic - something he definitely wasn’t doing - and he would remain a consul for four more years. He initially turned down his new title, knowing full well the Senate would insist on giving him the honour. During the same year, he was also given a ten-year tenure of Spain, Gaul and Syria. With those regions came the majority of the Roman army, and his power meant he could influence the appointments of the other provinces’ proconsuls.

Augustus was loved by all and he continued to uphold republican values. Over time, while the facade slipped away, citizens and patricians either didn’t notice or didn’t care. In 19 BCE, Augustus was given supreme power of every Roman province; the empire was born.

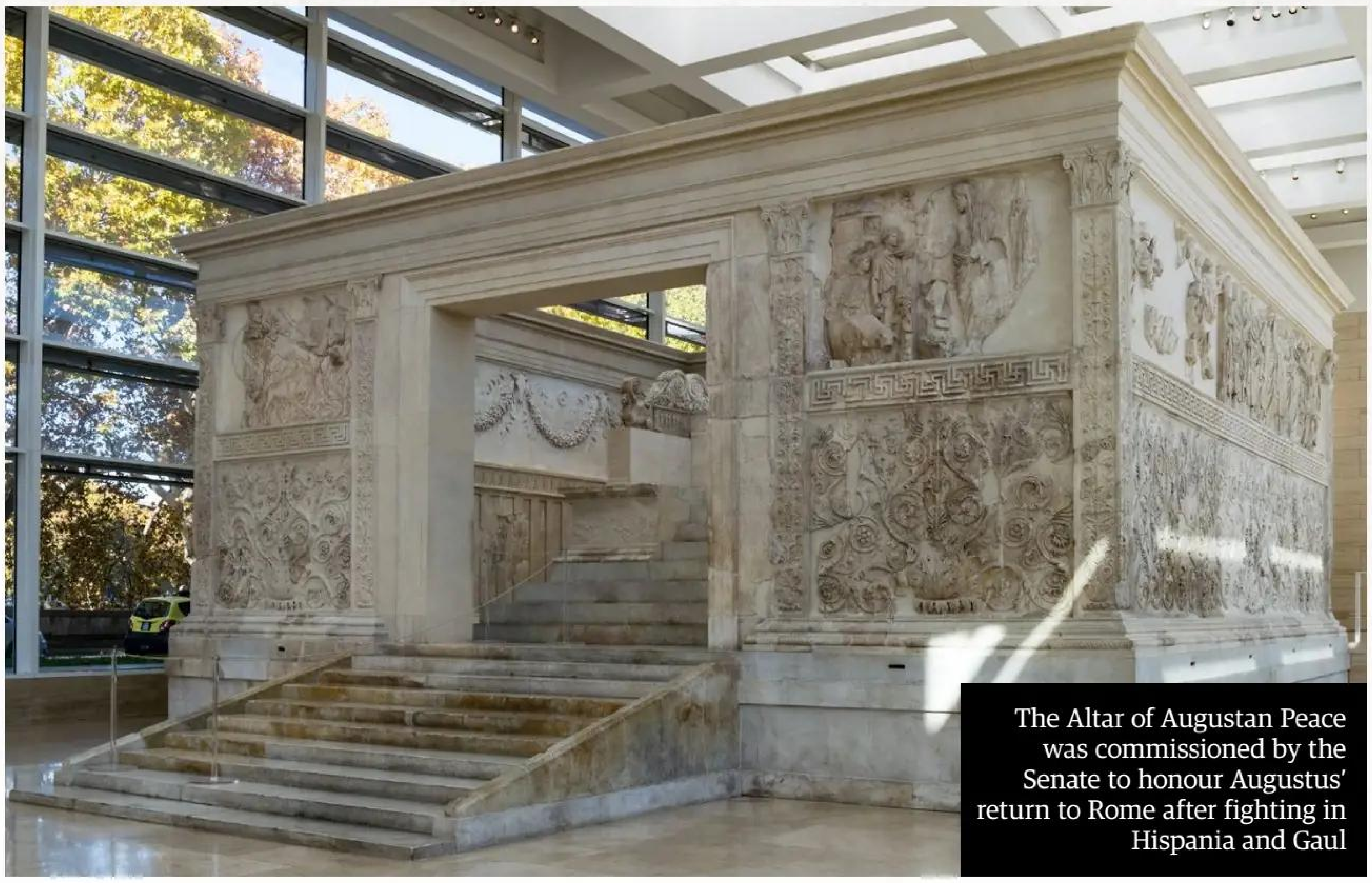
The first emperor was given the power of a tribune for life, meaning he could now convene the Senate when he wanted to. But the role brought more clout with it than that; this role was usually annually elected and its holder considered the defender of the plebeians. August now had the lower classes on his side.

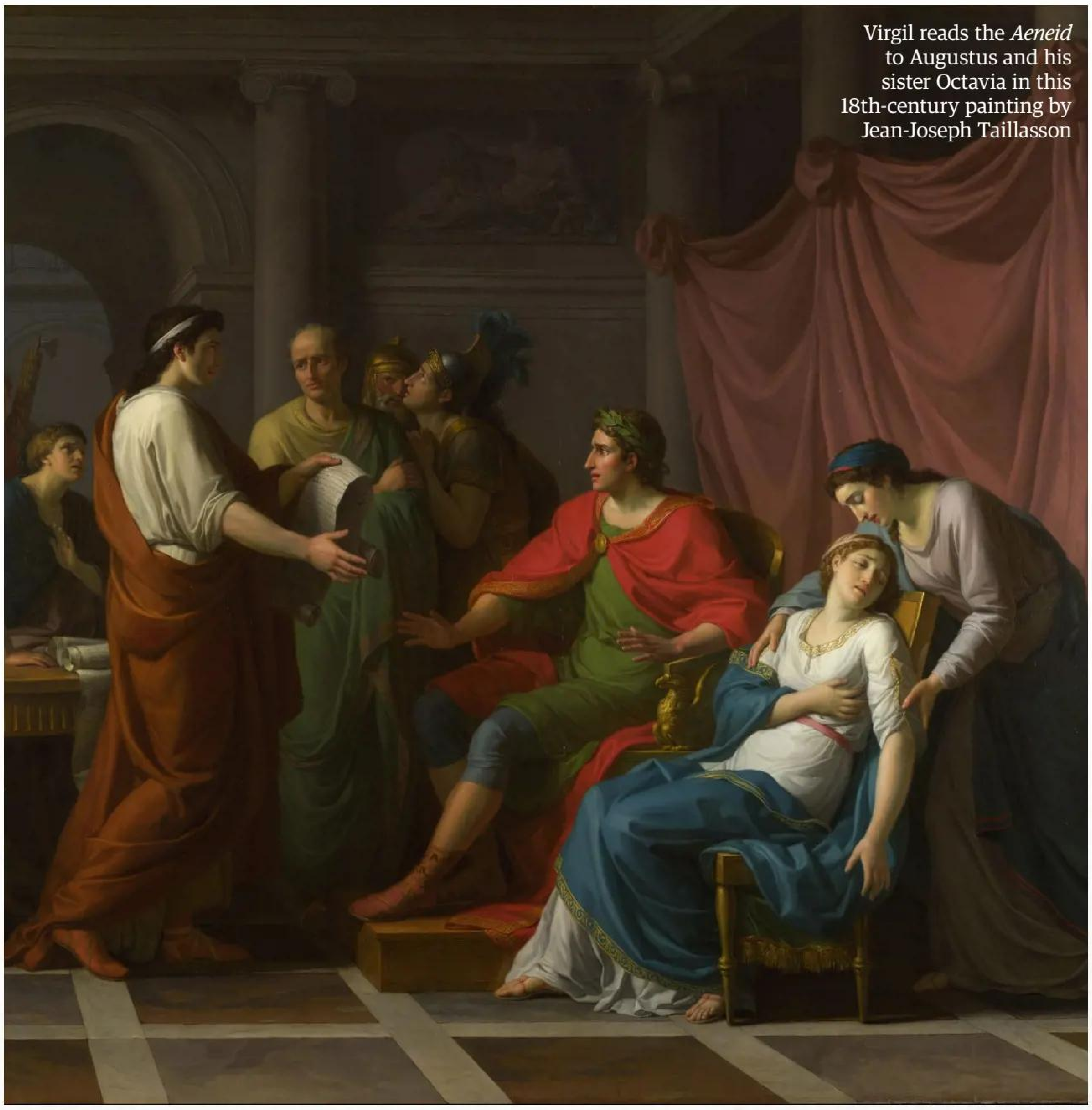
Keeping hold of an empire after such a turbulent time wasn’t straightforward, but Augustus made it seem easy. Peace was restored and, unusually for ancient Rome, maintained. That doesn’t mean that there was no war (this was Rome, after all), but the infighting was halted. Pagan tribes in the Alps were attacked and Galatia in Asia Minor was annexed. Rome’s boundaries were expanding, and they wouldn’t slow down until Emperor Trajan’s death in 117 CE.

The arts flourished. The emperor was a patron to Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Livy and more and he used literature to show his patriotic side. Virgil’s *Aeneid* would paint Augustus as a direct descendant of Aeneas, a legendary founder of Rome whose mother was the goddess Aphrodite. His connections to the gods were boosted tenfold following the deification of Julius Caesar. Now he was the son of a god too.

But if the Republic was truly to be over, Augustus needed an heir. He couldn’t live forever, although he did manage to rule for a good 40 years. But the succession was always going to be a problem - he only had a daughter, Julia. He looked to his nephew Marcellus, but he died in 23 BCE. Then he considered his grandsons Gaius and Lucius Caesar, adopting them as his own children and starting their political careers. They both died in the early 1st century CE. There were two options left: his stepsons, Drusus and Tiberius. When Drusus died in 9 CE, only one man remained.

On Augustus’ death in 14 CE, Rome wept. Tiberius ascended to the role of emperor and the line of Caesar was secure. Rome was no longer a republic. The first emperor allegedly claimed on his deathbed that he’d found Rome a city of clay but left it a city of marble, but he left behind more than that. He bequeathed to the world a legacy of a marble empire and the start of a new chapter of history.


The Altar of Augustan Peace was commissioned by the Senate to honour Augustus’ return to Rome after fighting in Hispania and Gaul


Virgil reads the *Aeneid* to Augustus and his sister Octavia in this 18th-century painting by Jean-Joseph Taillasson

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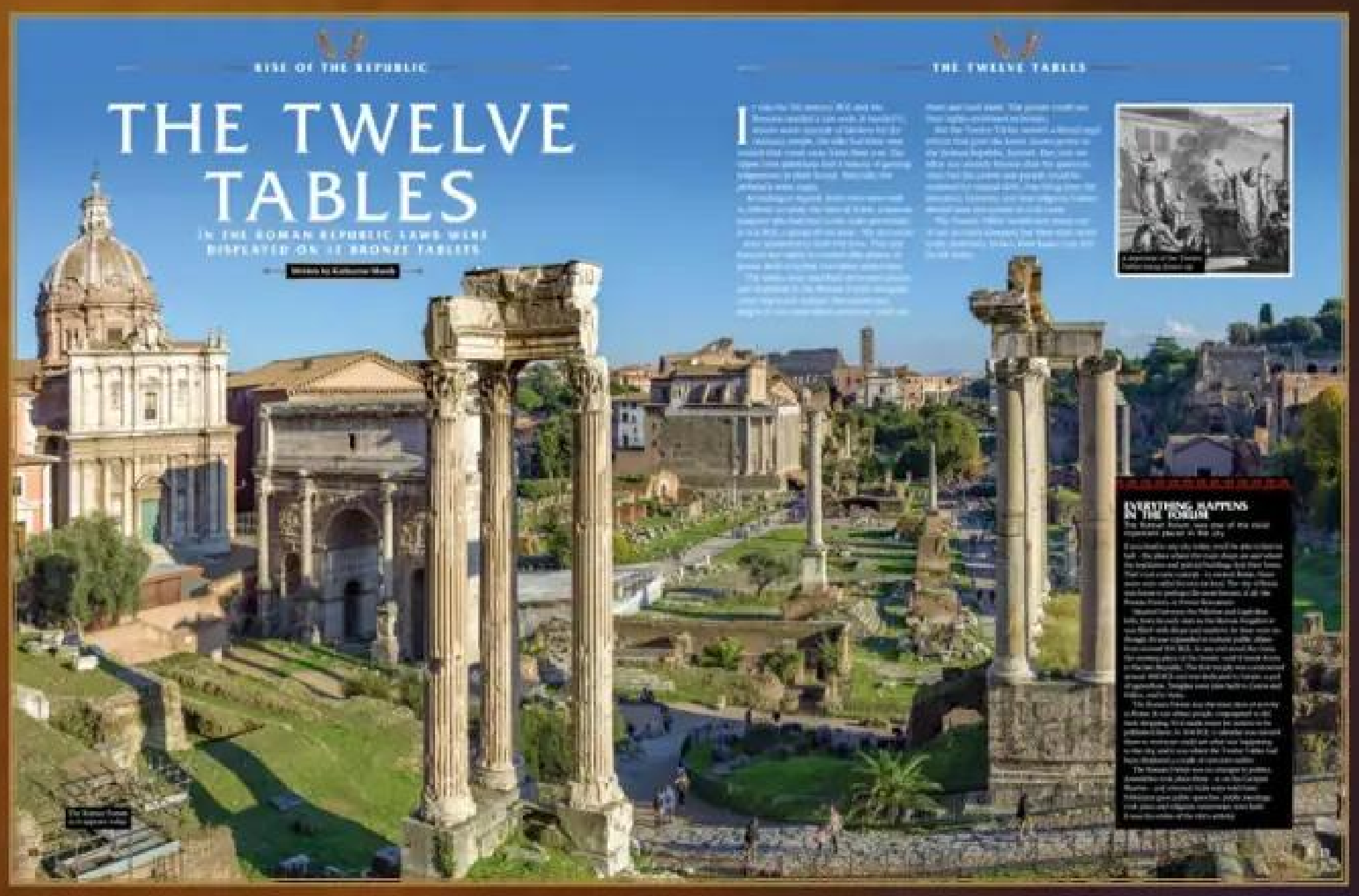

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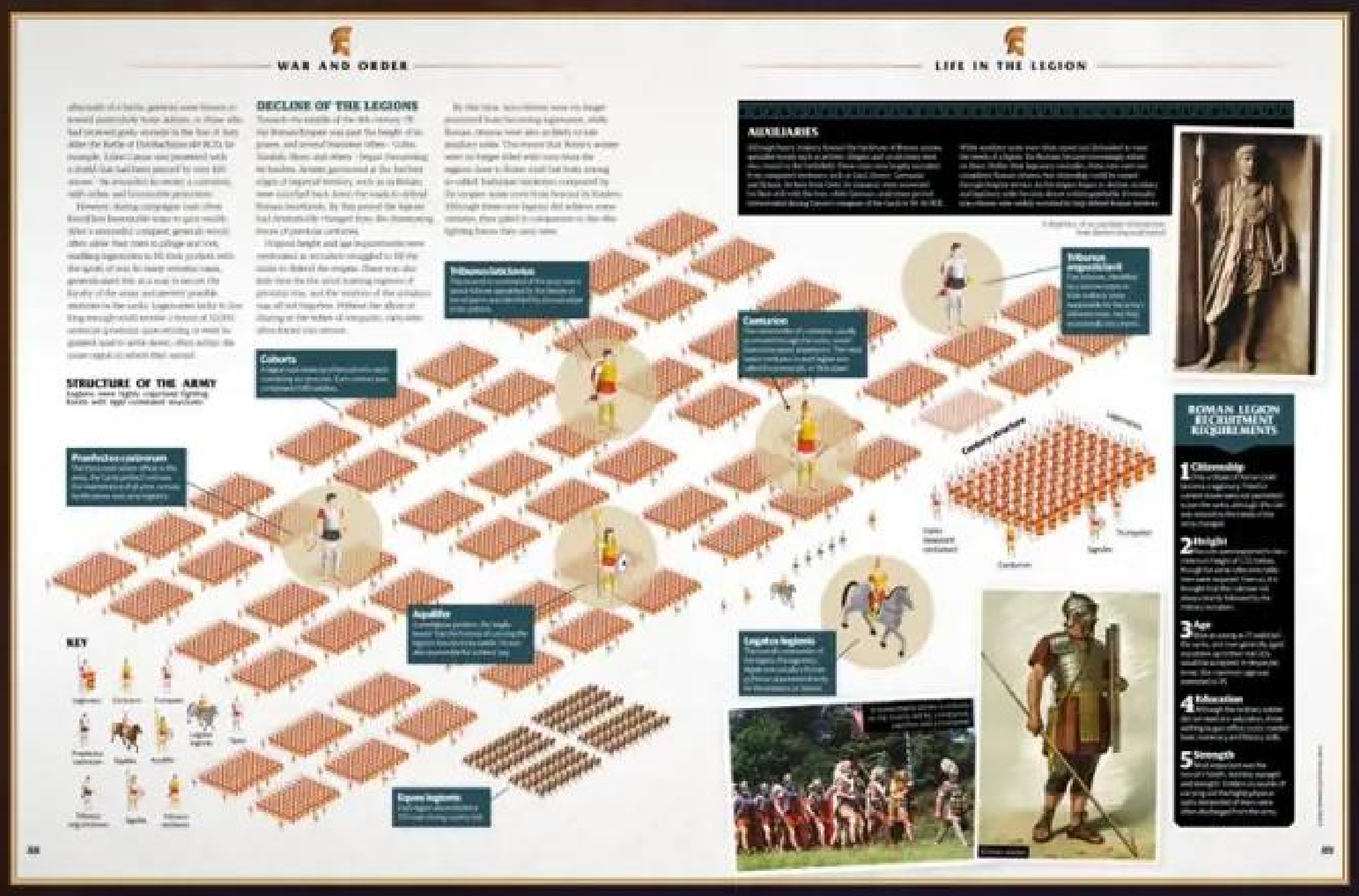

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